Encyclopædia

of

Religion and Ethics
Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY
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VOLUME X
PICTS—SACRAMENTS

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NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 153-157 FIFTH AVENUE
1918
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Recording Angel, Righteousness (Jewish).

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Rashi, Sabbath (Jewish).

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Prayer (American).

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Righteousness (in Christ's teaching).

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Pilgrimage (Japanese), Prayer (Buddhist).

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Retaliation.

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Points of the Compass.

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Reuchlin.

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Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian), Purification (Egyptian), Righteousness (Egyptian).

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Rosaries.

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Reality.
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Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism.


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Religious Orders (Christian).

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Rebellion.

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Purification (Iranian).


Righteousness (Muhammadan).

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Prayer (Roman).

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 Preferential Dealing.

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Religion.

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Purification (Hebrew).

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Proprocessions and Dances.

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Pilgrimage (Indian), Possession (Indian), Prostitution (Indian), Rama, Raman, Rama.

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Proselyte, Proselytism.

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Presbyterianism.

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Prayer-wheels.

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Prayer (Christian, Theological).


Precepts (Buddhist).

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Purification (Buddhist), Reality (Buddhist), Relations (Buddhist).

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Places (Sacred).

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Priest, Priesthood (Iranian).

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Probabilism.

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Possession (Introductory and Primitive), Prayer (Introductory and Primitive), Puppets, Purification (Introductory and Primitive).

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Purification (Greek).

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Prarthana Samaj, Radha Soanis.

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Prayer, Book of Common.

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Plains Indians.

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Roman Religion.

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Pradhan, Parsua.

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Reader in Egyptology in the University of Oxford; editor of the Archaeological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund; Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; Foreign Associate of the Société Asiatique; Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna. Prayer (Egyptian).
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Reformed Episcopal Church and Free Church of England.

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Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; author of Social Law in the Spiritual World (1904), Studies in Mystical Religion (1909), Spiritual Reformers (1914), The Inner Life (1916).

Ranters.

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Realism (Modern Logic and).

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Power of the Keys, Probabilism.

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Pilgrimage (Arabian and Muhammadan), Prayer (Muhammadan).

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Priest, Priesthood (Hindu), Ramanuja, Righteousness (Hindu).

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Rewards and Punishments.

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Proverbs, Riddle.

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Rechabites.

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Propitiation (Introductory and Biblical).

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Poverty.

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Prophecy (Hebrew).

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Sacraments (Christian, Western).

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Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago.

Priest, Priesthood (Roman).

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Priest, Priesthood (Primitive).

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Prayer (Babylonian).

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Prayer (Iranian).

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Psychical Research.


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Rigorism.

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Repentance.

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Picts, Pregnancy, Redemption, Relics (Primitive and Western), Religious Orders (Japanese, Mexican and Peruvian), Reynard the Fox, Sacraments (Primitive and Ethnic).
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

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RAMAISON, RAMAKRISHNA, RAMAYANA.


Pilgrim Fathers.

MCINTYRE (JAMES LEWIS), M.A. (Edin. and Oxon.), D.Sc. (Edin.). Anderson Lecturer in Comparative Psychology to the University of Aberdeen; Lecturer in Psychology, Logic, and Ethics to the Aberdeen Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers; formerly Examiner in Philosophy to the Universities of Edinburgh and London; author of Gurdaro Bruno (1903).

Presentiment, Recognition.


Prayer for the Departed (Christian).


Pindar, Prayer (Greek).


Preaching (Muslim), Priest, Priesthood (Muhammadan), Qur'an.

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SABBATH (Muhammadan).

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Regeneration.

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Predestination.

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Qur'an.

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Prophecy (Christian).

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Production (of Wealth).

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Pistis Sophia.


Religious Orders (Muslim).

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Pre-existence.

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Rights.

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Publicani.

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Purity.

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Puranas.

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Sacraments (Christian, Eastern).

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Plutarch, Possession (Greek and Roman), Propitiation (Roman).

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Pilgrimage (Babylonian), Priest, Priesthood (Babylonian), Righteousness (Babylonian), Sabbath (Babylonian).

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Prajyekabuddha, Religious Orders (Indian).

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Reverence.

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Remorse.

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Possession (Japanese), Prayer (Japanese).

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Psycho-therapeutics.

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Principle, Receptivity.

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Pragmatism.

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Priscillianism.

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Probation.

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Righteousness (Greek and Roman).

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Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Criticism in the Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh.


Smith (HENRY PRESERVED), D.D.
Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages, and Librarian of the Union Theological Seminary, New York; formerly Professor of Old Testament Literature and the History of Religion in the Meadville Theological School, Pennsylvania.

Priest, Priesthood (Hebrew).
SMITH (VINCENT ARTHUR), M.A., Litt.D.
Of the Indian Civil Service (retired); author of Asoka in 'Rulers of India,' Early History of India, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, Alber the Great Mogul, Oxford History of India.
Relics (Eastern).

SPENCE (LEWIS), F.R.A.I.

Popol Vuh, Prayer (Mexican), Priest, Priesthood (Mexican), Prophecy (American).

SPOONER (WILLIAM ARCHIBALD), D.D.
Warden of New College, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough.
Pity, Revenge.

STALKER (JAMES), M.A., D.D.
Professor of Church History in the United Free Church College, Aberdeen.
Preaching (Christian), Revivals of Religion, Sacraments (Christian, Reformed).

STAYWELL (FLORENCE MELIAN).
Certified Student of Newnham College, Cambridge (Classical Tripos, 1892, Part I., Class I., Div. 1); sometime Lecturer in Classics at Newnham College.
Renunciation.

STEVenson (MRS. SINCLAIR), M.A., Sc.D.
Of the Irish Mission, Rajkot, India; sometime Scholar of Somerville College, Oxford; author of Notes on Modern Jainism.
Prayer (Jain), Purification (Jain).

STOKES (GEORGE J.), M.A. (Trinity College, Dublin).
Of Lincoln’s Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Professor of Philosophy and Jurisprudence in University College, Cork, National University of Ireland.
Power.

STONE (DARWELL), M.A., D.D.
Retreats.

SWINNY (SHAPLAND HUGH), M.A. (Cantab.).
President of the English Positivist Committee and the London Positivist Society; editor of the Positivist Review, Member of Council (late Chairman) of the Sociological Society.
Positivism.

THOMAS (EDWARD JOSEPH), M.A. (St. And. and Camb.), B.A. (Lond.).
Under-Librarian of Cambridge University; editor of Buddhist Scriptures; joint-editor of Mahâbhâtasas and Jataka Tales.
Righteousness (Buddhist).

THOMSON (J. ARTHUR), M.A., LL.D.
Recapitulation (Biological).

TOWNSEND (HENRY CHARLES ALEXANDER), B.A., B.D.
Purification (Christian).

TOYNBEE (ARNOLD JOSEPH), B.A. (Oxford).
Formerly Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford.
Race.

TRITTON (A. S.), M.A., D.Litt.
Formerly Assistant to the Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Edinburgh.

SABAEANS.

TROITSKY (SERGEI VICTOROVICH), Master of Theology.
Instructor in the Alexander-Neveskii Theological College of Petrograd; Member of the Imperial Archaeological Institute of Petrograd; attached to the Chancery of the Over-Procurator of the Most Holy Synod.
Russian Church.

URQUHART (WILLIAM SPENCE), M.A., D.Phil.
Senior Professor of Philosophy in the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta; Member of Syndicate of Calcutta University.

Profanity.

Formerly Professor of Tibetan in University College, London; Hon. Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India; author of The Buddhism of Tibet, Lhasa and its Mysteries.
Prayer (Tibetan).

WALLIS (WILSON D.), Ph.D. (Penn.), Diplomé in Anthropology and B.Sc. (Oxon.).
Formerly Instructor of Anthropology in the University of Pennsylvania, and in the University of California; Special Ethnologist (1914) to the Canadian Government; author of Messâkas: Christian and Pagan.

Prodigies and Portents.

WALTER (HOWARD ARNOLD), M.A., B.D.
Literary Secretary, National Council, Young Men’s Christian Associations of India and Ceylon.

QADIANI.

WATERHOUSE (ERIC STRICKLAND), M.A., B.D. (Lond.).
Pietism.

WATT (HENRY J.), M.A. (Aberd.), Ph.D. (Würz.), D.Phil. (Aberd.).
Lecturer on Psychology in the University of Glasgow; author of Psychology (1913), The Psychology of Sound (1917).

Psychology.

WAY (GREGORY LEWIS ALBERT), M.A. (Oxford).
One of the Librarians of the Pusey Memorial Library, Oxford.
Pusey.
WEBSTER (HUTTON), Ph.D.
Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Nebraska; author of *Primitive Secret Societies, Rest Days, Ancient History, Medieval and Modern History.

Sabbath (Primitive).

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

Repentance (Muhammadan).

WELSFORD (ENID ELDER HANCOCK).
Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge.

Prayer (Teutonic).

WERNER (ALICE), L.L.A. (St. And.).
University Reader in Swahili and Bantu Languages, School of Oriental Studies, London; Goldsmiths' Scholar, Newnham College, Cambridge, 1878-80; Mary Ewart Travelling Scholar, 1911-13; formerly Associates' Fellow, Newnham College, Cambridge; author of *The Language Families of Africa; The Native Races of British Central Africa*; translator of *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages*.

Pokomo.

WHITLOCK (WILLIAM THOMAS), M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S., F.T.S.
Honorary Secretary and editor of the Baptist Historical Society; member of the American Historical Association; author of *Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles, Missionary Achievement*; editor of *A Baptist Bibliography, The Works of John Smyth*.

Rynsburgers (or Collegiants).

WHITAKER (THOMAS), B.A. (Oxon.).
Author of *The Neo-Platonists: A Study in the History of Hellenism*.

Reason.

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

Pleasure.

WILLIAMSON (ROBERT WOOD), M.Sc.
Treasurer to the Anthropological Institute.

Polynesia.

WOODEHOUSE (HELEN MARION), M.A., D.Phil.
Principal of the Bingley Training College, Yorkshire; formerly Lecturer in Philosophy in the University of Birmingham.

Rationalism.

WOOD (HERBERT G.), M.A.
Warden of Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham; formerly Fellow, and Lecturer in History, of Jesus College, Cambridge.

Puritanism.

WOODBIDGE (FREDERICK J. E.), A.M., LL.D.
Johnsonian Professor of Philosophy, and Dean of the Faculties of Political Science, Philosophy, and Pure Science, in Columbia University, New York.

Pluralism.

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

Priest, Priesthood (Greek), Prostitution (Greek, Roman).

WOOLLEY (REGINALD MAXWELL), D.D. (Camb.).
Rector and Vicar of Minting; Prebendary of Lincoln, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln.

Prayer (Christian, Liturgical), Sacerdotalism.
In addition to the cross-references throughout the volume, the following list of minor references may be useful:

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<td>Charms and Amulets (Hebrew, Jewish).</td>
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<td>Filial Piety.</td>
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<td>Pig</td>
<td>Animals.</td>
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<td>Pipe</td>
<td>Smoking.</td>
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<td>Pitaka</td>
<td>Literature (Buddhist), Abhidhamma.</td>
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<td>Poverty.</td>
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<td>Popoffchins</td>
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<td>Premillenarianism</td>
<td>Second Adventism.</td>
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<td>Priacy</td>
<td>Papacy.</td>
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<td>Proclus</td>
<td>Academy, Academies.</td>
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<td>Progress</td>
<td>Civilization.</td>
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<td>Prohibition</td>
<td>Alcohol, Drunkenness.</td>
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<td>Propagandism</td>
<td>Proselyte.</td>
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<td>Topic</td>
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<td>Property</td>
<td>Inheritance, Law.</td>
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<td>Pseudo-Messiahs</td>
<td>Messiahs (Pseudo-).</td>
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<td>Punarbhīṣeka</td>
<td>Abhīṣeka.</td>
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<td>Python</td>
<td>Serpent.</td>
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<td>Rabhas</td>
<td>Bodos.</td>
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<td>Rājasūya</td>
<td>Abhīṣeka.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>Crimes and Punishments.</td>
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<td>Randras</td>
<td>Saivism.</td>
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<td>Recognition</td>
<td>Ordination.</td>
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<td>Regula Fidei</td>
<td>Creeds, Confessions, Faith.</td>
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<td>Reptiles</td>
<td>Serpent.</td>
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<td>Reservation</td>
<td>Eucharist.</td>
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<td>Riches</td>
<td>Wealth.</td>
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<td>Right and Wrong</td>
<td>Ethics and Morality.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rishis</td>
<td>Brahmanism, Inspiration (Hindu).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rood</td>
<td>Cross.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russian Sects</td>
<td>Sects (Russian).</td>
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**LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS**

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>A.H.</td>
<td>Anno Huiiae (A.D. 622)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ak.</td>
<td>Akkad.</td>
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<td>Alex.</td>
<td>Alexandria.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amer.</td>
<td>American.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apoc.</td>
<td>Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>As.</td>
<td>Asiatic.</td>
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<td>Assyr.</td>
<td>Assyrian.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>Altes Testament.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Authorized Version.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVm</td>
<td>Authorized Version margin.</td>
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<td>A. Y.</td>
<td>Anno Yazidiagird (A.D. 639).</td>
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<td>Bab.</td>
<td>Babylonian.</td>
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<td>c.</td>
<td>circa.</td>
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<td>Can.</td>
<td>Canaanite.</td>
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<tr>
<td>cf.</td>
<td>compare.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ct.</td>
<td>contrast.</td>
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<td>Deuteronomist</td>
<td>D.</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Elohist.</td>
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<td>ed.</td>
<td>editions or editors.</td>
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<td>Egyp.</td>
<td>Egyptian.</td>
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<td>Eng.</td>
<td>English.</td>
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<td>Eth.</td>
<td>Ethiopic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>English Version.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EVV</td>
<td>English Version, Versions.</td>
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<td>f.</td>
<td>and following verse or page.</td>
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<tr>
<td>fl.</td>
<td>and following verses or pages.</td>
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<td>Fr.</td>
<td>French.</td>
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<td>Germ.</td>
<td>German.</td>
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<td>Gr.</td>
<td>Greek.</td>
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<td>H</td>
<td>Law of Holiness.</td>
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<td>Heb.</td>
<td>Hebrew.</td>
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<td>Hellenistic.</td>
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<td>Hexateuch.</td>
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<td>Himy.</td>
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<td>Ir.</td>
<td>Irish.</td>
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<td>Iran.</td>
<td>Iranian.</td>
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<td>Isr.</td>
<td>Israelite.</td>
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<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Jahwist.</td>
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<td>J*</td>
<td>Jehovah.</td>
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<td>Jer.</td>
<td>Jerusalem.</td>
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<td>LXX</td>
<td>Septuagint.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Min.</td>
<td>Minean.</td>
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<td>MSS</td>
<td>Manuscripts.</td>
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<td>MT</td>
<td>Masoretic Text.</td>
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<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>note.</td>
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<td>New Testament</td>
<td>NT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Onk.</td>
<td>Onkelos.</td>
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<td>OT</td>
<td>Old Testament.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Priestly Narrative.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pal.</td>
<td>Palestine, Palestinian.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pers.</td>
<td>Persian.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phil.</td>
<td>Philistine.</td>
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<td>Phen.</td>
<td>Phenician.</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Redactor.</td>
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<td>Rom.</td>
<td>Roman.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>Revised Version.</td>
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<td>RVm</td>
<td>Revised Version margin.</td>
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<td>Sab.</td>
<td>Sabean.</td>
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<td>Sam.</td>
<td>Samaritan.</td>
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<td>Sem.</td>
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<td>Sept.</td>
<td>Septuagint.</td>
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<td>Sin.</td>
<td>Sinaitic.</td>
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<td>Skr.</td>
<td>Sanskrit.</td>
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<td>Syr.</td>
<td>Syrian.</td>
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<td>t.</td>
<td>(following a number)=times.</td>
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<td>Talm.</td>
<td>Talmud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targ.</td>
<td>Targum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theod.</td>
<td>Theodotion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>Textus Receptus, Received Text.</td>
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<tr>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>translated or translation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VSS</td>
<td>Versions.</td>
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<td>Vulg., Vg.</td>
<td>Vulgate.</td>
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<td>WH</td>
<td>Westcott and Hort’s text.</td>
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</table>

### II. Books of the Bible

**Old Testament.**

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<td>Gn</td>
<td>Genesis.</td>
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<td>Ex</td>
<td>Exodus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lv</td>
<td>Leviticus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nu</td>
<td>Numbers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dt</td>
<td>Deuteronomy.</td>
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<td>Js</td>
<td>Joshua.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jg</td>
<td>Judges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru</td>
<td>Ruth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 S</td>
<td>1 Samuel.</td>
</tr>
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<td>2 S</td>
<td>2 Samuel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 K</td>
<td>1 Kings.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 K</td>
<td>2 Kings.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Ch</td>
<td>1 Chronicles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Ch</td>
<td>2 Chronicles.</td>
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<td>Ezra.</td>
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<td>Neh</td>
<td>Nehemiah.</td>
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<td>Est</td>
<td>Esther.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>Job.</td>
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<td>Ps</td>
<td>Psalms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Proverbs.</td>
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<td>Ec</td>
<td>Ecclesiastes.</td>
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<td>Ca</td>
<td>Canticles.</td>
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<td>Is</td>
<td>Isaiah.</td>
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<td>Jer</td>
<td>Jeremiah.</td>
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<td>La</td>
<td>Lamentations.</td>
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<td>Ezk</td>
<td>Ezekiel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dn</td>
<td>Daniel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hos</td>
<td>Hosea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jl</td>
<td>Joel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Am</td>
<td>Amos.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ob</td>
<td>Obadiah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jon</td>
<td>Jonah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mic</td>
<td>Micah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nah</td>
<td>Nahum.</td>
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<td>Hab</td>
<td>Habakkuk.</td>
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<td>Zeph</td>
<td>Zephaniah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hag</td>
<td>Haggai.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zec</td>
<td>Zechariah.</td>
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<td>Mal</td>
<td>Malachi.</td>
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**Apocrypha.**

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<td>1 Es</td>
<td>1 Esdras.</td>
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<td>2 Es</td>
<td>2 Esdras.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tod</td>
<td>Tobit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jth</td>
<td>Judith.</td>
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<thead>
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<td>Ad</td>
<td>Additions to Esther.</td>
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<td>Wis</td>
<td>Wisdom.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir</td>
<td>Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bar</td>
<td>Barnab.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Song</td>
<td>Song of the Three Children.</td>
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**New Testament.**

<table>
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<td>Mk</td>
<td>Mark.</td>
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<td>Lk</td>
<td>Luke.</td>
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<td>Jn</td>
<td>John.</td>
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<td>Ac</td>
<td>Acts.</td>
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<td>Ro</td>
<td>Romans.</td>
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<td>Gal</td>
<td>Galatians.</td>
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<td>Eph</td>
<td>Ephesians.</td>
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<td>Phi</td>
<td>Philippians.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Col</td>
<td>Colossians.</td>
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<td>1 Th</td>
<td>1 Thessalonians.</td>
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<td>2 Th</td>
<td>2 Thessalonians.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Ti</td>
<td>1 Timothy.</td>
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<td>2 Ti</td>
<td>2 Timothy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>Hebrews.</td>
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<td>Cor</td>
<td>Corinthians.</td>
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<td>1 P</td>
<td>1 Peter.</td>
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<td>2 P</td>
<td>2 Peter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jn</td>
<td>1 John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Jn</td>
<td>2 John.</td>
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<td>3 Jn</td>
<td>3 John.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jude</td>
<td>Jude.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev</td>
<td>Revelation.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
III. For the Literature

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

Baethgen = Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch., 1888.
Baldwin = Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology, 3 vols. 1901-05.
Benzing = Heb. Archäologie, 1894.
Bruns - Sachau = Syl.-Dün. Rechtbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert, 1890.
Darenberg-Saglio = Dict. des ant. grec. et rom., 1856-90.
De la Sausaye = Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch. 2, 1905.
Denzinger = Enchiridion Symbolorum 1, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
Doughty = Arabia Deserta, 2 vols. 1888.
Hamburger = Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud. 1, 1870 (1892), 2, 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 ff., 1897.
Holder = Alttestl. Sprachschätzung, 1891 ff.
Howitt = Native Tribes of S.E. Australia, 1904.
Jaubinville = Cours de Litt. celtique, i-xii., 1883 ff.
Lagrange = Etudes sur les religions sémittiques, 1904.
Lane = An Arabic-English Dictionary, 1863 ff.
Lepsius = Denkmaler aus Aegypten u. Äthiopien, 1849-60.
Liebentheuer = Euge. des sciences religieuses, 1876.
Liddlerski = Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik, 1898.
Muir = Orig. Sanskrit Texts, 1858-72.
Muse-Arnold = A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language, 1894 ff.
Pauly-Wissowa = Realencyc. der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 1894 ff.
Perrot-Chipiez = Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité, 1881 ff.
Preller = Eömihe Mythologie, 1858.
Réville = Religion des peuples non-civilisés, 1883.
Riehm = Handworterbuch d. bibl. Altertums 2, 1893-94.
Robinson = Biblical Researches in Palestine 2, 1856.
Roscher = Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie, 1884 ff.
Schenkel = Bibel-Lexicon, 5 vols. 1899-75.
Schrader = GJV 3, 3 vols. 1898-1901 (HJP, 5 vols. 1890 ff.).
Schwally = Derken nach dem Tode, 1892.
Siegfried-Stade = Heb. Worterbuch zum AT, 1893.
Smith (G. A.) = Historical Geography of the Holy Land, 1-8, 1897.
Smith (W. R.) = Religion of the Semites 2, 1894.
Spencer (H.) = Principles of Sociology 3, 1885-96.
Spencer-Gillen = Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1899.
Spencer-Gillen = Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1904.
Swete = The OT in Greek, 3 vols. 1895 ff.
Tylor (E. B.) = Primitive Culture 4, 1891 [1903].
Weber = Judische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften 2, 1897.
Wiedemann = Die Religion der alten Aegypter, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, Religion of the Anc. Egyptians, 1897].
Wilkinson = Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 3 vols. 1878.
Zunz = Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden 2, 1892.

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

A.A = Archiv für Anthropologie.
A.E. = Archiv für Ethnographie.
A.G.H. = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
A.H.H. = American Historical Review.
A.H.T. = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
A.J.P. = American Journal of Psychology.
A.J.P.E.S. = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
A.J.S.L. = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
A.M. = Annales du Musée Guimet.
A.P.E.S. = American Palestine Exploration Society.
A.P.F. = Archiv für Papyrologie.
A.R.A. = Anthropological Review.
A.R.I. = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
A.S. = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
A.S.G. = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
A.Soc. = L'Année Sociologique.
A.S.W.T. = Archæological Survey of W. India.
A.Z. = Allgemeine Zeitung.
B.A.G. = Beiträge zur alttest. Geschichte.
B.E. = Bureau of Ethnology.
B.G. = Bombay Gazetteer.
B.L. = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
B.L. = Baptist Lectures.
B.L.E. = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
B.O.R. = Bibl. and Oriental Record.
B.S. = Bibliotheca Sacra.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.A.A. = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
B.S.G. = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
B.T.S. = Buddhist Text Society.
B.W. = Biblical World.
B.Z. = Biblische Zeitschrift.
LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

PBB = Polychrome Bible (English).
PBE = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.
PC = Primitive Culture (Tylor).
PENM = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.
PENFS = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.
PGL = Patrologia Graeca (Migne).
PB = Preussische Jahrbücher.
PL = Patrologia Latina (Migne).
PNQ = Punjab Notes and Queries.
PR = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).
PRF = Prot. Realencyclopdie (Herzog-Hauck).
PRR = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PSS = Proceedings of the Royal Society.
PRSE = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
PTS = Pall Text Society.
RA = Revue Archéologique.
Rahl = Revue d'Anthropologie.
RAS = Royal Asiatic Society.
RASyr = Revue d'Assyriologie.
RB = Revue Biblique.
RBEW = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology.
(R)C = Revue Critique.
(R)Cd = Revue Celtique.
(R)Ch = Revue Chalouine.
(R)DM = Revue des Deux Mondes.
(R)E = Realencyclopdie.
(R)EG = Revue des Études Grecques.
(R)Ep = Revue Egyptologique.
(R)J = Revue des Études Juives.
(R)Th = Revue d'Ethnographie.
(R)G = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
(R)HR = Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.
(R)HR1 = Revue de l'histoire des Religions.
(R)MM = Revue du monde musulman.
(R)N = Revue Numismatique.
(R)P = Records of the Past.
(R)Ph = Revue Philosophique.
(Rq = Römische Quartalschrift.
(Rs = Revue sémitique d'Epigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.
(RsA = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.
(RsI = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.
(RTAP = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.
(RTP = Revue des traditions populaires.
(RThP = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
(RTr = Recueil de Travaux.
(RV = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.
(RWB = Reliwildorubeh.

SBB = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
SBO = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
SDB = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SMA = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
SWA = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
TAP = Transactions of American Philological Association.
TASJ = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
TC = Tribes and Castes.
TES = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
THLZ = Theologische Litteraturzeitung.
THT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TRHS = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
TRSE = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSBA = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZCK = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
ZCP = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
ZDAG = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPY = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina- Vereins.
ZE = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKG = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZKT = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
ZM = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
ZNW = Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.
ZPhP = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
ZTR = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZVK = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
ZVRW = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechts- wissenschaft.
ZW = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theo- logie.

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT³, LOT⁴, etc.]
PICTS.—The Picts and all connected with them—name, race, customs, and language—have long constituted a problem upon which the most contrary views have been held, and which cannot yet be said to be completely solved.

1. Name.—The word 'Picts' has been commonly derived from Lat. picti, 'painted men,' but it is now generally admitted that the Latin word is the form of a native name which may or may not have referred to the Pictish (and Celtic) custom of painting and tatting the skin. The Romans used a word which resembled the native name, and which described this custom of theirs.

The native name is connected with that of the Pictones, or Pictavi, of Gaul, whose town was Pictavi (Poictiers), and the name Pictones is sometimes applied to the Picts of Scotland in Irish and Scottish Chronicles. The Latin name must have been commonly used in Roman Britain, and became, in Anglo-Saxon, Pechtas. As the diphthong in Pechta corresponds to an earlier e, found in Ptolemy'sὙπερανατολικά Λαμπρών on the coast of Poitou, Rhys conjectured that the name was Pectones rather than Pictones. The Welsh forms Peithwyr, 'Pict men,' and Patheinn must be derived from Pect (cf. Scots Pecht, A.S. Pechtis, Norse Petta). An Irish (Goidelic) equivalent, with the usual transmutation of p and c, may be cecti, which may give the numerous place-names with keith' in Scotland. What the native name meant is uncertain, but an equivalent is thought to exist in Irish cecti, 'engraver,' or 'carver' (or, according to Rhys, 'slaughterer' or 'mighty warrior'), this meaning perhaps being influenced by the Pictish tatting custom. Nicholson derives Picti from an Indo-European stem pekti, 'tata.'

Another native name has the Goidelic form Cruithni, from Qretani, the name of Picts in Ireland and Scotland, and derived from the corc, 'form,' 'figure'; an Irish writer, Daud MacFirbis, explains it as meaning the people who painted the horns (corcatha) of beasts, birds, and fishes on faces and bodies. Rhys and Stokes refer it to cruith-neathd, 'whet,' or 'that which is reaped or cut.' Hence it would still suggest the supposed meaning of Picti. The corresponding Brythonic name was Pretani, in old Welsh Prytian, later Prydian (prdyl, 'form'). Prydian means Scotland, the Pictland of the north, while Ynys Prydian, 'Isle of the Picts,' was the name for the whole of Britain, and thus must have originated at a time when the whole island belonged to the Prydyn, or Picts.

This, then, accounts for the early Greek name Ἰπερανατολικά Νησών, 'the Pictish Isles.'

Rhys considers that Goidelic invaders of Britain called it by some such name as Inis Cruithine (from Qretani), 'Island of the Picts'—a non-Celtic race to whom the whole island had once belonged, according to him. On the arrival of the Brythons they changed this to Ynys Prydain. Macchoin, on the other hand, maintains that the Cruithni, Prydy, or Picts were themselves the Celtic inhabitants of Britain, about 500 B.C., and gave their name to it.

2. Classical notices.—Cæsar writes that the interior of Britain is inhabited by those said traditionally to have been born in the island itself, and the sea-coast by those who had crossed over from the Belge. The latter cultivated the land; most of the interior tribes did not, but lived on flesh and milk and were clad in skins. All the Britons dyed themselves with woad. Ten and even twelve of them had wives in common, brothers with brothers, fathers with sons; the children were held to be offspring of him who first espoused the virgin.

Does the last statement refer to all the Britons or only to the interior tribes? Zimmern holds that the reference to 'all the Britons' is a parenthesis, and that the account of the interior tribes is resumed with this statement as to marriage. The interior tribes were presumably Picts, possibly Goidels; Cæsar's account of their promiscuity is probably worthless (1 s 5)."}

Cæsar knew nothing of the tribes to the north, who were certainly Pictish. His 'interior tribes' may have been Picts or Goidels, though the Goidels are thought by some to have first come to Britain from Ireland from the 2nd cent. onwards. If the Picts were a Celtic people, there must also have been aboriginal tribes separate from or mingled with them.

The northern tribes first came into notice during the time of Agricola's invasion. Tacitus calls them collectively Caledoni, and in his opinion their red hair and large limbs pointed to a Germanic origin. Some of their tribes fought from

2 The Welsh People, p. 70, Scottish Review, xvii. 124 l.
4 v. 12, 14.
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chariots, like the southern Britons. They had tribal assemblies, ratified with sacred rites. Cf. Chronicles, p. 387. Tacitus speaks of their harvests—which points to cultivated lands; and of their wives and children, without any reference to promiscuity. Tacitus makes no reference to the custom of painting their bodies.1 On the whole, Comp. Claudianus, p. 387. The Picts recall little from the southern tribes akin to the Gauls. Ptolemy2 next describes the various inhabitants of Britain according to tribal groups.

South of the Forth and the Clyde were the Oadini and Caledoni on the east, and on the west the Selgovae, Novantae, and Damnonii, the last extending to near the Tay. On the east coast, north of the Tay, were the Vencones and Taxalli; west of these were the Vaccaei, then the Caledonii and Epidii. Along the west coast were the Cerones, Crenones, Caronaca, and Carini, separated from the Caledonii by the Dunctae. To the north were the Ligii, Snaeris, and Cornavi.

Ptolemy's trices to the north of the Forth and the Tay correspond to Tacitus's Caledonii, the name of the largest group with whom the Romans came in contact having been given to all the tribes. These may be regarded as Picts, since their position corresponds to that of the Picts described by Bede.3 Possibly some of the tribes south of the estuaries (Selgovae, Novantae) may also have been Pictsish. By c. 208 the tribes had apparently united into two groups, the Caledonii and the nations of the Caledonii and Maitai into which the names of the others were merged.4 The Maitai lived in the flatter region north of the northern Roman wall, and perhaps derived their name from mel, a plain. They dwelt in that part of Scotland which, according to Ptolemy, had been occupied by the northern portion of the Damnonii. Dio says that these tribes neglected agriculture, but had cattle, and lived on milk, the produce of the chase, and fruits, but never ate fish. They were naked and covered with a shield, sword, spear, and dagger ('a tart'). They had community of women, and their progeny were reared as the joint offspring of each small community. They had a certain food a small piece of which suffered a man for several days. They would also run into morasses up to the neck and live there several days without eating.5 According to Herodotus, they punctured (tattied) their bodies in the forms of animals, and were naked, the better to show the ornamentation.6

Eumenius, who first mentions the Picts by name, says that Constantius Chlorus in A.D. 296 defeated the Caledonii and other Picts.7 The tribes are again mentioned by St. Cyril in connection with the invasion of the Roman Britons, which, as in the notices of the invasion of Roman Britain by the walls by them and the Scoti from Ireland or Wales in A.D. 360, and in 364 when Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Atelocetri invaded Roman Britain from different directions. When the Caledonii came to the rescue, the Picts are described as consisting of two divisions, Dicaledonius and Verturiones, doubtless the equivalents of the Caledonii and Maitai.8

Rhyys shows that Verturiones is the Latin form of a Celtic word which appears later as the name of the Pictish district of the 'men of Fortrenn' (Strathmore and Menteith). Fortrenn is probably the gen. of Fortin or Fortrin, which again is found in Fortwhe (Kinross and Clackmannan). On the whole, this corresponds to the region of the Maitai. Dicaledonius suggests the people of the two Caledoniai—the regions divided by the loch from Inverness to Fort William.9 Cf. Ptolemy's name for the ocean to the west of Scotland, Jovis Apollonis.

Claudian says that Theodosius drove the Picts into the north of Scotland. Thus the Scots regarded to Ireland, the Saxons to the Orkneys, while he4

1 Agric II, 27, 31. 2 Geog. II, 8. 3 Die III, 4. 4 Ib. lvii, 5. 5 Ib. lvii, 6. 6 Ib. lvii, 7. 7 Ammianus Marcellinus, xx, 1, xxvii, 6, 8. 8 Claudianus, Brit., pp. 95, 102, 222, 224, Welsh People, pp. 12, 102, 9 drafted the Atecotti into the Roman army. Picts and Scots returned to the attack in A.D. 387 and in later years. Cf. Forth and the Tay, Ammianus Marcellinus, xx, 1. The Picts, however, did not continue to hold the land south of the Forth and the Tay, except partially in the district known as Manaw or Mannarn, where, Inter, Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Brythonic peoples, lived together, as in the Orkneys, Galloway, where they may have been indigenous. Mannaw or Manann included the western part of Strathclyde, Liddington, part of Stirlingshire (where the name survives in Strathclyde, which is identical with Newcairn), on to Kinross and Clackmannan, which preserves the name. The part south of the Forth was known to the Romans as the British or the Caledonii and Epidii, traces of which may be clearly distinguished from the island of Man or Mann. Rhys regards the invading Scoti from Ireland who joined the Picts in A.D. 360 onwards as themselves Pictish, mixed with Celtic Goeldas. They were the Cirtunali of Uther or Dian Aradu. Their name is cognate with Welsh geigr, a cutting, writing, or sculpture—hence the man who were scarred or tattooed. This name may have been given them by the Brythonic Celts, and Latinized as Scoti. The later Scots who settled in Ayrshire came from another Irish Pictish district, Dalriada, which name they gave to their new habitat.9 Zimmerman also regards the Scoti and Attocetti as non-Aryan people of Ireland, conquered by the Irish Celtic. Macalpin regards the Scoti as Goeldics, and their name as Goldicel'i tattooed men, Gael, spath, spad, sword. It was their own name for themselves.10 Skene also regards them as distinct from the Picts, and regards them as one of the first settlements among the.Uther Picts.11 The Attocetti were a non-Celtic folk, the Picts of Galloway, the 'people of the Blonde,' the 'people of the Newcarne,' and the 'people of the Salt. Their name means the old or ancient race. This is Rhys's opinion.12 Skene regarded them as a people from Ireland settled in Dalriada, who were considered as inhabiting the district between the Roman walls.13

After the settlement of the Scots in Dalriada, which they took from the Picts early in the 6th century,14 the Picts seem to have divided into two sections, the Picts, who settled in the north of Scotland from the Orkneys, and the Goeldas, who settled in the south. The Goeldas occupied all Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Tay, except the region of Ayrshire and, later, the W. Isles. They partially occupied the district of Manaw, and were perhaps also found in Galloway. The Picts were regarded or the Gwyddyl Fichti (=Goeldic Picts), who now through these women speak Ireland's speech.15

The Irish tradition is found in three forms. In one of these the children of Gleolin (Gelone), son of Ereol (Hereules), took possession of the Orkneys. Thence they were dispersed, but Cranitis settled the north of Britain, and his seven sons—Caith, Ce, Cirig, Fidh, Fidach, Fots, and Fortrenn divided the land into as many parts. Five others—vi., 29; cf. Jerome, adv. Jordan. ii, 7, for the Attocetti in Galloway.16

of the Cruithenach went to France, and there founded Pietavus. Thence they came to Erin, but were driven forth. In the second form of the tradition the Cruithenach, children of Glecin, came from Thrace. After colonizing Pietavus, the company to land and expelled Crimthann, king of Leinster, to expel the Tuatha Ddiadh. Drostan, their Druid, ordered that the wounded should bathe in the milk of seven score white cows, and the poison of the weapons would not hurt them. They now gained power in Ireland, but Heremon drove them out, giving them as wives the widows of the men drowned when the Milesians came to Ireland. They now acquired Alban (Scotland). Some, however, remained in Ireland. Scots, classed as Corn, and others are attributed to them. The metrical version of this legend says that they acquired their name ‘Pict’ from tainting their fair skins, and that on being given wives they swore that from the mother should descend the right to the sovereignty. A third account says that Cruithenach went over from the sons of Miles (in Ireland) to the Britons of Fortrenn to fight the Saxons, and remained there. Wives were obtained from Ireland, Cruithenach swearing by heaven, earth, sun, and moon that the royal succession should always be on the mother's side.3

The preference to the 10th cent. Pictish Chronicle says that the Picts are so called from picto corpore, because they are marked with various figures made by points with pigments. The Scots are so called because they come from Scotia, or because they are descended from Scotta, queen of the Scots, Pharaoh's daughter. They came to Ireland in the fourth age of the world, the Britons having come to Britain in the third age. The people of Scotia have 'Celtic' hair—hence they are called Albanians—and from them the Picts and Scots originate. Crudine, father of the Picts dwelling in this island, reigned 100 years, and had seven sons—Fib, Fidach, Floclaed, Fortrenn, Got, Cc, and Circcn.4

Gildas, who appears to regard the region north of the Fort and the Tay as an island, mentions the Picts as a transmarine people who, with the Scots, invaded Roman Britain. They came from the ocean and the east. The Scots from the west-north-west (‘a circo’). When they were ultimately driven from the region between the walls, they settled in the north of the island.5 Nennius brings the Picts from the Orkneys, whence they went over to the Britons of Britain in the fifth age.6 Bede brings them from Scotia to Ireland, whence the Scots directed them to Britain (where they inhabited the northern part, the Britons being in possession of the southern), giving them wives on condition that, when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than the male—a custom observed among the Picts ‘to this day.’7

The origin of the Picts from Scotia or Thrace is purely hypothetical, and the stories of how they obtained wives may be regarded as equally so—an etiological myth to account for the Pictish succession. The Goeldie name for the Picts being Cruithene, an eponymous Cruithene was regarded as their ancestor, while the seven districts to which Scotia and Pictia or Cruithenith was divided supplied names to most if not all of his mythical sons—Fib; Fife and Fothere; Fortrenn; Fortrenn (Strathern and Mentor); Fodla; Atholl (Athfoile) and Gowrie; Circenn; Maghecirein=8

1 Irish additions to Nennius (Skene, Chronicles, p. 251).
2 Th. pp. 40, 49.
3 Ib. p. 31. This is perhaps derived from the Origins of Ireland, which speaks of the Picts as being of the race of ‘Pict,’ in explaining the origin of the name of taiting.
4 de Excidio Britoniarum, l. 11, 10.
5 LIE ii, 7.
6 Meurs and Angus; Catt: Caithness (Cathnessia). Fidach and Ce have no nominal equivalents.
7 The regions unaccounted for are Mar and Buchan, and Moray, Atholl being included in Cattnessia. They have therefore arisen after the occupation of Dalriada by the Scots.
8 The fact that there were Cruithni, or Picts, both in Ireland and in Scotland may account for the varying traditions of their coming first to Ireland or first to Scotland. One tradition says that both Irish and Scottish Cruithni were governed by the same kings to the seventh century.
9 Why were the Picts?—Rhys regards the Picts as the non-Aryan (Ivernian) aborigines, dispossessed by the incoming Goeldies, whose language they adopted, although they greatly outnumbered them. The Goeldies were, however, profoundly modified by them in language, race, and customs. Having driven the Iverniens before them, they later made common cause with them against the invading Brythons. Hence there was an amalgamation of the Goeldie and Ivernian elements, and the term Goeldie should strictly be confined to the mixed population of Aryan and non-Aryan language in possession of the country when the Brythons arrived. Before Pictish, or Ivernian, died out, it was 'loaded with words' and continued as the Pictish. It also modified Celtic vocabulary and continued the syntax of its own speech.9 Zimmer also regards the northern Celts as having become Goeldic in speech at an early period, while the southern Picts adopted Brythonic speech.
10 The traces of alleged Pictish (non-Celtic) speech are scanty, but Rhys professed to find them in the Ogam inscriptions of Scotland, a notion which he himself considered an opinion afterwards abandoned. But he still adhered to the theory of its non-Aryan character, and continued to challenge the upholders of the Pictish Celtic to prove that the questioned Ogam inscription at Camsting in Shetland is Celtic: 'Tochbhauch-abhimhn-an-bhreithiuinn.' The challenge seems a safe one, for, as Lang says, it is 'not merely non-Aryan, but non-human, or not correctly deciphered.'
11 Rhys also finds non-Aryan traces in Celtic nomenclature, and, assuming totemism to be non-Aryan, argues as to its existence from names like MacCon, 'Honnd's son'—the name of a legendary prince whose rule extended from Ireland to Britain. Hence 'MacCon may, perhaps, be regarded as representing a non-Celtic race in Ireland.' Totemism, however, may have been Aryan, and a personal name is not evidence of clan totemism. He also argues for the non-Aryan character of the Picts from their custom of succession through the male line, and from the absence of Irish names and names of Irish and Welsh mythology. Zimmer accepts the Pictish succession through the female line, as well as the classical references to promiscuity in the Celtic region, and incest incidents in Irish saga, as pointing to non-Aryan marriage relations. In the case of the sagas, the Celtic invaders of Ireland being in a minority, the aboriginal customs would not be changed at once, and have left their impress in legends.
12 Skene's whole theory of the history of the Picts is connected with his opinion that there were two divisions of them, eventually distinguished as northern and southern Picts. This is based on Bede's statement that the northern Picts were separated from those of the south by 'steep and
rugged mountains, but such a distinction as Skene asserted is probably fallacious. His 'northern Picts' were Gaelic in race and language; the 'southern Picts' were also Gaelic, but, the Damnonii between the Forth and the Tay, who became | the Cornish variety of the British race, having been incorporated with them, they introduced a British (Cornisli) element into their language. The Damnonii are the Britons of Fortrenn.  

Skene's arguments for the Picts as Gaelic in race and language may be summarized as follows. (a) The Welsh design, 3 Pictland, is Gaelic. (b) The Picts were Celts, since the Goidels were called Gwydyr by the Welsh, the Picts were thus assigned to that race. The term, however, is not an early one, not occurring in the regular rendering used by the Welsh. (c) St. Columba's occasional but not constant use of an interpreter while preaching to Picts was necessary because the difference between Pictish and Irish enabled that between Breton or Cornish and Welsh, which are not always mutually intelligible. The difference may no longer have resembled that between Irish and Welsh. (d) Gaelic was spoken in Galloway at a late date, and in the 12th cent. Richard of Heslington and Bagdan of Dormin called the Gallowegians Picts. As to this it should be noted that there was an early Brythonic element in Galloway, but the district was overrun by Goidels, which explains its predominance of Gaelic there. The name Picts may have been given to them by those English writers who describe the region in the post-Roman period in terms of the pseudo-Brythonic language. (e) Many Pictish personal names in the lists of kings are of Irish form; others show a mixture of Brythonic and Pictish elements. (f) Pictland is positioned for the east coast of the Angles over the Picts in certain districts; the Brythonic element came from the north-east. (g) Some of the Pictish place-names are Goidelic, not Irish. (h) The place-names are usually named for the god or goddess mentioned in the name, and are not purely Pictish, but, though they are, it may be they are not all purely Pictish, but is it surely significant that the Picts once spoke some other language, or perhaps some other Celtic dialect? There is also the opinion that Pictish was a language virtually identical with Irish. He holds, however, that the loss of Indo-European p was comparatively late in Gaelic dialects—Pictavonian, Sequanian, Belgic, Manapian, proto-Irish, and proto-Scottish. But that p was lost in literacy or old Irish. P in Celtic speech is therefore not always a mutated qu or b, but may be original and a sign of Gaelic occupation. Insular Pictish, like Pictavonian in Gaul, was a Gaelic dialect with p preserved to historic time, whereas the Gaelic Picts, who were not Pictish, not from the Irish speech of the Dalriadic Scots, who did not conquer the Picts. The word 'Pict' is derived from a root *pel*-, 'tata,' with I E p preserved. He also holds that the Belgs were not celticized until much later than the Picts, who were already celticized in Britain, but also in Ireland. They are the Fir Bolgs of Irish legend, and, with the Fir Donann (the Damnonii) and Fir Culain (Picts), were Gaelicized p. The Kynny or Brythons of other writers—Gaulish, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton—were the first Celtic arrivals in Britain. Then came the Goidels, who drove the Kynny into the interior in pre–Roman times, where later Cesar found them. If, however, this order of occupation—the opposite to that advanced by Macnicol—is less reliable, it may be an account for the presence of Goidelic Piects in Scotland, where presumably the Kynny would have retired before them. Whatever may be said of these views, it is certain that neither Skene nor Nicholson sufficiently faces the fact that, rightly or wrongly, the early notices of the Picts regard them as differing from the Scots in origin, language (dialect), and the matter of the kingship.

Some writers are of opinion that no Gaelic occupied British soil except from Ireland. Macn assumes the Picts, the Caledonii of Tacitus, the Pretani of Ptolemy, as the first Celtic incursions into Britain, c. 600 B.C. They were *a* Celtic-speaking people, whose language differed both from Brittonic and Gaelic, but at the same time only differed dialectically from the Gaulish and Brittonic tongues. Their language, unlike that of the p class of Celtic speech, and they were driven west and north by the incoming Belg. They were thus Cesar's aborigines of the interior.

Mackin's philological arguments for Pictish =Gaelic are defective. Bede speaks of the various dialects or languages spoken in Britain—those of the Angles, Britons, Picts, Scots, and Latins. Pictish was thus different from both Brythonic and Gaelic. Again, the Cruithin of Ulster were Pictish inc.imners from Scotland; the Picts were the Manx, names on Gaelic ground—Ireland and Dalriada. The prefixed *abers* and *pet*, unknown to Gaelic, are found from Sutherland to the Tay. The form Cymric is derived by Gaelic *inner*, the latter by boile. Skene regarded aiber, inner, and crimson as originally common to all the Celtic dialects, obsolete in others; but it is surely significant that aber does not occur in Arry. Other Celtic scholars, Windisch, and Stokes, also regard Pictish as Brythonic rather than Gaelic. Stokes, after collecting and examining all the known Pictish words down to the period of the Irish annalists, comes to the following conclusion:  

'The foregoing list of names and words contains much that is still obscure; but on the whole it shows that Pictish, so far as regards its demography, is an Indo-European and especially Celtic speech. Its phonetics, so far as we can ascertain them, resemble those of Welsh rather than of Irish.'

D'Arochs de Jacthneville identifies the Cruithin of Irish legend, who fought against the Fir Fidga, with the Brigantes, a British tribe located by Ptolemy also in the south-east of Ireland. Their Druid Trosan has a name akin to that of Arthurbastian. The Fir Fidga or Fidgus are the Manx, names on Goidelic ground—Ptyd and Dalriada. The Brigantes, inhabitants of Britain (Prydwen), were called Cruithin =Pritanicos, by the Irish.

Where philological experts are so much divided on the question of language in the Picts, it cannot be settled. If, however, the Picts were a non-Celtic race, they could not have remained so unmixed with their Celtic conquerors as Irish theory demands. And, again, granting that they were Celtic—Gaelic or Brythonic—such incoming Celts must have been numerically small compared with existing aboriginal tribes, which would again imply a mixture of races. Whatever the Picts were, it appears certain that they either adopted or retained Celtic speech.

5. Picts and Britons (a) Difficulties of dating and valuation.

Cesar says that all the Britons dyed themselves with woad; it and Herodian says of the northern tribes (the Picts) that they tattooed themselves with coloured designs and figures of animals of all kinds, instead of wearing the first Celtic dyers in these might be seen.' The custom is also ascribed to them by Duidal MacFarb as an explanation of Macn, in Skene's Highlands, p. 299 ff., Trans. of the Gaelic Society of London, xxvi. (1894–95) 267 ff.

Celtic Scotland, i. 232.

2 Celtic Scotland, i. 231.

3 Skene, in Skene's Highlanders, p. 401; Rix's, Celtic Britain, p. 242.

4 Skene states that the language of Gildas shows that Picts remained in the region between the walls after the last incursion, and that Bede's S翕tian Picts—Picts of Galloway—were Pictorians, p. 394 ff.; Celtic Scotland, i. 198 ff.

5 Nicholson, Celtic Researches, p. 110ff.


7 See Bell's Gall. vi. 14; cf. Phlyn, HN xxii. 1.

8 Heero, and Latins.
family, brought to it strength, and the nephew, brought to it the blood of the grandfather, in some sort his son. 1 1 In Ireland by special favour right of inheritance was given to a daughter's or sister's son born of a stranger. Accordingly, d'Arbois de Jubainville explains Bede's statement of the astonishment caused to Anglo-Saxons by the law of inheritance allowed by Celtic custom in the case of sons of daughters in concurrence with their cousins, sons of sons. The Celts had not a law of inheritance differing from that of the Irish or Welsh, and the facts do not require to be explained by the matriarchate. 4 Already, too, the importance of the sister's son is seen in ancient Celtic history, where, in 400 B.C., King Ambricetus placed each of his sister's sons at the head of an army, the one conquering Bohemia, the other Ninevi. 5 D'Arbois de Jubainville's explanation, however, hardly covers the anomalies of the list of Pictish kings, if that is to be regarded as in any way authentic. In Irish and Welsh sagas, where divine groups are called after the mother, or whose gods and heroes have often a matronymic, while the father's name is omitted, we may have something analogous to the Pictish succession — some custom perhaps akin to the matriarchate. 6 But this is so deeply embedded in Celti myths that we can hardly imagine that it is all borrowed from hypothetical non-Celtic custom, as Rhys maintained. 7

6. Religion of the Picts.—Neither the classical observers nor the biographers of saints who labour among the tribes in the Ionians, labour among the Picts. Among the Picts, as among the aborigines of Gaul and Britain, the one religion was the native religion. As far as the latter are concerned, Ailred in his Life of St. Ninian speaks of the southern Picts worshipping deaf and dumb idols 8 —a vague statement. Adamnan speaks of the northern Picts as possessing Druids who, according to his own account, possessed more power than the God of the Christians. 7 Their magical acts resemble those ascribed to Irish Druids, and Adamnan does not appear to know any difference between Pictish and Celtic Druids. He refers to the fountain which St. Columba found in Pictland, 'famous among this heathen people and worshipped as a god.' The saint blessed it and caused 'the demons' to depart from it for ever. 8 The cult of wells was common among the Celts and is almost universal. If the Picts were as familiar with the water gods as is estimated from what is known of Celtic religion elsewhere (see art. CELTS). Bede says that the southern Picts, i.e. those tribes dwelling in the region immediately north of the Forth, were converted to Christianity by St. Ninian. 9 This seems to have been about the beginning of the 5th century. The tribes beyond these, the so-called northern Picts, were converted by St. Columba and his followers. Columba encountered the Druids of King Brake at Inverness, and preached to and baptized the king and many of his people in the latter half of the 6th century. 10

7. Later History of the Picts.—The history of the Picts from the 7th to the time of Kenneth MacAlpin is one of interminable feuds, strife with the Sabians, Dalriadic Scots, and Angles. The usual view has been that eventually Kenneth MacAlpin, king of the Dalriadic Scots, overcame 1 D'Arbois de Jubainville, La Famille celtique, Paris, 1865, 72. 2 Ib. p. 69; cf. art. ISRAEL (Celtic), vol. vii. p. 299. 3 Ibid. 4 J. A. MacCallum, The Religion of the Ancient Celts, Edin- 5 rh. 1911, p. 222. 6 Rhys, Men of renown-Joans, Welsh People, pp. 15, 151. 7 Ailred, Life of St. Ninian ('Historians of Scotland,' series v.), Edinburgh, 1874, p. 19. 8 Adamnan, p. 47. 9 'Celtica,' vol. 1. 10 'Columba (Historians of Scotland' series, vi.), Edinburgh, 1874, bk. i. ch. 27, bk. ii. chs. 33, 55. 11 Ib. bk. i. ch. 27. 12 Bede, HE, ii. 4; cf. Ailred, loc. cit. 13 Bede, HE, ii. 4; Adamnan, passim.
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the Picts, and ruled over them as king of the Scots, or, according to the 10th cent. Pictish Chron., as rex Pictorum. This was an obviously absurd statement. But Skene, following Pinkerton to some extent, maintained that Aengus MacFergus, the Pictish king from 731 to 761, defeated the Scots and took Dalriada, which now became a Pictish province. In 828 Alpin, of Scottish race by paternal descent, but, as his name shows, a Pict by maternal descent, as king of the Scots fought the Picts and was defeated. His son Kenneth eventually obtained the throne of the Pictish kings. This was not long after the first foreign invasion. The events are rather to be regarded as a war of succession; Alpin and Kenneth had a claim through maternal descent to the throne and were supported in that by a party among the Picts and by the remains of the Scots of Dalriada. The Picts, a Gaelic-speaking people like the Scots, were not conquered, and suffered no change of language. There was a more or less silent revolution, a mere matter of succession according to Pictish law, and the modern Highlanders represent the older Picts.1

Nicholson urges similar views, and points to the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence for a Scottish conquest of the Picts (the fact that Alpin and Kenneth are named brothers in one account for the Dalriadic, kings), to the improbability of the Pictish nation being conquered by their Scottish subjects, as well as to the fact that the Annals still describe Kenneth and his successors as 'rex Pictorum.' The position is similar to analogous to the change which set James VL, a Scottish king, on the English throne. There was no conquest of the English in this case or of the Picts in the other case.2 These views have been strongly contested by Maclean, who insists that the documents are not rightly handled, and that a wrong value is put upon some of them. He shows, e.g., that, though Aengus conquered Dalriada, the Annals insert this significant note, 'wane of Aengus's kingdom.' Yet the conquest of the Picts cannot be clearly explained from our present materials. There had been dynastic wars— attempts to break the Pictish rule of succession. The Scots were aggressive, and superior in culture, and had already been using their Gaelic speech both in Pictland and in Strathclyde 'wiped out the original Pictish and British.'3

The problem involved here is entirely one of evidence drawn from obscure documents and of proof. In Campbell's view, the location of the original Pictish tongue, Brythonic or Goldic, must necessarily affect the results. Whatever theory is followed, it is certain that there must be a large Pictish admixture among the Scottish people in the region north of the Forth.

8. The Picts in folk-tradition.—With the diusise of their name in connexion with actual peoples, the 'Picts' or 'Pechts' came to be associated in folk-tradition with megalithic remains and large buildings and myths of their origin. From being a historic folk, they became a mysterious people, more or less supernatural, and usually considered as of small stature.

1 Pecht in Shetland is synonymous with 'dwarf.' 4 in Aberdeenshie 'pecht' means a 'small person.' In the south of the Picts are regarded as dwarfs, and hence were bodies, but terrible strong—their immense strength being necessary for the support of their lives and to enable them to crush the easily the large stones of archeological remains, etc., attributed to them. Hence D. MacNicol regards the Picts as a former dwarf race, the equivalent of the dwarf popular.

1 Celtic Scotland, i. 275 ff.
2 Nicholson, p. 80 ff.
5 See an amusing instance of this in Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, ch. 25, and Scott's Pilot, note 1.

Belief (see art. FAIRY, 16). That the Picts were not a small race approved by what Skene says of the Caedlon, nor is there the slightest scrap of historical evidence for the theory. The so-called 'Pict.getClassName | 'pict' is not an exception. There are no passages terminating in one or more chambers—need not indicate that they were constructed or used by people of small stature. If they were constructed by a very large race they were probably store-houses or hiding-places like those described by Tacitus (Germ. 16) among the Germans of his day, and very much more impressive buildings associated with remains of surface dwellings. Scattered over the whole length of Scotland, and even in England on some date, they may quite likely have been constructed by the Picts, in which case the tradition of their origin would be authentic.

Generally speaking, however, the tradition which ascribes all mysterious or large structures to the Picts (e.g. Glasgow Cathedral) is analogous to wide-spread traditions elsewhere in which the origin of megaliths and colossal remains is ascribed to fairies, dwarfs, giants, the devil, Cyclops, etc.


J. A. MACCULLOCH.

PIETISM.—Use of the term.—(1) Pietism is used in a general sense to indicate a certain spirit or attitude of devotional feeling: (2) By Hepe, Ritsel, and others, the term is extended to cover all similar tendencies during the past three centuries; (3) The Roman Catholic 'pietists' are the brethren of the sixteenth and persons named Roman Catholic and Christian schools founded by Nicholas Barre, in 1578, for the instruction of girls and boys.

As a proper name, however, the term belongs to the movement which arose under Spener towards the close of the 17th century. Like the term 'Methodist,' it was originally bestowed in contempt.

2. The religious life of Germany at the rise of the movement.—The close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 left German Protestantism in an impoverished condition. The empire, which was ruled from without by the civil governments of the various States, and from within by theologians as autocrats as the papacy. Both civil and theological rule tended more to vigilance over doctrine than to the development of the spirit. The result was that, whilst orthodoxy was never more outwardly alive, it was never more inwardly lifeless. The clergy had not entirely forgotten their functions, it is true, but they were obsessed with the belief that they were therefore of less importance. Hence necessary consequence all else would be right. Luther had placed the seat of faith in the heart, but emphasis had now shifted to the intellect.

1 The Testimony of Tradition, London, 1890.
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It was held, accordingly, that if intellectual knowledge (illuminatio) were correctly imparted, it would assuredly direct the will aright. Luther had placed the Bible above dogma. The order was now reversed, and a creed-bound Church neglected the Bible in home, school, university, and society. Tractated, therefore, Christendom had grown frequent and acrimonious. Lay rights were subordinated to pastoral prerogatives. Matters were somewhat better in the Reformed Church, and its presbyterian form of government gave a better sense to the Bible, but only here the talented, legalism and the spirit of self-righteousness were only too often in evidence.

Upon this clouded sky Pietism arose, bringing a clearer and purer light. Beginning modestly in an attempt to improve the care of the afflicted in the parishes of Frankfort, it spread rapidly through Middle and North Germany. Among the forerunners of the spirit rather than the system of Pietism may be numbered Jakob Boehme (1575-1624) the mystic, Johann Arndt, and Theophilus Grossebauer, but the headquarters of Pietism is usually accepted to be Berlin. Here Jakob Boehme (1608-1682), who had left the theological faculty of Tübingen (Brunswick, 1606-09),Whilst a student at Strasbourg, he found his ‘father in Christ’ in Johann Schmid. Taking his master’s degree by a dissertation against Hobbes’s philosophy, he continued his studies at Basel, Geneva, Stuttgart, and Tübingen. At Geneva the influence of A. Leger and Jean de Labadie, the ex-Jesuit, combined with the pious, mystic, and strict discipline of the place to shape his character. At Tübingen he read Grossebauer’s Wächterstimme aus dem ver- x.undigen Würden der religiösen Reformation (1627), and was there called to the pastorate at Strasbourg, and lectured on psychology and history. In 1666 he removed to Frankfort as chief Lutheran pastor. Here in 1670, developing an idea which he had previously tried at Strasbourg, Spener instituted his famous ‘Collegia Pietatis’, first in his own house, and subsequently in the church. His aim was to promote fellowship and Bible study; his means were catechizing, lecturing, and discussion. The name, and, according to Ritschl, the idea of such gatherings originated in Holland, where the ‘Collegians’ met in ‘collegia’ for worship; but this has scarcely been proved. The attempt, inspired by good motives, was imitated, however, and in less capable hands, of course. In the above words, the students of the Collegia gained a name for promoting heresies, fanaticism, and even graver abuses. Spener finally suppressed the meetings. Some were continued despite this, and mostly became separatist communities which seriously injured the good name of Pietism.

In 1675 Spener’s Pia Desideria appeared in Frankfurt. In it he advocated (1) earnest Bible study conducted in ‘ecclesiae in ecclesia’; (2) a lessened share of Council, government, as the proper con-sequence of the Church’s duty to return the will of believers; (3) that knowledge of Christianity is practical, not theoretical, and shown in charity, forgiveness, and devotion; (4) that, rather than denouncing their errors, sympathetic treatment should be given to those who would win them, if possible, to truth; (5) that theological training should be reorganized, and emphasis laid on devo- tion rather than on doctrine; and (6) that preaching should be more practical and less rhetorical. A disciple of Hugo Crotius and Samuel Pufendorf, he had been professor of Natural Law at Leipzig. His views were provocative. He attacked traditional methods in law and theology alike, advocated tolerance for all, even witches and atheists, and advised mixed marriages between Lutheran and Calvinist. Denounced from the pulpit and forbidden to write or lecture, Thomasius had to flee to Berlin to escape arrest. Here he received welcome, and, taking part in the formation of Halle University, became its rector and professor of Law. In regard to ecclesi- astical matters, Thomasius contended that a sharp distinction must be made between that which is possible and that which is not. Questions of piety and of doctrine are inward. The State should therefore leave them alone. In the external matters of worship and Church life, however, the State may rightly interfere, if necessary, to promote the general wellbeing of the country and to maintain peace and order. Thus rendering to Caesar and to God the things which were respectively theirs, Thomasius reconciled his own broad sympathies with his position as a State servant. Personally he was in the main orthodox, holding, for example, that the possession of one’s salvation. Though never a Pietist, and indeed not of the Pietist temperament, Thomasius is interesting as an example of the broader tendencies of his age. He maintained cordial relations with Spener, though in later life he parted from him.

Meanwhile Spener’s influence was creating jealousy. The theological faculties of Witten- berg and Leipzig attacked him bitterly, the former censuring in 1685 no fewer than 264 errors laid to his charge. This thunderbolt fell harmlessly, however, and Spener reiterated his position in his Theologische Bedenken (Halle, 1700-02). His influence maintained itself, and the Pietistic movement continued to flourish. In 1705 Spener died in Berlin.

Spener’s was a quiet, well-balanced mind. Himself a profound Bible student and a charitable practical man of devotion, he united Luther’s stress upon Scripture with the insistence which the Reformed Church laid upon toleration, and the Lutheranism of his own time was neither overzealous nor quietistic. He was not a separatist, nor did he desire that Pietism should become a separatist movement. Ritschl indeed declares that he was not truly a Pietist,
because he did not share in the more pronounced developments of Pietism, such as insinuance upon a conscious crisis as necessary in the process of salvation, and a complete breach with the world. If this is an extreme statement, it is none the less true that Spener's Pietism sprang up in a period of extraordinary renewal before a man should teach theology, and a belief that the restoration of the Jews and the fall of the papacy would precede the final victory of Christianity, there was little to distinguish Spener's views from the orthodox Lutheran creed of his day.

(b) August Hermann Francke, the second great leader of Pietism, was born at Lübeck in 1663. Losing his father at an early age, Francke owed his religious training to a sturdy mother. He studied at Erfurt and Kiel, where he first met Pietistic influences in the person of Christian Kortholt. He proceeded to Leipzig, where he became an accomplished Hebrew and Greek scholar, graduating in 1688. Here, with Paul Anton and Johann Caspar Schade, he founded the Collegium Philobiblicum to enable graduates to study the Scriptures together, both philologically and practically—a venture of which Spener expressed approval. Francke's first great work was a controversy with the Rationalists and, ultimately, returning to Leipzig, lectured to crowded audiences. Opposition, however, soon arose, and Francke's Bible College was suppressed and his lectures forbidden. He thereupon wandered to a pastorate at Erfurt, but a similar outburst of opposition caused the civil authorities to expel him at forty-eight hours' notice on the charge of forming a new sect. Three months later, at the end of 1691, Spener secured for him the pastorate of the Teachers' College and Oriental Languages at Halle (where his colleagues were Anton, Joachim Lange, and Joachim Justus Breithaupt) and a pastorate at Glanau. Here Francke remained for thirty-six years until his death in 1727, exchanging, in 1698, his former position for the chair of Theology.

Francke was a man of real gifts, eloquent, learned, saintly, and industrious (for his remarkable philanthropic work see below). It is said that, as a token of the respect which his character evoked, a great statue of him was raised over his graveside. As a writer Francke was less able than Spener, but, besides controversial pamphlets, he left several works for students and some books of devotion. At the death of Francke the activities of Pietism waned. Its main power was wielded in N. and Middle Germany, but it exercised some influence throughout Europe, and especially in Switzerland. Frederick I. supported the movement, decreeing in 1729 that all who desired appointments in Prussia must study two years at Halle. Frederick II. was unsympathetic, however, and Valentin Ernst Löscher of Dresden headed an opposing movement. While Pietism withstood this in the main successfully, by the middle of the 18th cent. its force was largely spent, although the violence of the opposition weakened contempo- raneously with the decline of Pietism. During the period of rationalism which followed Pietism was quiescent, but its spirit, at least, subsequently revived, and, in better fellowship with orthodoxy, is not yet dead in German evangelical Church life.

A more moderate form of Pietism, centring in Württemberg, flourished longer. Its leader was the famous Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), together with Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702-82) and others. Schaff compares the Württemberg Pietists in their relation to Lutheranism with the early Methodists and Anglicans. They aspired to be a movement within the Church, holding prayer-meetings, conducted by lay leaders (Stundenhalter), but attending church service and the sacraments. Unlike the Methodists, however, they did not entirely break away, the main body tending to become more churchly without being strict Lutherans. Among the Pietists of Kornthol and Wilhelmsdorf, seceded, following the tendency of so many Pietistic centres to become separatists.

The reaction against rationalism under Baroness von Krudener was inspired by Pietistic influences, as was the party led by Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg which flourished at the close of the Napoleonic wars. It was mainly distinguished by its opposition to the scientific study of theology. But these were after-effects. The direct influence of Pietism ceased by the middle of the 18th century.

4. General principles of Pietism; its strength and weakness.—Spener's basis was experience. Without attacking doctrine, he relegated it to a minor place, emphasizing the will rather than knowledge, and insisting that justification by faith must be by a faith supported by works, such as repentance, conversion, and a changed life. A certain Puritan strain was manifested in the Pietist's demand of a revival of the outward observances, and, in the insistence that the regenerate alone were fitted to teach theology—a point which, somewhat strangely, gave great offence. Some Pietists indulged in millennial还不是 evidence of a change in spirit in Pietism; but, in the main, Pietism is justly to be called a movement of revaluation, which tried to attach to regeneration and sanctification as accompanied facts a higher value than to justification by faith as an approved theory. Pietism has been described as the last fruit of the heart-religious originated in the Franciscan movement; and also as the last great surge of the waves of the Reformation, and the final form of its Protestantism. Neither description is strictly accurate. 'Heart-religion' did not start with the Franciscans or end with Pietism; nor are the waves of the Reformation spent. Pietism was the reaction of the spirit against the letter. It sprang up in protest against the formalism of its day. But it represents a permanent feature of the religion, just as the mysticism of the Greeks, and true piety and holiness is to be found in every religion. The Pietist stress upon the will offended the orthodoxy, who regarded the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion to be primarily in the illumination of the understanding, whereas the Pietists regarded it as consisting rather in the stimulation of the will. The later critics, however, chiefly bring charges of another character, mainly of fanaticism, though others see in the movement a retrograde tendency to Catholicism. It is suggested that the subsequent development of Pietism was an abandonment of its own principles. Its insinuance upon new birth, separation from the world, and acute repentance is alleged to have led to exaggeration and frequent fanaticism. It is said to have indulged in wild prophecies, mysteries, bloody swaths, the formation
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of independent communities, some fanatical like the millenarians, others criminal. A long list of martyrs, including such as Halle's poor B. Halle, the Friedman Arnold (1660-1714), who began as Pietists and ended as fanatical mystics are quoted as examples. It is said that registers were kept for souls, and idle people supported themselves by uttering the shibboleth of Pietism, whilst others committed suicide in religious mania. Such criticism, however, defeats its own ends. It represents the Pietism of Spener and Francke as little as gluttony and drunkenness represent the philosophy of Epicurus. Wilhelm von Humboldt was a most impartial judge in which it was presented by the actual leaders of the movement, not in the excesses to which it degenerated apart from their control. In this statement, however, the main weakness of Pietism is revealed. It was the lack of central control. Unlike Wesley, Spener allowed the movement that he initiated to develop unorganized and largely undisciplined. He let liberty become licence, and it led to degeneration. Spener judged that organization had killed spirituality in the Lutheran Church, but among the Pietists the lack of organization led to the same result. There were other causes. Pietism proclaimed a gospel of individual rather than universal salvation. It tended to leave the Church and its discipline, and even to seek parity in isolation. There was also opposition, and subsequently the undermining influence of the rationalistic movement. But the chief cause of the decay of Pietism was none the less the false individualism which left every Pietist community free to direct its own destinies in its own way. The decay of Pietism came when it had worn down opposition; and the influence of rationalism, though hostile, is least potent of all against spiritual movements. One can but conclude that the prime cause of the ultimate failure of Pietism to maintain itself lay in the fatal error of believing that spirituality needs no organization.

5. The results of Pietism.——(a) In the Church.——

Though the critics of Pietism allege that the ecclesial is ecclesia weakened Church organization and led to separatism, there is little doubt that Pietism tended in the main to restore vitality to the Church. It showed afresh the importance of religious experience; it revealed the religious value of hymnody, and vindicated right lay activities. It led to some improvement in the conduct of worship and a better liturgy. It gave a fresh impetus to hymnology and religious poetry. Paul Gerhardt's hymns proved an inspiration to the Pietists, and stimulated their own production. Spener and Francke both wrote hymns, though Spener's are poor and Francke's few. Better known are those of J. A. Freylinghausen; whilst among the hymn-writers influenced more or less by Pietism may be counted W. C. Dassler, B. Schmolek, J. J. Schütz, and G. Freytag. Although the Pietistic movement died out without effecting the thorough renewal of the life of the Church which it aimed at securing, its indirect influence tended to restore a truer conception of the Church as the body of Christ, and to lay a foundation for the organization of worship, and the legacy which it left became the joint property of many subsequent forms of evangelical revival.

(b) Philanthropy.——Perhaps the most enduring results of Pietism was the first impulse it gave to philanthropic work. Francke established the famous Halle schools in 1705, and the foundation still exists. The work began modestly with a ragged school in his own house. Two years later another house was opened, and soon, with the time of Francke's death to a large institution, supporting nearly 150 orphans, and educating between 2000 and 3000 poor children, for the most part gratuitously. The system of education was both religious and technical. It embraced natural science, physics, chemistry, and, with these, the German tongue. One by one were established a printing press, hospital, library, farm, brewery, and laboratory. A teachers' training college was also added and a Bible Society under Karl Hildebrand von Canstein. The last side of Pietism is revealed in the Halle orphanage—a work which gained for it the support of those to whom its purely religious propaganda did not appeal.

Pietism was also a pioneer in foreign missionary activities. Frederick IV of Denmark, acting under the influence of Julius Lütkens, the court preacher, who was a friend of Spener and Francke, sent men to Halle for training, and asked Francke to find missionaries to Danish E. Indian possessions. In 1704 a mission was thus established at Tranquebar, and the Danish-Halle mission received the congratulations of George I. of England. The Moravian missionary movement also owes much of its strength to the Pietist strain in its ancestry.

(c) Other movements.——The Moravians (q.v.) may be regarded as indirectly an offshoot of Pietism. Zinzendorf was Spener's godson and a pupil in the Halle school. From Pietism he learned not only the missionary service which characterized the Moravian community, but the emphasis on vital religion also. Through the Moravians the Pietist influence came down to Schleiermacher (q.v.), and is found in the insistence which his philosophy lays upon feeling. The Lutheran stress upon knowledge, changed by Spener to emphasis upon will, becomes in Schleiermacher a doctrine of feeling, and in this sense also, despite Ritschl's anti-Pietistic strictures, the Ritschian theology has its Pietistic strain. Indirectly linked with Pietism by means of Moravism is the Methodist revival under John Wesley (see art. METHODISM).

By a strange contradiction, the Aufklärung, which represented the antithesis of Pietism's religious views, was in some part prepared by the Pietistic movement. In the first place, the individualism of Pietism, which attracted the robust common sense of Thomasius, prepared for the individualism of 'the Enlightenment' (q.v.), and, in addition, the Pietistic strain of the Aufklärung provided an atmosphere of greater freedom. It is noteworthy that Johann Salomon Senler, who was one of the forerunners of theological rationalism, came from Halle, where he was professor in 1762.

Through these channels the stream of Pietism ran down to the sec and lost itself. If now the course of Pietism is dry, at least it may be said that the flow was not in vain. Outwardly the record of Pietism is that of a movement which spent itself, but those who take a wider view will see that it was not lost as an influence when it ceased to have an independent course as a movement. The spirit of Pietism survived its body, and still lives in every form of intensive and devotional religious life.


E. S. WATERHOUSE.
PILGRIMAGE.

Arabian and Muhammadan (T. W. JUNYDOLL), p. 10.


PILGRIMAGE (Arabian and Muhammadan).

1. Pilgrimages in early Arabia.—A religious feast like that annually celebrated by the heathen Arabs in the neighbourhood of Meccah was called hajj. This word (like Heb. מִלְחָמָה; see, e.g., Ex 16:12, Dt 16:12) designated a periodical feast at any sacred place, to which the worshippers on that occasion made a pilgrimage. Probably there were various holy places in Arabia, where such a hajj took place. Epiphanius, e.g., mentions the word ἀρχαῖα ἱερατεύματα (i.e., the hajj to the holy temple) as being the Arabic name of a month in N. Arabia. We may suppose that the 'holy temple to which this pilgrimage was made was a local sanctuary in that country, and not the distant Ka'bah at Meccah (cf. J. WELLHANSEN, Reise arab. Heidentum, p. 83).

Only the great hajj, celebrated annually by various Arabian tribes at the holy mountains of 'Arafah and at adjacent places, in the sacred month of Dhul-Hijjah, has survived the ancient paganism, since Muhammad incorporated these ceremonies in a somewhat modified form into his own religion. The feast took place at the end of the year (see Wellhausen, p. 94 ff.) and had originally, we may suppose, a magical character. Its purpose in early times must have been to get a lucky new year, with plenty of rain, and a prosperous and abundant of cattle and corn. Great fires were lit at 'Arafah and Muzdalifah, probably to induce the sun to shine in the new year. Water was poured on the ground as a charm against drought (hence, probably, the 8th of Dhul-Hijjah was called 'the day of tarwiyah,' i.e., 'the day of moistening [the ground]'). Perhaps the throwing of stones at certain places at Minâ, a relic of the primitive heathenism, was originally a throwing away the sins of the past year, and in this way a sort of charm against punishment and misfortune. Other theories, however, are defended by V. Chauvin ('Le Jet des pierres au pèlerinage de la Meccâ'), A. de l'Acad. royale d'archéologie et des belles lettres, iv. iv. [1902] 272-300; cf. M. T. Hostema, 'Het skoelisme en het senenweten te Minâ,' Vortragen en Mededelingen der Kon. Acad. van Wetenschappen, vi. vi. [1894] 194-217 and many others. The excessive hurry and noise which characterized the run from 'Arafah to Muzdalifah and from Muzdalifah to Minâ seem originally to have had some magical meaning. The three days at Minâ (11th-13th of Dhul-Hijjah) were 'days of eating, drinking, and sensual enjoyments,' according to Muslim tradition; fasting during that time was even forbidden—evidently as a symbol of the abundance that was hoped for in the following year.

Every pilgrim entered upon a special state of sacredness (ihram) during the hajj. In this state certain things, allowable at other times, were forbidden. The mukhrim (i.e., he who was in the state of ihram) was not allowed, e.g., to cut his hair or nails or to shave his head. His whole body had to be left uncovered, though he might wear two pieces of white cloth (the so-called riqâ and šīqâ). We can hardly doubt that the real purpose of the various obligations of abstinence imposed on the mukhrim (cf. the Hebrew Nazirite) was originally to bring the pilgrim into a state of magical power and to strengthen the magical influence of the hajj ritual.

It must be observed, however, that in the time of Muhammad the original meaning of the old ceremonies was long forgotten. Indeed, the feast had no longer much religious, but rather a commercial, importance for the contemporaries of the Prophet, since during the hajj Meccah and the neighbouring market-places were visited by the Arabic tribes, even from distant countries. Every one could travel and trade then without fear, on account of the general truce between the tribes during the sacred months.

Pilgrimages were also made in early Arabia to the Ka'bah, the old heathen temple at Meccah. The most sacred spot of this sanctuary was the eastern crescent in which the venerated Black Stone was fixed, opposite the holy well of Zamzam. It was especially in the sacred month of Rajab (the 7th month of the year) that the Ka'bah was visited by pilgrims, who made circuits round the building and sacrificed first-born camels and sheep. Meccah was surrounded by a haram (sacred territory), the boundary of which was marked by stones. He who entered this sacred territory assumed the state of ihram, and would then pay a religious visit to the Ka'bah. The worshiping of the Meccan sanctuary was called 'umrah (i.e., cultus, cultivation of the sacred building) and, as it seems, was not connected with the annual hajj of 'Arafah.

2. Incorporation of hajj and 'umrah into Islam by Muhammad.—Muhammad had seen the hajj since his youth. When he began to preach, he had no reason for enjoining the old Arabian rites as a religious duty on his followers. For in the revealed books of the Jews and Christians no divine prescripts were given as to the hajj feast. After the hajj, however, as Muhammad had persuaded himself that the Jews and Christians had changed the true sense of their sacred books, he concluded that the Ka'bah and the ritual connected with this 'house of God' had belonged originally to the true religion, and were founded accordingly by Abraham, the great prophet of the Jews and Christians as well as of the Arabs. As a consequence of this theory, the pilgrimage to Meccah now became a religious duty for the Muslims at Medinah, in the second year after the hûjrah. Several verses of the Qur'an, all relating to the Ka'bah and the ceremonies which must be performed there, were now revealed (see, e.g., ii. 185-189, iii. 89 ff., xxii. 25 ff.).

But the unbelieving inhabitants of Meccah refused to admit the Muslims into the sacred city, and it was not till A.H. 6 that Muhammad tried to go with his followers to Meccah. The first attempt failed. As soon as the Meccans heard that the Muslims were approaching, they prepared themselves for stern resistance. The two parties met at Hudaybiyah, on the frontier of the sacred territory. Negotiations were opened there, and it was settled that the Muslims should return to Medinah, but should be allowed to celebrate the hajj of the year in Meccah the next year. According to this treaty, the Prophet came in A.H. 7 with many of his followers to Meccah, and made the so-called 'umrah al-qudhâ (i.e., 'the umrah whereby was performed at last what was neglected till
this time,' or perhaps the 'umrah of the treaty').

The Meccah was conquered by Muhammad in A.H. 8, many Muslims joined in the *hajj*, at first along with the unbelieving Arabs and without the Prophet himself. But, in A.H. 8, Qur'an ix. 1ff. and 28 were revealed. In these verses Allah declared that the best of the Muslims and unbelievers must be revoked, and that nobody who was not a true Muslim might approach Meccah or the *hajj*. All ibn Abi Talib (afterwards the fourth *khatib* or 'preacher') was sent to Meccah by the Prophet to proclaim the message among the pilgrims assembled at the *hajj* of that year.

Thus, in A.H. 10, all unbelievers were excluded from the feast, and now the Prophet came from Meflinah to Meccah in order to partake himself in the *hajj* and to reform the old heathen ceremonies into a good Muslim service. All later Muslims have confirmed to the example set by the Prophet at this pilgrimage—the so-called *hajjat al-wulūd* (i.e. 'the farewell *hajj*', because it took place in the year before his death).

Pilgrimage ceremonies (hajj, 'umrah, and *ziyarah*).—The various ceremonies of the Meccan pilgrimage have often been described, not only by Muslim authors, but also by Europeans who have witnessed them. Moreover, the Muslim law-books contain all that the pilgrim has to do during the days of the *hajj*. The pilgrimage to Meccah is called in Muslim law one of the five 'pillars' of Islam. It is a religious duty for every Muslim who is able to make the journey to Meccah (Qur'an, iii. 91)—for women as well as for men. In a few cases believers are exempted from this duty—e.g., if they have not sufficient means to pay their expenses or to provide for the support of their households till their return, or if the journey to Meccah is peculiarly dangerous on account of war or epidemic; also a woman ought not to go unless accompanied by her husband or a near relative.

At the present day most of the pilgrims arrive in the holy city from Jiddah, where they are landed by the steamers of various countries. Those who travel overland come with one of the caravans to Meccah. The two best known caravans in modern times are the Syrian, which comes from Damascus, and the Egyptian, which starts from Cairo; these two pilgrim caravans, each with a richly-ornamented saddle such as distinguished Arabic women used to ride upon. The *mahmal* was a sort of banner in Arabia. In ancient times several *mahmals* often appeared at the *hajj*, every independent *sultan* or emir sending his own caravan to the *hajj* with a *mahmal* as a visible mark of his high dignity (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, Melkia, i. 29, 83 ff., 105). This custom was held in honour by the Turkish *sultans*, who even continued to send the Egyptian caravans as well as the Syrian caravan with a *mahmal*, though they had become *khatifs* of the whole Muslim territory.

In the holy city the pilgrims usually begin by performing the ceremonies of the *umrah*, the so-called 'little pilgrimage' to the Meccan sanctuaries. Almost every pilgrim requires the assistance and information of a Meccan guide (daili, mutawwif, or *shāhik*) to instruct him in the ritual and teach him the proper recitation of the prescribed formulae. The Muslim *shahāk* consists mainly of the four following ceremonies:

1. Before entering the *haram* of Meccah, the pilgrims must assume the state of *tawaf*, abstaining thereafter from worldly affairs as much as possible.
2. The inhabitants of Meccah, when performing an *umrah*, must go out of the *haram*. They assume the state of *wirah* on the frontier (usually at Zatīn, which is therefore often called *Umrah*).
3. The pilgrim then proceeds to the *tawaf* (the circuit of the Ka'bah), and makes seven complete rounds (al- *umrah*) around the Ka'bah, and walks round the temple seven times. When passing the eastern corner, he must kiss the Black Stone. If the *tawaf* is divided into two portions, the second must be preceded by the first. In the second, he must touch it with his hand or with a stick or must look towards it.
4. The pilgrim goes to the *mānhil* (the running or circuiting) between Safa and Marwah, two small hills in the mediate neighbourhood of the great mosque of Meccah. Safa and Marwah were once hilly, which are held in reverence by the Meccans. In later times the soil of Meccah has risen considerably and at the present day Safa and Marwah hardly show above the surrounding level. Qur'an (Qur'an, ii. 153) has confirmed the sacred character of these two places. At the summit of each, the pilgrim performs the circuit between the two sanctuaries, in a prescribed manner, moving his shoulders.

The *umrah* can be performed at any time and as often as the individual Muslim likes. The inhabitants of Meccah usually do it in the month of *Ramadan* because this is the special month for religious acts.

Before the beginning of the *hajj*, on the 7th of Dhu'l-Hijjah, a *khutbah* ('preacher'), usually the qadi of Meccah, gives an address in the great mosque at Meccah to remind the pilgrims of the ritual of the following days. Next day (8th of Dhu'l-Hijjah) most of the pilgrims enter upon the state of *tawaf* ('preacher'), and are then sent to 'Arafah, which can be reached in about four hours by camel. According to the law-books, it is best to pass the night in Munā (formerly Minā), about half-way between Meccah and 'Arafah, but usually the great majority of the pilgrims go directly to the plain of 'Arafah. There the *wūkaf* takes place on the 9th of Dhu'l-Hijjah. The *wūkaf* is simply the staying or standing in the plain of 'Arafah for the prescribed time (just after mid-day till a little after sunset). This ceremony is also a 'pillar' of the Muslim *hajj*. There are no special rules for the *wūkaf* in the law-books. The pilgrims are only waiting there. Wellhausen thinks that this ceremony was of more importance in pagan times, and was perhaps a general symbol for all the pilgrims.

After sunset the *ifādah* begins (i.e. the running from 'Arafah to Muzdalifah, half-way between 'Arafah and Munā)—according to the old heathen usage, with great hurry and noise. The pilgrims run as fast as they can; and so they are present at the second *wūkaf* there in the early morning. Before sunrise the journey to Munā must be continued.

In Munā the great offering feast is celebrated on the 10th of Dhu'l-Hijjah. This day is therefore called the *yamūn an-nabīr* ('the day of slaughter'). The sacrifice is preceded by the ceremony of throwing seven pebbles to the *jummah al-`Akbah* (i.e. the heap of pebbles close to the mountain-road) at Munā; to-day this place is marked by a sort of buttress of rude masonry about 8 ft. high by 23 ft. broad. The Muslims say that this ceremony has been performed since the time of Ibrahim because the devil (Shaitān) tried to seduce him on this spot. Before throwing each of the seven pebbles, the pilgrim must say: 'In the name of God, Allah is almighty!' The sacrifice at Munā, strictly speaking, concludes the *hajj*, and the pilgrim may then shave his head. But, before returning, he has to receive from the Meccah and make the *tawaf* round the Ka'bah, followed by a *wūkaf* between Safa and Marwah, if he has not already performed this ceremony on his first arrival at Meccah. It is, however, customary as early as the 10th of Dhu-l-Hijjah, though it is a meritorious act. It may be done also on one of the following days.
The remaining days, the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Uhu'il-Bijah, are called the three days of the tawqah. The original sense of this word is uncertain (cf. T. W. Juyboll, "Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Taschriḳ," ZA xxvii. [1912] 1-7). It is commonly stated that any later Middle Assyrian tablets refer to the flesh of the victims in the sun. The pilgrims should spend these days at Mūnā, eating, drinking, and making merry. Moreover, they must again throw seven pebbles each day at each of the three jinns (heroes, or heroes of light) at Mūnā.

The law, however, allows a return from Mūnā to Mecca on the second day, and many pilgrims avail themselves of this privilege. Having finished the hajj, the pilgrim, before leaving Mecca, should give a farewell tawqih (round the Ka'bah).

Other pilgrimages, which are not expressly prescribed by Muslim law (e.g., pilgrimages to the tombs of saints in various countries) are generally called ziy̱ṟah ("visit") by the Muslims. The ziy̱ṟah is regarded as a religious act from which many blessings accrue. Most of the pilgrims visit it before or after the hajj.


PILGRIMAGE (Babylonian).—By this word most people understand a journey to a holy place or shrine, either in the pilgrim's native land or abroad. The object of a pilgrimage is to obtain some benefit, material, moral, or spiritual, which the sanctity of the chosen spot is thought to confer. It is true that pilgrimage may be undertaken as a journey, either for business or for pleasure, but must be regarded in many instances, an opportunity for acquiring the merit or the benefit which a pilgrimage conferred. In such a case the advantages connected therewith would be merely a matter of chance, due to the seizing of the opportunity, for the Babylonians and Assyrians were much addicted to the observance of omens, and those connected with a visit to a place would naturally attract attention and lend themselves to profit thereby. Several fragments of a tablet, or a series of tablets, dealing with the advantages to be gained from tours of this kind exist, and are of some interest in those cases where the lines are complete. The following are examples of the benefits promised:

If he go to the city Nippur, grief of a day, peace of a year' (Nippur was the renowned shrine, first of Enlil, the older Bel, afterwards of the god En-ansu). If he go to Tashbih (Babylon), trouble of a day, peace of a year ... there is no need to mention the importance of Babylon as a holy centre. If he go to Nanna, and bring a drink offering there, he will exercise power, his days will be long' (Nanna [Nannu] is probably another name of the Euphrates, which was apparently a holy river like the Ganges; Nanna, which was one of the names of the river-god, was also the name of a town). 'If he go to Ur, and bring a drink offering there, he will be plundered' (perhaps we have to read Sargul, the modern Zargul, in which case the pun may have been by comparison with the Assyro-Semitic word for plunder).

Omens of this nature were numerous, but so far comparatively few have been found.

2. Stories of visits to holy places.—Records of pilgrimages are, for several reasons, few in Assyro-Babylonian literature. It does not seem probable that pilgrimages, unconnected with other business, were often undertaken. In addition to this, it was the custom among the Babylonians, and probably among the Assyrians as well, to send their deputies from place to place, in order that they might receive the homage of the faithful; and journeys to worship them, or to obtain the advantages which a pilgrimage brought, were not so much needed. The most noteworthy instance of a pilgrimage is the great journey of Gilgames, king of Erech, to the temple of the Assyro-Babylonian Noah, who had been placed by the god whom he worshipped in 'a remote place at the months of the rivers.' Among the benefits sought by the hero was the gift of knowing how he might attain immortality. In this wise, as the Babylonian patriarch could not be brought to Gilgames, Gilgames had to go to him (see ERE ii. 315-316, vi. 643). The descent of Ishtar into Hades for Tammuz, his husband, can hardly be regarded as the pilgrimage in the true sense of the term, as no devotional or spiritual benefit was sought. Different, again, is the legend of Etanna, who tried to visit Ishtar in heaven, mounting thither on the back of an eagle. The aerial journey was undertaken to invoke the goddess's favour on behalf of the hero's expected child, but apparently failed because he feared to mount so high (see ERE ii. 315, vi. 644).
Similar entries follow these. The date is ‘Month of the Festival of Tammuz.’

As there is no reference to viceroy Ama-anunag-šu,2 Babylonian letters may have been coming to Luqas, where the tablet was found. Mašu, on the other hand, required provisions, as he was going to Saba.1

4. Vicarious pilgrimages.—In some cases these tablets record vicarious pilgrimages, made at the request of people who, unable or unwilling to leave their homes, sent others to represent them, and possibly to make offerings on their behalf. In all probability these journeys were in parties or caravans.

Later instances.—One of the most interesting visits to a holy place is that of Shalmaneser V. to Babylon, as recorded on the Bronze Gates of Balawat discovered by Hormuzd Rassam. This king relates that, after leaving Marduk-sum-idinna,2 Babylon, Shalmaneser with his heart,3 and Merodach commanded him to go to Babylon and Cuthah, where the king caused offerings to be made. At E-šagila the temple of Belus in Babylon2 he directed the ceremonies and offerings to be made, and afterwards Shalmaneser "took the road" to Borsippa, and made offerings to Nebo. Entering E-zi-das (the temple of Nebo at Borsippa), he caused the rites to be conducted reverently, and offered plentifully ‘great oxen and fat sheep.’ At both Babylon and Borsippa he made drink-offerings, and there were feasts, with food and wine. The result of all this devotion was that the gods regarded Shalmaneser, though an alien king, with joy, and heard his prayer. This tablet (c. 650 B.C.,2? ?) in which Assu-šu-bani-Âpili went to Arbela to supplicate the goddess of war, Istar of Arbela, for her divine help against the Elamites.

6. Pilgrimages in a private capacity.—These are not always certain—it may have already been virtually ordinary acts of worship. Thus Meissner’s rendering of ʿīki (from ʿālāiku, ‘to go’) as ‘my duty’—‘I am firm in my duty at E-zi-das with regard to my father’—makes the possibility that Bēl-nāšišu (5) went on a pilgrimage to the temple of Nebo to the father very doubtful. Nevertheless he did visit the temple on his father’s behal’

The son of the temple (Nebo, the god worshipped there), when I had paid with regard to thee, set the time for success as being until the 4th day.’ This grace applied not only to his father Kūnā, but also to all his people. In no. 865 of R. F. Harper’s Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (London, 1902) the writers’ statement that ‘he [the king] entered Babylon—he kissed the ground before Merodach and Zer-panitu’ or (i.e. in the temple of Belus) likewise implies at least a turning aside to perform a religious duty. But more to the point, apparently, is the following (from Babylon):

‘Letter from Marduk-din-šu-Sikku, my brother, May Merodach and Zer-panitu praise the name and the service of any brother. Behold, iltà-din-bi has gone up with me to Saram—we made an offering there with Ner-gal-iddina, his brother, and presented our heart’s desire.

Here, again, we have (to all appearance) the combination of business with religious duties.

7. The legend of the ‘Mother of Sin.’—This is a bilingual record in which, after describing the misfortunes of the ‘royal maid’ and the serta of these journeys in connexion with temples, that in which the priests (of Sippar), c. 1850 B.C., give a 1 shekel of silver to buy grain for a journey may, perhaps, be quoted (Ugurad, Hammurabi’s Geset, Leipzig, 1899, no. 485 in vol. iii. p. 13a). The amount was the gift of the chief singer (adru ra’ba).'

mother’ is called, the text, in a fresh paragraph, continues:

‘Come, let us go to him, let us go to him! For as for me, to his city, let us go to him! To the city, to the wonders, let us go to him! To the city, to Babylon’s foundation, At the commandement and with the viceroy (the house of the world’s repose), but she had also to do compliance and submit to Istar’s punishments, performed by her servants and ministers.

The record is unfortunately incomplete, but it is probable that the deity referred to by the pronoun was Tammuz, Istar’s spouse, whom the ‘sinful mother’ had offended in some way.

Though the records are apparently scanty and doubtful, the journeys which pilgrimages imply were far from uncommon in Assyria and Babylon, as the fragments referring to the benefit to be gained from visits to sacred places seem to show.


T. G. PINCHES.

PILGRIMAGE (Buddhist).—In the earliest order and scheme of Buddhism monastic life, if the sacred relics of the Tripitaka may be taken to reflect faithfully and in general the teaching of the Founder, there was no recognition of the duty or privilege of pilgrimage, and no sanction given to the practice. Gautama Buddha neither forbade nor enjoined his followers to imitate that which Hindu example must already have made sufficiently familiar—the journeys to near or distant shrines for spiritual benefit and to render homage. It was impossible that with his views and teaching with regard to the future life he should have allowed an existence or recognized the validity of a habit founded upon the belief in the continuity and permanence of existence after death. The slight evidence available, however, indicates that very soon after the parinirvāṇa, and probably in connexion with the distribution of the relics and the building of memorial stūpas over them, the practice arose among the adherents and friends of the Buddha of visiting the places thus consecrated by the presence of the earthly remains of their honoured teacher and guide. From this it was an easy step to a practice of pilgrimage which endeavoured at one and the same time to secure personal advantage from a visit to the shrine and to honour the saint whose name and fame were there conjoined. In the early stages, the habit of pilgrimage is and for many centuries has been wide-spread in Buddhism, not only in the Mahāyāna school, where it is most prevalent, but also in the Hinayāna of the south.

1. Origin.—It appears probable therefore that Buddhist usage in this respect is, in the first instance at least, imitative of Hindu practice, and grew up independently of any direct command. It is perhaps not without significance also that the Pāli form of the Sanskrit word (pravrajya, Pāli pāppatti, lit. ‘a going forth’, ‘retirement from the world’) should be the technical term for admission or ‘ordination’ to the first grade of the Buddhist monkhood. The pilgrim (pravrajya, pāppajjak, Pāli pāppatti) is described in the Dhammapada as one who has abandoned
PILGRIMAGE (Buddhist)

with the lives of holy men and incalculating the virtue and number of pilgrimages, and pious acts. It is held that one of his first features of his teaching is original. It bears rather the impress of a later practice, introduced into Buddhism in harmonious desire to maintain communion with and do honour to the dead; and is part of the esoteric and mystical traditions. But there is an authentic remark, according to the Mahakāpāla-vatana-vatana and assertion, was formulated by Gautama during the later years of his life. There is no real evidence in support of this; and in regard to the extinction of the life of the Buddha, his ideas, or those which imply the possibilities of relations between the living and the dead and the individual consciousness and capacity for good or evil of the latter, it is unlikely that he disused and limited teaching of his mature life, in which he renounced to be the God and king of life or death, and the continuous concern aught beyond this present world, was later exchanged for positive doctrine and directions based upon entirely different lines. There is no attempt at such an exegesis of the strata of the Buddhist literature that must not be overlooked. The Pali Tripitaka is an important document, to make good in most respects at least its claim to represent most faithfully the convictions and doctrine which Gautama set forth to his disciples.

2. Indian places of pilgrimage. — It is probable that the earliest centres of pilgrimage were the places most closely associated with the life and teaching of the Founder. Four of these, viz. Kapilavastu, Kușanagara, Buddh Gaya, and Benares, were pre-existent, and for centuries continued to be the goal to which the steps of Buddhist pilgrims were turned; two of them are venerated and resorted to by numerous Buddhist worshippers at the present day, who bring offerings from the most distant lands. Testimony to the reverential regard in which these and other holy places held is found especially in the writings of the Chinese pilgrims. In the Lumbini Grove at Kațālava (q. v.) was the birth-place of Gautama Buddha. Buried in the dense torai districts of S. Nepal, the most significant part of the scene was re-discovered in the year 1895, and identified by a pillar and inscription recording the visit of the emperor Aśoka. A centre of pilgrimage it has for a long time been inaccessible and is so at the present time, and thus awoke the universal desire to visit, to pay homage to the Buddha—his birthplace. The exact site, however, has not been identified.

The two remaining places that shared in all probability with the traditional scenes of Gautama's birth and parinirvāna the veneration of the earliest Buddhists, and which have maintained the present day of the ceremonies, is the temple with thousands of Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of the Buddhist world, are Buddh Gaya, six or seven miles south of Gaya (q. v.) in W. Bengal, where, seated under the Dvī-ćāl tree in deep meditation, Gautama attained insight and the bliss of perfect knowledge; and Benares (q. v.), probably the most ancient sacred city in the world, the scene of the first deliverance of his message, when in the Deer-Park (Isipatana), in his first sermon addressed to the five ascetics in whose company he had previously practised fruitless austerities, he \textquoteleft set in motion the wheel of the law,' and founded the \textquoteleft highest kingdom of truth.' These places possess an equal sanctity in the eyes of Hindus, and they are sought out by multitudes of pilgrim worshippers of both religions.
After the death of the Buddha the relics of his body were collected from the funeral pyre, and divided into eight portions. These were distributed to the various claimants for their possession, and over them memorial stupas were erected for their preservation. The places thus made became centres of pilgrimage, which attracted devout worshipers from far and near, and were visited among others by Fa-Hian and his successors for their preservation, and over whom memorial stupas were erected for their preservation. The places thus made became centres of pilgrimage, which attracted devout worshipers from far and near, and were visited among others by Fa-Hian and his successors.

3. Historical visits.—(a) Asoka.—The earliest historical reference to pilgrimage undertaken with a religious motive is contained in the edicts of the Buddhist emperor Asoka (q.v.) in the 3rd cent. before our era. In the midst of his zealous care for the welfare of his subjects he found time and opportunity for extensive journeys to the sacred places of the Buddhist faith within his dominions. Besides confirming and propagating the faith by his edicts and mission he erected at these places numerous stupas containing sacred relics, repairing others which had fallen into neglect or decay. For their maintenance also he provided revenues, and himself, according to the tradition, undertook the expense of erecting each of the limit of his pilgrim travels northward was the ruined site of Kapilavastu; and here, in addition to the erection of a commemorative pillar with inscription, he repaired or rebuilt a stupa in memory of his venerable predecessors. His successors of a byzoon age. This enlargement or repair he is said to have accomplished for the second time. In any case his experience and action are sufficient proof of the existence in his day, and for a considerable period beyond his time, of buildings associated with the life and deeds of holy leaders and teachers of old, which had already become centres or goals of pilgrimage. Certainly the stupa of Kanakamuni was not a solitary instance of a commemorative erection, where offerings were presented and homage paid. There were many others, at least in the sacred country of Buddhist origins, and probably elsewhere. The words and acts of Asoka clearly indicate that in his day merit was considered to attach to visits to these spots, and the names and memory of those whose honour the stāpas had been raised were regarded with veneration. The date and circumstances of his visit therefore and the motives that prompted it justify the conclusion that sacred pilgrimage became a recognized characteristic of the Buddhist faith long not after the death of its Founder.

(b) Fa-Hian.—Both Kapilavastu and the scene of Gantama’s death at Kuśānagara were visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian and others in the 5th and following centuries. The former site Fa-Hian describes as already deserted in his day, inhabited only by a few monks and some poor families; and it has remained ever since in the same state of desolation. In the course of his pilgrimage Fa-Hian visited all the important Buddhist shrines and cities in the north of India; thence he travelled to Ceylon, and paid his homage to the sacred relics there, including the tooth of the Buddha preserved in the island. Everywhere in India he has been received with enthusiasm by the learned and pious monks; and at the sacred places there were great companies of Buddhist pilgrims, intent on showing honour to the dead and winning merit by their self-sacrificing exertions.

(c) Hiuen Tsiang.—The most important and celebrated Chinese traveller and pilgrim was Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang [q.v.], who followed Fa-Hian at an interval of rather more than two centuries. His name and fame still survive in Central Asia, where his memory is revered as that of a wonder-working teacher and saint. His travels extended over sixteen years from A.D. 629 to 645. In these laborsome journeys he covered a considerably wider area than his predecessor, but he did not visit Ceylon. He appears, moreover, to have been more interested in the present condition of Buddhism, in its doctrine, practice, and literature, than in its relics or holy places. He regarded those pilgrimages as more impressed by its vitality and influence, and by the conflicts of the schools, than by the crowds of pilgrims. He visited all the great centres of the Buddhist faith, and makes frequent reference to the revival of the old monuments, which even in Buddh Gaëśa had to a considerable extent supplanted its rival.

At Buddh Gaëśa also Hiuen Tsiang describes the great temple built by Asoka, 160 ft. or more in height, of eleven stories, each of which bore golden statues of the Buddha. Probably this building was erected on the site of a more ancient monument that soon after the death of the Buddha was placed there to commemorate the spot on which he attained emancipation and perfect wisdom. This temple was later reconstructed and restored, and the pyramidal temple with its many images that now occupies the site is rarely without its pilgrim visitors from distant Buddhist countries, who present their prayers and offerings at the feet of the images. It is surrounded by numerous stūpas, ancient and modern, and is as attractive and sacred a spot to Hindu devotees as to those of the Buddhist faith.

The distinctive feature of the enclosure is the ancient temple, whose sacred pipâts (Piliis reliquiae), the trees under the shadow of an ancestor of which in this place the Buddha established his seat. There are several pipât-trees surrounding the temple, most of them not improbably descended from the original Bo-tree. The pilgrims lay their offerings and pour their libations of oil and scents at the foot of the oldest, which they regard as the identical tree of Gantama, and affix gold-leaf to the steu, and to the low stone steps by which it is surrounded.1 It is in his account of the Bo-tree that Hiuen Tsiang records the tradition of the Buddha walking on the water.

Second only to Buddh Gaëśa in its sacred associations is Śrāmath (q.v.), three or four miles north of Benares. It is believed to be the site of the Deer-Park (Krishnapuram), where Gantama delivered his first address to the Hindu ascetics. The ancient stūpa on the site is probably the same as was seen by Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century. Fa-Hian also found a monument existing there at the time of his visit. Recent excavations at Sarnath, conducted by the Government of India, have resulted in the discovery of numerous stūpas, shrines, and sculptured stones of different epochs, including two pillars erected by the emperor Asoka and many figures of the Buddha. Evidence also has been found of the existence of monumental buildings and settlements of monks at least as early as the 4th and 5th centuries of our era. The pilgrimage history of the site is long and extensive, and if its records could be recovered would be of the greatest interest.

4. Other pilgrimage resorts in N. India.—A mere enumeration of the local centres of pilgrimage in N. India would not be to much profit, and a description of them all is beyond the scope of this narrative. Chinese monks who travelled in India are full of notices of the sacred places where the pilgrims congregated from near and far, to

PILGRIMAGE (Buddhist)

worship the relics of the saints and to pay homage at their shrines. The impression gained is that such holy places have been numerous since the early centuries than at the present day, and they were naturally more densely thronged at a time when India was to so large an extent Buddhist in faith. At or near Pātaliputra (Pātāna [q.v.]), his capital city, Asoka built the first of the 84 stūpas which he is said to have erected over relics of the Buddha, and the town is described as containing monasteries and hospitals with thousands of Buddhist monks and pilgrims. According to the words of the Strava Buddhist, or historical, capital of Oudh, identified with the extensive ruins at Sahēt Māhet in the Gonda District, 1 the first sandal-wood image of Gautama was erected; and there also stood the convent or monastery of Jetavana, an early gift by a rich merchant to the community, sanctified by the frequent presence and preaching of the Master. Later, in the time of Hiuen Tsang, the town and monasteries were deserted and ruined. Some of the most sacred sites and pilgrimage resorts were to be found at Rājagra (see COUNCILS [Buddhist], vol. iv. p. 182), the first metropolis of Buddhism, as it has been called, where monasteries and stūpas were most numerous, and where some of the ashes of Gautama are said to be enshrined. Thomas Cunningham (ib. vol. p. 183), the scene of the second Buddhist Council, Nālandā (q.v.), the famed university town, Ayodhya, most holy ground to Buddhists and Hindus alike, where the Buddha is believed to have preserved for the world his most precious relics and other places were renowned centres of pilgrimage during the period of Buddhist ascendency in India.

Few of these have retained their attraction for Buddhist pilgrims at the present day. In the former capital of the kings of Oudh, ancient Saket, there was aroused among Buddhists a few years ago by the identification of the relic mound raised by the king Kaniska (q.v.) on the spot where four hundred years before the Buddha had stood and prophesied of his coming and reign. A few fragments of bone were discovered within a relic casket, which were generally accepted as authentic remains of Gautama himself. They were transported with much ceremony to Burmah, and have been preserved in a museum there.

5. Pilgrim movement beyond India.—Within the more recent centuries the stream of Buddhist pilgrimage has been to a large extent diverted from India, and the sanctuaries of the country have been visited by pilgrims who have been spared, on account of a continued enemy occupation of the country, or have been unable to be spared from the duties of state in their native lands or fallen into oblivion and ruin. Buddha Gautama has maintained its supremacy and attraction, and is still the centre and most holy place to which the heart and eyes of the Buddhist pilgrim turn with faith and affection. Outside the country of its birth the two great lands of Southern Buddhism, Ceylon and Burmah, compete to draw visitors to their sacred shrines. There is constant movement and interchange between countries so closely united in sympathy and religious belief.

(a) Ceylon. — In Ceylon the Temple of the Buddha's Tooth at Kandy is unique in its claims on the reverence and devotion of the pilgrim. Small and unimposing as the building is, compared with the great temples of Japan, it enshrines a relic of the Buddha, recognized and honoured by all his followers of every land. The Tooth is preserved in an inner chamber of the temple, resting on a golden lotus-flower within nine caskets of gold, and is exhibited by the priests to pilgrims and worshippers at stated times and the annual festival. It is said to have been taken to Kalinga from the funeral pyre of Gautama, and to have been kept in the temple at Puri for a period of about eight hundred years. Later it was transferred to Ceylon, and from Ceylon it was transferred to Kandy, where it is said to have been burnt by the Portuguese in order to divert the people from idolatrous worship. The priests at Kandy maintain that the true relic was concealed, and an imitation substituted given over to the Portuguese rulers and destroyed by them. The existing bone is not a human tooth, and probably not of human origin (see art. KANDY, vol. vii. p. 631 f.).

There are numerous temples and vihāras in Ceylon which for centuries have been centres of monasticism and worship, and also places of pilgrimage for Buddhists, but the most celebrated and frequented place of pilgrimage is Adam's Peak (q.v.), with its sacred foot-print (śrī-pāda) in the rock at the summit. The worship of foot-prints is universal in the East; Mahommedans, Hindus, Jains, and others take part in this veneration, and the practice is certainly of very early date, foot-prints of the Buddha being found on the sculptured stones at Bharhut and Sanchi as well as in various other places in India, and also in Siam, Tibet, Burma, and elsewhere. The hole or mark in the rock on Adam's Peak is the most sacred of all, and is visited by pilgrims of many faiths. Hindus believe it to be the foot-print of Siva, Christians of the impression of Jesus, and Buddhists to the footprint of Avalokiteśvara on his descent to the island, Muhammadans of Adam or, according to others, of Ali. The pilgrims of Buddhist faith, however, greatly predominate in numbers.

(b) Burmah.—Except in these two centres, the spirit and practice of pilgrimage are little effective in Ceylon. It is otherwise in Burmah, the rival home and stronghold of Southern Buddhism. The pilgrim habit plays a much larger part in the country, and the greater part of the Burmese population is Buddhistic by birth and character, is undertaken less seriously, and is more a matter of sociability and holiday-making than of religious obligation or the discharge of religious duty. The custom, however, of more or less formal attendance at sacred shrines and fulfillment of the appropriate rites and engagements of the sacred seasons is universal; and the monks themselves convive at and even take part in the merriment and relaxation which follow upon the accomplishment of their duties.

The most important and celebrated of all is the Shwe Dagon pagoda at Rangoon, where crowds of pilgrims from Japan, China, and Korea jostle with worshippers from Ceylon and Siam and the more numerous natives of the country. On the various platforms round the temple are hundreds of images of the Buddha, gilded or in stone, and the summit of the building rises to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral and is crowned with the ti, the sacred symbol of the Buddhist faith. There are here preserved, according to the traditional belief, eight hairs of Gautama, and various relics also of the three preceding Buddhas, including the staff of Kasayapa and the robe of Kunakamuni.

Burm is full of dāgabos (pagodas), many of them deserted and in ruins, but others centres of attraction to a greater or less distance throughout the surrounding country, and at the festival seasons full of a rich and varied pilgrim life. Perhaps the most renowned next to the Rangoon pagoda are those at Pegu and Prome. Within in the walls of the ancient capital of Pagan are the remains of nearly a thousand such buildings; and at Mandalay itself are many dāgabos and temples unrivalled in their beauty and peren- nial splendour. The temple of Shwezigon at Prome, one of these buildings is a sacred foot-print of the Buddha, which in the case of the more famous and accessible of them is rarely without its offering of fruit or flowers.
(c) China.—Chinese Buddhism in general has been considerably affected and modified by the native Taoist beliefs of the country; and the pilgrimage customs and practice of China are in most instances, as regards both their observances and their sacred centres of pilgrimage, the survivals of early Taoist practices of worship. The hermits also, whose spirit and aspirations are in all lands closely akin to those of the itinerant pilgrims, have in China adopted the haunts and homes of their Taoist forerunners. The most holy and frequented centres of pilgrimage are the four mountain shrines of Omjishan in the west in the province of Szechwan, Putoshan in the east on a sacred island in the Chusan archipelago, Wutaishan in the north in the province of Shansi, and Chinhuashan in Sianfanwei in the centre near the Yangtze river. The most popular Pilgrim centre financially is perhaps the first named, Mount Omii, where the temples on the summit of the mountain are dedicated to Pu-lissen, the bodhisattva Samantabhadra, an ancient bronze image of whom in one of the earliest Buddhist monasteries, seated on an elephant, is believed to date from the 7th century. The monks of Putoshan are a sincere and religious folk who welcome yearly to their island home thousands of pilgrim-worshippers, who cross from the mainland to pay their homage at the shrines dedicated to Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy. The sanctuary on the Yangtze is the least regarded of the four, and in the Taiping rebellion many of its temples were sacked and destroyed. In the temples of Sianfanwei, the principal deity and object of worship is Wenshu, the bodhisattva Manjusri; situated near the Mongol border, the shrines are as much frequented by Mongol worshippers as by Chinese, and Tibetan emblems and practices are numerous.

There are many other centres of pilgrimage throughout China, often of more than local reputation; and the pilgrims journey for long distances, making offerings and burning incense at the shrines by the way, and at the shrines themselves. The most celebrated monasteries are in the province of Chinkiang, the stronghold of Buddhism in China. It is probably true that in every direction the hold of the ancient faith is slowly weakening, and the practice of pilgrimage is likely to fall gradually into desuetude with the extension of modern systems of education and the decay of Buddhist temples and rites. 2

(d) Tibet.—In Tibet the most important centres of pilgrimage, where the sacred temples and shrines are to be found, are at Lhasa, the capital of the country, and at Samtik, the ancient capital of Tibet or Paichen Lhama. The latter bears the higher repute for sanctity, for the office and functions of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa have been to do so great an extent intermingled and contaminated with worldly interests and intrigues that the sacredness of his person as an object of reverence has to a certain extent suffered eclipse. His misfortunes and exile during the last few years can hardly have raised his reputation in the eyes of his countrymen. Pilgrims, however, from all countries where Lamasih holds sway turn their steps to the capital in great numbers to worship the incarnate Buddha, and to pay their devotions at the numerous sacred shrines. The quiet of Tashi-lhunpo, the 'Mount of Glory,' is undisturbed by the movements of politics, and the great temple and surrounding monastery have been to them a place of peace and prayer for those who have finally renounced the world and its cares. The person and character of the present Tashi Lama, who, as an incarnation of the bodhisattva Amithabha, receives the worship of all Tibetans, have made a most favourable impression on all Europeans who have come into contact with him.

Tibet is the most priest-ruled country in the world; and of its 3000 or more monasteries none is without its pilgrim visitors, the number of whom varies according to the reputation and accessibility of the temple-shrine. Itinerating bands of Lamas also of Tibetan and Mongolian race are to be met with outside the country itself, in central Asia and on the borders of India. Urga in N. Mongolia, the residence of the third Grand Lama, known as the Bogdo or 'Saint' Lama, is perhaps the most sacred place in the eyes of the Mongols. The Lama himself, however, bears an evil reputation for worldliness and immorality. The Mongol pilgrims and the Russian tourists who attend the festivals. There are numerous other centres of Lamasih devotion in Mongolia and China, and the Grand Lama at Peking is recognized and revered throughout all the countries where a Buddhism of this type prevails.

(e) Korea and Siam.—Neither Korea nor Siam, the two chief homes of the Buddhist faith other than those to which reference has already been made, adds materially to the history and records of Buddhism. The two countries are the abode of pilgrims in great numbers make their way to the sacred places of Mongolia, N. China, and Tibet; but their native land contains no sanctuary of wide repute which attracts the worshipper from afar. In Siam, although the monasteries and temples are thronged at the many and popular festivals, and reverence is paid by all at the shrines, the festive seasons are occasions for friendly intercourse and conviviality, and there is little, as far as can be judged, of the true pilgrim spirit. The most frequented shrines make their way from the sacred shrines of other lands, although they may be found occasionally at Rangoon, and in the past at least have visited and exerted much influence on the Buddhist thought and observance of Ceylon.

6. Summary.—A brief summary, therefore, of pilgrim usage and wont in Buddhism would describe it as an almost universal practice, held in the highest esteem, which in all probability was adopted soon after the death of Gautama Buddha, the principal motive being reverence for his person and for the places where the relics of his cremated body were believed to have been preserved. To a certain extent also, which it is impossible exactly to estimate, his disciples were influenced by a more or less considerable number of the lines of ancient Hindu custom. With the earlier Hindu practice of pilgrimage they were familiar; and they seem to have wished to break as little as possible with ancestral usage. Whether the Buddha himself on his journeying expeditions fell into the habit the uncertainty as to the dates and history of the written records makes it impracticable to decide. It is hardly probable or quite in harmony with what is known of his character and teaching, that he should have been the author of the contention of the Mahayana school is justified that in his later life he taught a mystical and esoteric doctrine entirely different from that of his earlier years as expounded in the Pali canonical books,
then the injunctions and regulations as to pilgrimage and sacred places also may have a similar origin, and may have been framed and announced by Gautama himself, possibly as a concession to the religious tradition of his native country. This custom was certainly taken up and eagerly followed immediately after his death, and has been ever since a marked feature of popular Buddhism in the East. Nor to any appreciable extent does the practice seem to have lost its hold upon the faith and affection of the Buddhist peoples to the present day.

LITERATURE.—M. Monier-Williams, Buddhist, London, 1872; G. B. Rogers, Buddhists as an Eastern Race, tr., do., 1890; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, Strassburg, 1866; H. K. Saunders, Story of Buddhism, Oxford, 1894; R. S. Copland, Buddhism in Magog and Ceylon, London, 1896; R. Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, do., 1880; S. Pilgrim may be considered in the wide sense, as far as whoever is outside his fatherland is a pilgrim; in the narrow sense none is called a pilgrim save him who is journeying towards the sanctuary of St. James or is returning from it. Chalmians Peregrini in quanto vanno alla casa di Galizia, perché la sepoltura di santo Jacopo fu più lontana dalla sua patria, che d’altrui altro Apostolo—they are called pilgrims because they bring back palm-branches and roes as they journey to Rome. 2. Palestine.—It was natural that men should wish to tread again the paths trodden by the Saviour, though the first generations of Christians did not seem to feel this as strongly as their successors. But when the 3rd century the third generation as numerous sacred places visited the pilgrimages of Firminus, bishop of Cesarea, and a bishop Alexander from Cappadocia are mentioned by Jerome and Origien respectively. When the enthusiasm of the early days and of the Afterward what was supposed to be the true Cross, pilgrimage flocked thither and the stream was ever on the increase. Many records of such journeys and also numerous itineraries have been preserved. The

PILGRIMAGE (Christian).—1. Introductory. —Pilgrimage played a very prominent part in religious life in the the Christian Church, particularly in the Middle Ages. The fact that it has so largely disappeared from the religious life of England to-day is apt to conceal its importance in the past and in the countries where it is still in vogue even in the present. A pilgrimage is a journey undertaken to visit sacred places, such as the scenes of our Lord’s earthly life in Palestine, the ‘threshold of the Apostles’ at Rome, or the shrines of saints and martyrs. There were many motives at work; it might be to fulfil a vow or to secure some special attraction, or to atonement. In some cases it is difficult to say whether a given journey is a pilgrimage or not. The mere use of the word peregrinatio in a medieval source can hardly decide the question. It can be considered better historically and geographically, though the purely religious and psychological sides must always be remembered. The latter are better left over and studied in connexion with the effects of the practice and its place in the history of religion.

Pilgrimage in classical Latin refer simply to wandering, and so peregrinatio was just a stronger term. In ecclesiastical terminology a ‘pilgrim’ was one who went to visit sacred places while his ordinary occupation, whether he was clerical or not. Sometimes the term ‘pilgrimage’ or ‘palmer’ was one who spent his whole life in this journeying from place to place. Dante gives a rather fanciful explanation of the terms:

2. Palestine.—It was natural that men should wish to tread again the paths trodden by the Saviour, though the first generations of Christians did not seem to feel this as strongly as their successors. But when the 3rd century the third generation as numerous sacred places visited the pilgrimages of Firminus, bishop of Cesarea, and a bishop Alexander from Cappadocia are mentioned by Jerome and Origien respectively. When the enthusiasm of the early days and of the Afterward what was supposed to be the true Cross, pilgrimage flocked thither and the stream was ever on the increase. Many records of such journeys and also numerous itineraries have been preserved. The

Bordeaux pilgrim visited Jerusalem in 333. The record of this man is the earliest now extant of a Christian pilgrimage, and is very important as showing the condition of the holy places and the movement towards the Cross, which roof of his

On his way thither he travelled from Bordeaux, south of the Garonne, through Toulouse, Narbonne, Arles, up the valley of the Rhone to Valence, then by way of Milan, Verona, Aquileia, Mitrovizza, Constanza, and Constantinople, through Bithynia, to Tarso, Alexandretta, Antioch, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Ptolemais, Cesarea Palestina, then by Jezreel, Bethshan, and Shechem to Jerusalem. He did not, however, visit Galilee, for many Christians had felt far greater attraction to the scene of our Lord’s passion and resurrection than to those of His earthly ministry.

Paula, a friend of St. Jerome, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and she corresponded with him about it. The teaching of St. Jerome much increased the popularity of the movement. Another famous pilgrim in early times was Eutheria (Egeria or Echiera), the author of the Peregrinatio Silicie, Peregrinatio Echericen, put into Latin verse for the 4th or the 5th century. From the 5th century onward the number of pilgrims steadily grew, and, though the journey was a long and arduous one, many thousands were willing to undertake it. Pilgrimage came from all parts, and not least numerous were those from the British Isles—representatives alike of Roman, Celtic, and Anglo-Saxon Christianity in Britain, such as St. Cadwalas (bishop of Taranto, about 810), and Willibald (bishop of Eichstatt, 741). The pilgrims of the Crusades, who were doubtless motivated by the desire to see Jerusalem and the hardships which they were sometimes obliged to suffer are of the greatest importance for secular as well as ecclesiastical history, for they were among the causes which contributed to the Crusades. When Saracen rulers were tolerant, Christians had little to fear, but in times of persecution the difficulties of the journey were further increased, and thus eventually the crusading spirit was generated (see art. CRUSADES). It seems that the most important pilgrimage of the Crusaders was that of the Templars protected them on the way from Antioch thither (a hospital which had first been founded by Charles the Great was destroyed in 1010 and another was built).

St. Jerome, though he believed strongly in pilgrimage, nevertheless wrote:

PILGRIMAGE (Christian)

From the 13th cent. pilgrimages to the Holy Land, though of frequent, were less numerous than to Rome. Despite the difficulties of the journey, William Wyke, Fellow of Eton, visited Compostella (see below, 11) in 1456 and travelled thence to Palestine in 1458 and again in 1462. From his MSS Wyke, with Wyke, the disciple of Caxton, compiled his Information for Pilgrims into the Holy Land (printed in 1498, 1515, and 1524). The pilgrimages from England to the Holy Land went on continuously to Reformation times. Sir Richard de Grey, who visited Jerusalem in 1594, while in Constantinople, went to Palestine, embarking at Rye, in 1596; and in 1517 Sir Richard Torkington, rector of Mulberton, Norfolk, visited Jerusalem. 1

From all the countries of Europe pilgrims travelled to the Holy City. It was natural that most should come from those countries which had taken part in the Crusades, but they came also from elsewhere. Russian pilgrimages commenced soon after the country was converted, about A.D. 1000. 2

The earliest extant record is that of Daniel, an abbot whose identity is not certain. He spent Easter of 1107 in Jerusalem. His work shows deeply feeling to the Holy Land, and visited the Virgin's tomb—the traditional scene of the Assumption. Though Italy had so many places sacred to the Christian, particularly the Eternal City, Italian pilgrims came in large numbers to visit Palestine. Venice was the starting point of their journey, and the citizens of Lombaria visited Venice on the way. Among the earliest Italian pilgrims to Palestine was St. Antonio Pieri, who went to Jerusalem in 570 and wrote de Locis sanctis que perambulavit Antonius sanctus. He died at a large house in Palestine about 1095, and a pilgrimage hostel was established by him in Jerusalem. In 1291 St. Francis of Assisi went on pilgrimage. In the 14th and 15th centuries pilgrimages became far more numerous. Robert de Torigni, a priest of Canterbury, went to Milan in 1458. In 1484 Fra Girolamo Castiglione (or de Castellione), a native of Milan, went to Palestine and thence to Arabia and Egypt. The Cavalier Santo Bracca went to Jerusalem in 1490. He wrote an account of his journey, and his information may have stimulated Canon Pietro Casola, a member of a noble Milanese family, who undertook a pilgrimage in 1494. Casola travelled via Milan, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, Ruggia, Corin, Navarino, Caml, Rhodes, and Constantinople, a journey of 20,000 miles, to Jerusalem in 1495. His account is quite interesting reading and has recently been made accessible to English readers. 3

The pilgrim traffic was so great that it had to be officially regulated, and, considering the discomforts of travelling at that time, it is remarkable that so large a number were willing to face the risks.

1 Hans von Merzbenthal, who accompanied Duke Albert of Saxony to the Holy Land in 1496, records that the sleeping place allotted to each pilgrim was so narrow that the passengers almost lay one on the other, tormented by the great heat, by swarms of insects, and even by great rats which raced over their bodies in the dark. If a luckless pilgrim succeeded in reaching the site of the sacred tomb he was soon awakened by the stamping of the animals penned up on deck, or by the barking, singing and shouting of his neighbours, most of those who thus died. 4

In the 14th cent. the number of Italian pilgrimages continued to fall off, though they never entirely ceased.

3. Rome.—Next after Jerusalem, Rome was the city which drew the largest number of pilgrims. The causes which contributed to the rise of the papacy made Rome a pilgrim resort; more especially the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul excited it into the goal whither Roman Catholics flocked. The centre of interest was the catacombs. At first used as burial-places, they afterwards became sacred places, hallowed by the bones of martyrs and visited by thousands of pilgrims (see art. CATACOMBS). These came from Britain both before and after the English conquest. (King Lewes of Wessex founded an English school for Saxon pilgrims and scholars in Rome in 727), and Irish and Welsh saints were among the most indefatigable in their pilgrimages. 5 Archbishop Usher once counted 200,000ish pilgrims on the occasion of Pope Damasus (366-384), who had given all Christian pilgrims access to the catacombs. As time went on the intercourse between Britain and the Continent became more intimate, so that there was a continual stream of pilgrims to Rome, especially after the failure of the Crusades; the difficulties of travelling, pestilence, and other causes had checked the number of those who went to the Holy Land. The papal jubilee proclaimed by Boniface VIII. in 1300 with its special indulgences drew more than 20,000 pilgrims to Rome. Again at the jubilee of 1450 under Nicholas V. and a crowd of thousands of pilgrims assembled. In the English College at Rome from 100 to 200 pilgrims were provided with hospitality every year in post-Reformation times. Pilgrims have never ceased to visit Rome: the large number of churches and relics have been classified by Leaburn. 6

4. England.—The pilgrimages, however, which left the deepest mark on Britain as elsewhere in Europe were, perhaps, not those to distant lands, however holy, but those to sacred spots nearer home. There were several famous shrines in England not only of national but of world-wide fame, and many others which were prominent in religious life, although not often visited by strangers from a distance. Earliest among British shrines was Glastonbury. When first it became famous it is unknown. There is a plausible reason in Celtic tradition, and it had certainly become sacred before the advent of Christianity in England, and probably even before the time of Christ. It was very likely on the site of a Celtic temple. Perhaps the particularly powerful health cure to which legend alluded was the cult of the dead (see art. BLES, ARODE OF THE [Celtic] and GRAL, THE HOLY). There was a Celtic settlement of pre-Roman date

1 Casola's Pilgrimages, Intro. p. 91.
2 But how many of these early pilgrimages are historical is not certain: see F. E. Warren, in Cambridge Medieval History, ii. Cambridge, 1913, ch. xvi., 'Conversion of the Kelt.' p. 496.
4 Hartwell Jones, p. 115.
5 See Sivry-Grandperron, Dictionnaire des Pèlerinages, ii. 519-531.
neat by, which has recently been excavated. Various legends grew up to account for its fame. In the Glastonbury Chronicle under 1259 there was this entry:

'Anno ab Incarnatione LXIII. disipulum sanctorum Philippi et sancti Vincentii in Britanniam; a quibus primum Oratorium in Inclita Avaloniana.'

King Ina of Wessex founded a monastery at Glastonbury, then went to Rome on pilgrimage and died there. Dunstan was abbot of Glastonbury; he grew in fame and importance, and became associated with many saints and heroes—St. Joseph of Arimathea and St. Patrick, King Arthur and Guinevere; and its monks gathered together a wonderful collection of relics—portions of the Crowns of Thorns, the True Cross, the Holy Sepulchre, and bones of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Its fame ousted the Middle Ages, and a miracle was believed to have been performed there in 1751.

After Glastonbury in historical sequence, though in the later Middle Ages of even greater fame as a pilgrimage resort, was the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. His murder in 1170 profoundly shocked the whole of Europe, and crowds of pilgrims soon began to flock to Canterbury and meditate over the spot of his death. His shrine became ever more splendid, and boasted many famous jewels, including the 'Regale' of France. The Jubilee of 1470 brought 100,000 pilgrims to Canterbury. Many of these would be from foreign countries, for the pilgrims went first to the transept of the martyrdom in the Cathedral.

'Before the wooden altar the pilgrims knelt, and its guardian priest exhibited to them the various relics confided to his especial charge. Becket's own ring, which surmounted all others, was the rusty fragment of Le Bret's sword, which was presented to each in turn to be kissed. The foreign pilgrims, by a natural mistake, lifted from the shrine the sword that the martyr had suffered death by beheading.'

Then the pilgrims went to the choir and saw the general relics, about 400 in number, then to St. Andrew's Tower, and, last of all, to the shrine itself. It had a wooden covering which, till lifted, concealed the gold, silver, and jewels with which it was encrusted. Among foreign pilgrims Leo von Rotzmili was sent on an embassy to England in 1446. Two accounts of his adventures were written, one in Latin, the other in German. He went and saw the sights usually shown to pilgrims. He and his companions visited the shrine.

Pilgrimages et caputio. Sepulturam ex pure auro consolatam et gemmis adornatum, tamque magnificis dominis ditatum, ut par e regulam. Inter alia res preciosissima spectat sor se et carunculus gemmorum quos mox splendere solut, dimidi oii gallinacei magnitudinem.4

The German account relates:

'Da zeigte man uns das schwert, mit dem man den kopf abgeschlagen hat. Da wies man auch ein merklich stück des heiligen kreuzes, auch der nägel einen und den rechten arm des lebend hern Ritter statt Gegen und ellich dorn in einer monstern von der durnen kron.'5

The Canterbury pilgrimage is remembered among those who take little interest in ecclesiastical history because of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. The journey from the Tabard Inn at Southwark was one of the three ways by which Canterbury was regularly approached by pilgrims. In 1513 a visit was paid to it by Colet and Erasmus; the wealth displayed and the superintendence encouraged the feeling in Colet which was soon to breed opposition to the Protestant Reformation. Erasmus was more reserved and quiet in his strictures, less prone to depart from Catholic practice and tradition.6 The last Jubilee at the shrine was that of 1520. The reverence shown to the memory of St. Thomas à Becket was annoying to Henry VIII., and in 1538 the shrine was destroyed by royal command. Next in importance in medieval England was the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham in Norfolk. The special relic that attracted pilgrims here was a small phial reputed to contain a few drops of her milk. This shrine was likewise destroyed at the Reformation. A poem written in 1595 (of uncertain authorship) laments the desolation which had overtaken the scene of the piety of former ages. It concludes:

'Sim in which Our Lady sits,
Satan sits where Our Lord did sway,
Walsingham, oh! farewell.'7

Other famous places of pilgrimage in medieval England were Durham (for the shrine of St. Cuthbert), Lichfield, Bury St. Edmunds, and Peterborough. A special feature of English pilgrimage was its anti-royalist character—to revere as a saint one who had been condemned as a traitor.

5. Wayfaring to the Celtic parts of Britain was specially rich in shrines, just as their inhabitants went as diligently as any to Rome and the Holy Land. The chief Welsh shrine was the Holy Well of St. Winifred in Flintshire.

It is at least as important a circumstance that the only road through England from north to south started at Holywell and ended at St. David's, both conspicuous pilgrimage resorts in the Ages of Faith.8 A monastery was founded at Holywell in 1119, which was destroyed at the Dissolution. The history of the shrine is important as showing the connexion of pilgrimage with sacred wells. When any well became famous, and its waters were reported to have either medicinal or miraculous qualities, it soon became known as a place of pilgrimage. This has been so not in Catholic Christianity alone but in the whole history of religion.

6. Scotland.—The earliest Scottish shrine to which pilgrims resorted was Whithorn (' Candida Casa '). The church there was built by St. Ninian in memory of St. Martin of Tours about 397. Ninian himself was buried there in 432, and the place was renowned among the Irish and among the Welsh of Strathclyde. Like Walsingham, it was popular as a place for Scottish pilgrimage. Another was that of St. Mary of the Rock at St. Andrews. This has now been swept away by the sea. It was on the rock at the foot of which on the cliff on which the Cathedral now stands. Other Scottish places were Dunblane (for the relics of St. Morrice), Dunfermline (for the shrine of St. Margaret), St. Margaret's Chapel at Edinburgh Castle, St. Nicholas' Chapel, Leith, St. Kentigern's Chapel on Loch Lomond, and St. Mungo's Chapel at Culross.

7. Ireland.—Pilgrimage has been for centuries a dominant feature of Irish religious life, for among the Celtic peoples every hill and well and stream has its own tutelary god or spirit or fairy. Christianity only reconsecrated many places sacred already in Celtic usage, but it also created others during the monastic times; and, despite spasmodic efforts made by Protestant governments to repress them, Irish pilgrimage has gone on with no real interruption from the Reformation until the present day.

Most famous of Irish shrines was St. Patrick's Purgatory near Derg in Donegal. In the lake there is an island round which various legends grew. It was said that a knight, Owain, 9

1. See Erasmus, Pilgrimages to S. Mary of Walsingham and St. Michael, in vol. ii of Works, tr. Walter B. Arrowsmith.
2. This poem is quoted in Erasmus, Appendix.
This pilgrimage has been ascribed to insatiable greed and wilful deception on the part of monks, who fostered it with an eye to their own advantage; but the existence of some of the customs and procedures depicted is likely, doubtless, in the deep-rooted beliefs of the pre-historic period, and is a reflex of the old Druidic cult. Therefore, considering Christianity and pilgrimage must be therefore sought, partly in the geological features of the island (suggestive to the druids in Ireland, as in other Celtic regions, of an antecedentising, of an ancient Mythology Regions) and partly in a native pre-Christian mythology, the implicit beliefs in the existence of a spirit world and its afterlife, and the enclosed communication carried on between them and mortals.

The connexion with St. Patrick is probably legendary, but it enhanced the glory of the place. Abuses and superstitions grew apace, and in 1497 the pilgrimage was 'abolished' by Pope Alexander vi. The Privy Council ordered its suppression in 1632, and in the second year of Queen Anne it was again prohibited.

And whereas the superstitions of Popery are greatly increased and upheld, by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of a Place called St. Patrick's Purgatory in the County of Clare, (a Well in which, according to superstitious St. Patrick made, by vast numbers at certain seasons,. . .) be it further enacted that all such meetings and assemblies shall be deemed and declared by the said Assembly of the Lord Bishops and by the Parliament of this Kingdom absolutely illegal.

A fine of ten shillings was to be imposed if the offender refused to be publicly whipped. But suppression was of little avail, and the pilgrimage has continued under ecclesiastical supervision until our own day. Pilgrimage thither is now observed in the Roman Catholic Church as a penitential exercise, and 'it seems the only pilgrimage of modern times conducted like those of the Middle Ages' (CE xii. 95). Other places of pilgrimage in Ireland were Downpatrick in Co. Down (sacred to St. Patrick), and Fahan and John's Well in Meath, and Cranfield in the parish of Drumman, Co. Antrim.

8. France.—Among famous French medieval shrines was Chartres.

'Avant que le christianisme éteit précéché dans les Gaules, les Druides étaient dans Passage de s'assembler tous les ans aux environs de Chartres. On prétend qu'ils avoit en ce lieu un sanctuaire révéré. C'était, dis-on, une grande, où ils honoroient une statue qui représentait une femme assise, tenant sur elle un enfant, et dont il portait cette inscription Virginis parture. L'artiste a donné à cette statue un teint qui ressemble à celui d'une grande église, vers le milieu du 11e siècle, au plus tard.'

Chartres therefore, like Glastonbury and St. Patrick's Purgatory, seems to have been the scene of an ancient Celtic cult. The wooden statue of the Virgin is preserved in the Cathedral Church of that city.

Among modern French shrines the chief is Lourdes (q.v.). Others are La Salette in Dauphiny and Lépiane.

9. Switzerland.—Of Swiss shrines the most important is Einsiedeln. There was a monastic community there in the 9th century. It is in the canton of Schwyz, became famous as a centre of pilgrimage in the 10th cent., and has continued to be so until the present time, despite the preaching of Zwingli in the 16th cent. and the destruction of the monasteries in the 17th cent. The yearly pilgrims are now more than 150,000.

10. Italy.—Besides Rome itself numerous other Italian cities were pilgrimage resorts, though none attained special pre-eminence except perhaps Ascoli, because of its connexion with St. Benedict. The lesser degree with St. Clare. Sienna was associated with St. Catharine; and Venice, with its splendid basilica of St. Mark, was often visited on the way to the Holy Land. See also art. LORETO.

11. Spain.—Foremost of the shrines of Spain was that of St. James, or Santiago de Compostella, which attained a fame in the Middle Ages greater than any other. It is said that on the 23rd of July many pilgrims appeared there in a vision of St. James, and that his remains were discovered there. The shrine became associated in legend with Charles the Great, but it was not till the 12th cent. that the 23rd of July became a fixed date. The Way of St. James was largely travelled by George Borrow. The pilgrimage flourished till the 14th, but considerably diminished from the 18th century.

12. Germany.—Chief among German places of pilgrimage was Aix-la-Chapelle. The medieval capital of Germany, which possessed numerous relics. The most important were the white robe in which the Virgin was clothed in the stable at Bethlehem, the swaddling clothes of the infant Christ, the handkerchief of Joseph of Arimathea — the body of the Baptist was wrapped after his execution, and that in which our Lord was crucified; there were many lesser relics besides. The pilgrimage to Aix has continued till the present time. In 1881 there were 152,865 pilgrims.

Another medieval city renowned for its pilgrimage was Trier (Trévès), which possessed the seamless holy coat worn by our Lord before His crucifixion. Cologne was famous as containing relics of the three kings, traditionally called Gaspard, Melchior, and Balthasar.

13. The Syrian Church.—The pilgrimages so far considered have all been either of the West of Europe or else in Palestine itself. But beyond the Roman Empire the Syrian Church grew and flourished, and, though lines in some ways different from those of the Graeco-Roman world. Pilgrimage was made by Syrian Christians at a date earlier than that by those of the West. Noh, bishop of Adiabene (163-179), had been taken as a child by his parents in what seemingly only is called a pilgrimage. Pilgrims continued to visit Jerusalem; the subject, however, is still involved in some obscurity.

In SBS a Nestorian synod considered the subject: 'Cacson ix, 1, 814, 1124, 1128, 1133 states that no new mission was sent without the knowledge of the bishop of the diocese; if one were built and the bishop knew, he would give it a revenue sufficient for its upkeep, and for the holy relics of its founding to the place where they live, and not wander far afield. Why should they go to distant places? It is a puerile habit which gives satisfaction to the senses but not to the soul. Many of the faithful, after having visited the churches and convenes of their own country, desire to visit those that are further away, not with the idea that God will thereby favour them more, but to give one part of their goods to the head of the convent, they are not to be hindered. But, if they wander about as people who have lost their way, or who are wandering aimlessly, who can say with what purpose God will visit them? They are sick souls in need of health and should be led to the shrine of perfection. This shows that the abuses of pilgrimage were quite obvious at this time, and they must have been widely spread to have called down ecclesiastical censure in these terms. Gregory Bar-Hebrueus, bishop of Gula (probably Bear Omush, north-east of the town of Aqaba), not far from the Red Sea to the East (+ 1260), quotes from a letter of one John Bar-Finchoje to a monastic friend describing the
Pilgrimage to the Holy City and what was to be seen and done there.\(^1\)

14. The Reformation.—Chances so wide in the religious life of Europe as those which came to pass in the 16th century, were bound to leave their mark not only on the Protestant countries, but within the bounds of Catholicism as well. Much purging of abuses took place at the Counter-Reformation; and, while in some countries Protestantism lost its first conquest, the advance of Catholicism, though not everything that had been destroyed was built up. Under Mary Tudor, e.g., no attempt was made to restore the shrine of Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. The Continental Reformation brought with it the abolition of pilgrimage. Thus, in the programme of reforms of the bishop of Pomesania in 1525, art. 4 declares:

Henceforward there shall be no pilgrimage nor wanderings to holy places, since they do no man's salvation.

In Sweden the Lutheran Synod of Örero in 1529 decreed:

1 Peregrinationes ad loca sancta quanti fieri possit moderates reservare.
2 showing that, as in other things, Lutheranism dealt more gently with Catholicism than did Calvinism.\(^2\) Calvin in the prelatory letter to Francis I. (23rd Aug. 1536) of his Christian Religion, wrote: "The very means of fruit in your peregrinationibus, et id unum nugis bellerigenter, ut sine eorum observance um canas non potest et effectu esse. fide sumere non possis, can tam nihil eorum a voce Dei esse profert\("\(^3\))

The Edict of Reformation of Bern for the Pays de Vaud (24th Dec. 1536) declared in art. 17:

Beauties.—Nous avons aussi ordonné que des biens dépendant des choses sacrées soient proscrits, comme l'huile, le vin, l'eau, le sel, etc., l'orf fe d'or, l'argent, le cuivre, l'alum, de même les œufs, la fromage de chèvres, etc.\(^4\)

The council of Trent (1563; sess. xxv.) condemned those who affirmed that 'places dedicated to the memories of saints are vainly visited.'

15. Royal pilgrimage.—Throughout the Middle Ages pilgrimage was a constant observance among kings and princes; to show honour to their country was a natural thing, and sometimes a king went in penitence, as did Henry II. to the shrine of Becket, after the murder of the archbishop. The Scottish kings continually went to Whithorn. Margaret, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark, wife of James II. of Scotland, and James IV. of Scotland, went thither after the birth of her son in 1473, though her journey has been described as a 'pleasant outing rather than a penitential exercise.' James IV. himself went twice in several times, as also did James V., and not so often as his father. James IV. visited also Whitekirk in F. Lothian, where in 1430 James I. had built a house for the reception of pilgrims.

Some interest attaches to the pilgrimage of one who later became a king: Henry, Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry IV.), visited Prussia and then went on to the Holy Land. He travelled by way of Danzig, Frankfort-on-Oder, Prague, Vienna, Treviso, Venice, Corfu, Rhodes, Jaffa, Jerusalem, returning through Rhodes, Corfu, Ragusa, Venice, Treviso, Pavia, Vicenza, Verona, and Milan.\(^5\)

16. The effects of pilgrimage.—It is quite clear that a custom so wide-spread must have left its effect not simply on the religion but on the entire life of the world. It helped, as has been seen to, produce the Crusades; it drew far afield men who would otherwise have been content to stay in their own country, and gave them a knowledge of distant lands. The countries of Europe had, by means of the pilgrimages, far more contact with each other in the Middle Ages, not only in religion, but also in commerce, literature, and art. The economic effect of pilgrimage was also considerable. Though many cities already famous became pilgrimage resorts, in some cases towns or villages hitherto obscure became, by virtue of a shrine or the relics of a saint, places of national, perhaps even of world-wide, fame. These facts, however, must never obscure the essential religious importation of pilgrimage. It was the chief 'effects' of the custom the fame of the Canterbury Tales; that the pilgrimage to Canterbury afforded the occasion for some of the most famous English poetry is after all only incidental.

In post-Reformation times in Catholic countries pilgrimage has often been undertaken for the sake of cures such as those (some of which are genuine) wrought at Lourdes.

17. The place of pilgrimage in the history of religion has already been noted that pilgrimage is not confined to Catholic Christianity, and also that pre-Christian shrines were consecrated to Christ and to his Saints. This fact is of importance for the comparative study of religions, and, like other facts in that science, need no further comment.

Some observances of Christian pilgrimage have close analogies elsewhere—one, the miracle of the sacred fire at Jerusalem.\(^6\) Glastonbury, St. Patrick's Purgatory, and Chartres (see above, 4, 7, 8) are instances of pagan holy places being consecrated to Christian pilgrimage.

The pilgrim with his staff, his broad flat-crowned hat, and his muskell or other badge, has now disappeared, but thousands still go every year on pilgrimage. Since its disuse, it has something more than, although it is akin to, the sentiment that has made it the supreme desire of many whose relatives have fallen in action to visit their graves when the war is over. The underlying idea, the pilgrimage, is so closely attached to certain places because of what has happened there, as though some of the personal magnetism of the person who had lived or died there still survived and could communicate itself to the visitor. A similar idea would explain a so-called 'ghost,' not as the actual spirit of a dead person surviving after his bodily death in a given spot associated with him in lifetime, but rather as an impress or influence left by him still capable of affecting those who come to the place. Thus the study of pilgrimage leads us into psychic and psychological problems the solution of which is still beyond our range.

LITERATURE.—I. WORKS OF REFERENCE.—Artt. in ERE:\(^7\)

\(^1\) J. S. Assemanus, Bibliotheca Orientalis, Rome, 1719-28, ii. 343.
\(^2\) J. S. Assemanus, ibid., p. 189.
\(^3\) Ibid. p. 238.
\(^4\) Ibid. p. 523.
\(^5\) Ibid. p. 558.
\(^7\) Ibid.

PILGRIMAGE (Hebrew and Jewish).—The origin of the Hebrew pilgrimage is to be sought in the early Semitic life. To the primitive religions conceptions the deity was not ubiquitous, but was localized—by the nomads within the confines of a sacred district, frequently an oasis, by agriculturalists in the sanctuary of a village or town. The performance of certain religious duties, therefore, normally involved a journey of greater or less length, which in time increased as the renown of particular sacred places, and the advantages for trading offered by a large concentration of people, led to the further centralization of worship. Economy of time and effort, also, reduced the visits to a limited number at regularly recurriing periods, to which was postponed the payment of vows replacing the sacrifice of the time that was dedicated to the visits of the annual family or clan pilgrimage, as pictured in I S 11. At times a longer pilgrimage into strange territory resulted in a protracted stay as a ger or, even in permanent settlement; Abraham is the archetypal instance. The command in Dt 26:11-13 (AV 'ready to perish') contains the ideas of the Arabic root 'abadu, 'strange,' 'long from home,' 'permanent dweller.' Moreover, every traveller into strange territory was in a sense a pilgrim, a prospective visitor to the local shrine; hence, apparently, the right of sanctuary, of protection, was extended to cover the entire journey within the tribal territory—a supposition which may in part explain the sacred character of the primitive Semitic institutions intervening religious duties. The pilgrimage journey itself became an essential part of the religious celebration, assuming a quasi-sacred character—in itself a meritorious act.

The development of the pilgrimage of the clan into one of larger groups was due in part to the advantages of combination when the journey was long and led into strange territory; and this development was hastened when the period of pilgrimage was made to coincide with that of nomadic or agricultural festivity. The Hebrew term hagah denotes both the pilgrimage journey and the festival ceremonies at the shrine; but which of these two ideas is the original denotation is uncertain. The concept 'entire,' which seems common to various trilingual extensions of the Hittite root h- gi, may be seen both in the dance and in the circumambulation which concludes the pilgrim journey; nevertheless, if in Arabic hejāj originally did not denote the circumambulation of the Meccan shrine but only the visit to the shrine itself, it may be that the term is a corruption of the Aram. hej. The pilgrimage of pilgrims to Mecca is commemorated in the Koran 2:127 and in the Hadith. This hajj, together with the hijrah, or migration from Mecca to Medina, advanced in the 7th century, was a religious movement of the entire Arabian community, and the pilgrimage proper was a visit to Mecca, a shrine associated with the past history of the tribe of Quraish. A visit from the standpoint of Meccans, to a strange shrine under protection from the tribal adherents of that shrine—an original meaning—pilgrimage, in the sense of a pious journey, should be preferred (cf. the roots hejāj and hijjū). The origin of the Hebrew hagg as involving a nomadic journey seems discernible in some of the regulations for the Hebrew festival celebrations, especially the festival of Passover (though it later became associated in the Pentateuch with an agricultural epoch and with traditions of a definite historic departure from Egypt). A three days' journey into the desert is made antecedent to the first Passover celebration; and the extension of the celebration of the festivals in general over an entire week is in part a reminiscence of the journey period (cf. the pilgrimage month of the Arabs). But especially the eating of unleavened bread (the matzot) may be regarded as a whole ritual, with the symbolic participation of the entire community in the sacrifice (cf. the pilgrimage as a national celebration). The Passover, and the WALRHED festival, may be seen as the development of the pilgrimage of the community into a pilgrimage of the people (L. D. AGATE).

The pilgrimage of Tabernacles is a similar religious-dramatic ritual of tent-life (Hos 12:1 reads 'tents' for the 'booths' of Lv 23:42 and cf. also 2 Ch 7:5, if the phrase 'booths of their tents' is to be understood literally here). The pilgrimage had also a political importance. The close association in a common purpose of large numbers of people from different tribes and communities afforded the basis for the development of a more permanent national unity, and played a part no less in ancient pan-Hebraism than in modern pan-Islamism. In the Pentateuchal legislation which purported the centralization of worship in Jerusalem the attempt is clear to increase the spirit of unity by bringing all males together in pilgrimage to one shrine at three different periods of the year (the festivals of Passover, Weeks, and Booths). That this legislation, however, remained a national convention, and the inhabitants of Palestine simultaneously left their homes three times every year to make what for some would have been an extended journey—seems improbable; and the special emphasis laid upon the Passover in certain passages (Nu 28 or 29) and upon the Feast of Tabernacles in others (1 K 8), shows perhaps that one or the other was in reality the pilgrimage period at different epochs in the national life, or (more likely) for different clans or families at the same epoch. Jeroboam testified to the popular veneration of the pilgrimage journey and its attempt to counteract its unifying force by changing the place and time of it (1 K 13), with which cf. the reported action of Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik in promoting the pilgrimage to a certain mosque in Jerusalem as an agricultural aid in diverting the pilgrim and papa monachy to Jerusalem. After the building of the Second Temple in Jerusalem the Holy City was without rival as the religious center of the Jewish people. Their pilgrimages to Mecca were forgotten; the qiblah thither from Mesopotamia, and the journey itself became an even more important factor than before, often involving considerable hardship and danger; the old laws of hospitality to the pilgrim became correspondingly stricter, and the commercial interests of Jerusalem took special measures to accommodate
visitors in the city as well as along the roads leading there.

As the destruction of the Second Temple conditions changed; though there was still an annual celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (on the Mount of Olives), with the cessation of sacrifice the pilgrim, too, ceased to be an obligatory act. It assumed in general a pious or devotional character and lost much of its former joyousness. Pilgrims to the site of the Temple now came principally to mourn and to pray for the restoration of Zion, and they were not always welcomed by the nominal Jews with whom the pilgrims land was, indeed, a continually disputed and proved under Muhammadan rule; and in the 9th cent. many Karaites in particular made the pilgrimage. During the Crusades the pilgrimage seems to have ceased again; but with Saladin it was resumed, and recovered something of its ancient joyous character. In many cases the desire to visit Jerusalem was coupled with the purpose of living and being buried on holy ground, and the pilgrimage thus became a pious immigration; as early as the 11th cent., indeed, a fully organized Jewish community existed at Ramiah; and there was a marked influx of Jews from Spain somewhat later, and from other parts of Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. Earlier than this impulse from personal motives is to be regarded as a tourist pilgrimage the general purpose of travel (as in the case of Judah Halevi and Ibn Ezra), the frequency of which is evidenced by a special travellers' prayer in the Jewish ritual.

The idea of Jerusalem again had its rivals as the object of pilgrimage. In Egypt there was a famous sanctuary at Dummah (modern Tammah), near Cairo, to which Jewish families journeyed to celebrate the Feast of Weeks. But in Muhammadan countries the multiplication of shrines was due to the development especially of another type of pilgrimage—that to the tombs of pious men, of saints and reputed miracle-workers. Though evidence of the belief in the supernatural power of shrines may perhaps be found in 2 K. 13:21, and such a belief among certain classes of Jews may have persisted along with other beliefs in miracles, the custom of visiting graves in order to pray and ask for divine intervention seems to have been borrowed by Jews from their Oriental neighbours; at any rate, visit ẓiyārat (lit. 'visit') is sometimes made by Muhammadans and Jews to the graves of the same Biblical heroes. By the Oriental Jews themselves no distinction in reverence is made between the supposed tombs of Biblical characters and those of later saints. Palestine has many tombs of local, and several of more than local, veneration. To the supposed tomb of Zebedee at Sidon, e.g., pilgrims come from all parts of Palestine, and also to that of Rabbi Meir (q.v.) at Tiberias. That of Simon ben Yohai at Meron near Safed has long been visited by Jews even from Persia and Africa; indeed, in the 16th cent. Saed rivalled Jerusalem, especially as a place for permanent settlement, for it offered hospitality such as neither the Muhammadans nor the Jews of the Holy City any longer extended. Outside of Palestine pilgrimages are made to several tombs in Kurdistan (e.g., that of Nahum near Mosul), in Mesopotamia (e.g., that of Ezra near M兹zab, an ancient town near the Euphrates), and in Persia (that of Mordecai and Esther at Hamadan). In Algeria and Morocco are several tombs of Jewish worthies of local renown, and these, too, are sometimes visited by Muhammadans and Christians. In Spain, Portugal, Russia, and Poland have their pilgrimages, though the travelling instinct as such has sometimes found expression in a sort of pilgrimage to various famous synagogues, such as at Prague, for purposes of prayer; and the wandering student, journeying far to sit at the feet of renowned rabbis, was a familiar figure until the 19th cent. in Germany and still later in Poland and Hungary.

In some cases the tomb-pilgrimages take place at fixed annual dates which, especially in Palestine, often coincide with the various festivals of the Jewish calendar; in other cases they take place at the pleasure of the individual. In Muhammadan countries, especially in Persia, the pilgrimage is seen in the joyous festival character which the celebration assumes, even beside the tomb.


PILGRIMAGE (Indian).—1. Origin. —Pilgrimage in India is the result of the animistic basis of the popular beliefs, reflected in the higher forms of Hinduism and even in the local developments of Islam. Nothing strikes a new-comer to the country more than the crowds of pilgrims travelling by road or rail towards some holy river, the local abode of some god or godling; the tomb of some saint or martyr.

It seems not unlikely that the virtue of a pilgrimage arises mainly from its results, the spiritual and moral improvement which is often brought about by it and not so much from the desire to honour the deity whose tomb it is. In the case of a well-recognized pilgrimage the taking of the journey is not a very great advance on the primitive reverence for certain places as the abodes of spirits (R. V. Russell, Cause of India, 1911, vol. ii., Central Provinces Report, pt. i. p. 91). To this may be added the fact that water, by the analogy of the removal of physical impurities, is a potent agent in the removal of sin. Thus, in many parts of India, the shrine and the abode of a god may be the same; and not only the abode of Indra is considered the abode of the god Rama, which take his name, not because he is worshipped there, but because he bathed in this place when he wished to free himself from the sin of having killed the demon Ravan, who is held to be the father of the demon. The result of pilgrimage is found in the words of Indra to Harishchandra:

"There is no happiness for him who does not travel; living in the society of those who disregard the pilgrimage means for Indra is the friend of the traveller. Therefore wander" (Atharva Brahmana, vi. 10).

But, though in the Rigveda the animistic worship of rivers appears, pilgrimage, in its modern sense, is not referred to, and even in the Brahmana, while a particular sanctity attaches to river fords (tirtha) and certain privileged regions, like the banks of the Sarasvati, there is no knowledge either of pilgrimages or of holy places (A. Barth, Religionen der Indier, Eng. tr., London, 1882, p. 62). Even Mann (Laus, viii. 92) regards visits to the Ganges or to Kurnik-ghera as comparatively unimportant.

Gautama, however, declares that "all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, pilgrimage, the dwelling places of the gods, and the tombs and temples of the gods are places which destroy sin" (v. 14, SBE, 6(1890) 265).

The origin of the modern practice may be traced to the revival of Brahmanism and its absorption of local cults. Every place where a local spirit was propitiated or worshipped soon came under the control of a body of local priests, interested in attracting visitors, whose offerings formed their means of livelihood.

2. Places of Hindu pilgrimage. —The number of places to which pilgrims resort is enormous. In
the following list the more important holy places are understood according to their geographical position
1. The temples

(a) Places.—Punjab: Barahur, Gay, Doopur, Kallighat, Ban

(b) Places.—Punjab: Barahur, Gay, Doopur, Kallighat, Ban

(c) Places.—Punjab: Barahur, Gay, Doopur, Kallighat, Ban

(d) Places.—Punjab: Barahur, Gay, Doopur, Kallighat, Ban

2. Pilgrimage among the Buddhists.—The great monasteries, stâtes, and dagbhas erected over the relics of Buddha, many of which had disappeared, have been unearthed by the Archeological Survey, both Gay, where Buddha gained his title, and where the bodhi-tree beneath which he sat became an object of veneration, are still revered among Buddhist pilgrims from Burma and farther east. In 1905 the Tashi Lâma of Tibet visited the ruins at Sarath, near Benares burnt vast quantities of butter and incense, and scattered flowers. At present a large number of agencies carry on the worship of the Tashi Lâma was transfigured and the other Lômas worshipped him (The Times, 20th Dec. 1905). Next to the Tree of Wisdom at Bodh Gay, the sites regarded as most holy are the scene of Buddha’s death at Kusinâra (A. G.), the seven great choldas which enshrined his relics, Mt. Pota in S. India, Stilambala in the north, and the gâran’s Fairy-land in Udyanâ to the west. The Indian sites are seldom visited by Lômas and Tibetans on account of the expense of the journey. Probably for the sake of convenience and economy, they have transferred the site of Buddha’s death from Kusinâra to a place known as Sâlakus in Assam (L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet, London, 1904, p. 36). The holy places shared by different religions.

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both visit the ledge below the Takht-i-Sulaiman, from which King Solomon is said to have taken his last view of this land. He then carried off his dusky bride (T. H. Holdich, The Herodotean Wanderland, London, 1901, p. 73f.; cf. ERE ii. 769). 6. Pilgrimages by the ascetic orders.—Some of the most extant pilgrimages are those performed by Bôsús, Samnyâsîs, and other ascetics. Jonathan Haslewood (Ars Asiae, 1911, p. 172 f.) gives an interesting narrative of the pilgrimage performed by Pram- puri Samnyâsi, an Ursulân, i.e. one whose arms had become inflexible by being thrown into a lake by his father, and described in Eléphant (Reisen und Reiß), London, 1897, p. 36). He journeyed to all the chief Indian shrines, Íshâ, Bûdîn, Daku, Kusinâra, Dvaraka, the Patala, the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal, and to the Himalayas, and thence across the Himalaya to the source of the Ganges at Gahtari. Then he went to Nepal and the sacred lake Môsanarâ and Dâkum, whence he returned to India bearing dispatches to Warren Hastings, who gave him a free-train estate. When this account was written, he was still in the habit of making excursions to Nepal and to other parts of India. Asetics often wear symbols of such journeys, a white conch-shell denoting a journey to Rameswâr in the south, iron, brass, or copper armlets indicating pilgrimages to Paçupatînath, Kedârâ, and Dwarkâ in the Himalaya. 7. River pilgrimages.—The favourite form of Indian pilgrimage is to shrines on the banks of the great rivers, like the Ganges, Jumna, Narâbâ, or Godâvâri. The Ínts and the Brahmapûtra are too far from the sea for Holy Land pilgrims to have acquired special sanctity. If the river, though on their banks have been occupied by the votaries of special deities, are unsectarian, and any Hindu, whatever his rank may be, bathed, provided he avoids causing pollution to high-caste worshippers. The places at which these rivers rise, like Gaâgotri, Jumnotri, or Amârankant, and sites on their upper waters, like Nâsk or Hardwâr, are sacred. Even more highly regarded are the places where junctions of two or more rivers occur, like the meeting of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Sarasvati at Allahâbâd, known to Hindus as Prâyâga, ‘the place of sacrifices’ per excellence; Bâgheswar, Deoprâyâg, and other junctions higher up the stream; and Sâgar Island, where the river joins the sea. Such places are often dedicated to the worship of Siva, a god of fertility. Bathing in these holy places cleanses both body and soul, and brings the pilgrim into communion with the benign water-spirits and with the honoured dead whose souls have reached the world of heaven. 8. Rules of pilgrimage.—The dates and hours at which bathing is auspicious are fixed by the local priests, and depend on various considerations connected with the local cultus. Thus, at Allahâbâd the chief bathing fair is held on the new moon of the month Magh (Jan.-Feb.), at Hardwâr at the beginning of the Hindu solar year. At both these places specially important assemblies occur every twelfth year when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of Aries (Kubhí), such being fairs known as the Kumbh Mela (for the importance of the side-revolution of Jupiter, which is completed in 11 years, 314-92 days, as affecting religious observances, see GEP, pt. ii., The Dying God, London, 1911, p. 49.) From the ancient Mithraic and Sarmatian eclipses has been a means of expelling the evil spirits which are abroad at this time. According to tradition, the Íyavas bathed at Somnâth during an eclipse.

An important rite performed at sacred places is the circumambulation of the sacred object in the course of the sun, keeping the right shoulder towards it (pradakshina). Sometimes, as at Benares (ERE ii. 467), there is a holy road surrounding the sacred area along which the pilgrims walk. Sometimes, as at Hardwâr, where, with sites associated with the life of Krya are spread over a considerable space, they are visited in rotation under
the direction of a Brahman, who usually recites at each holy place the local religious guide-book (mukhāt-yog), which embodies the religious lore. These Brahman guides form a special class, often notorious for roguery and rapacity, like those known as nangpūtīs, in the case of the Chathur Spees, the Kaygawal of Aanahābad (Crooke, TO, Calcutta, 1836, ii. 387 ff.; BG ix. pt. i. [1901]; Kalhaga, introd. p. 20). These men usually keep lodging-houses for entertainment of guests, and of course, pilgrims, and which record for many years the arrival of persons of particular castes or families. There is an elaborate system of touting for pilgrims to Jagannath (W. W. Hunter, Orissa, London, 1872).

When the holy place is, like Hardwar, Benares, Gayā, or Siddhpur, associated with the cult of the dead, the ashes of relatives, which have been preserved until this opportunity, are consigned to the water, and the mind fixed on the prayers, one of the Mysteries (pachānta) is performed. It is an interesting development that since the introduction of the Government parcel-post the ashes are often sent by it to a Brahman competent to perform the rites, without the attendance of the relatives being required.

In the case of special rites a special rite of atonement (pachānta-chitra) is performed during the pilgrimage. The hair of the person to be cleansed is shaved, and the only fatt' left being on the crown of the head. He bathes in ten different ways, each with the use of an appropriate text, dresses in clean clothes, worships the deity, and, while the Brahman performs the fire sacrifice (homa), presents ten kinds of gifts, the last being the "shadow's gift", a cup of melted butter in which he has beheld the reflection of his own face. He then says to the priest: "This penance of mine must be rendered valid by the Brahman and kept inviolate as it is the duty of his successor to perform it; if it be neglected, father and descendants shall be cut off. (A. K. Fores, Ria'at Māli, London, 1878, p. 831 f.)."

9. Austerities practised by pilgrims.—Besides the suffering caused by long journeys on ox-carts over ill-kept roads, the crowding in railway carriages, the inconveniences of camping on the river bank, and the bad accommodation in the pilgrim lodging-houses, special austerities are undergone. One form of penance for grievous sin is the measuring out, not with the palm of the hand, but with the pilgrim's bosom, of his prostrations on the ground as he journeys to the sacred place. Waddell notes this as a Buddhist practice at Lāhā, where some zealots traverse the Circular Road in this way—a distance of about 6 miles, the circumference of the pilgrim's bosom, 3,000,000 to 40,000; in some cases the bands of the pilgrims are protected by padded wooden clogs, the soles of which are studded with hob-nails (Jha's and its Mysteries), London, 1906, pp. 364, 375.

According to the historian Rābhās-dīn (H. M. Ellin, Hist. of India, London, 1867-77, i. 67), at Somnāth "many of the more debased devotees, in performance of their vows, pass the last stage crawling along on the ground upon their sides; some approach walking upon their ankles, and never touch the ground with the soles of their feet, others go before the light upon their heads" (for similar customs at Banharpur see BG xx. [1884] 470). On several occasions the emperor Akbar, in imitation of the Hindu practice, walked on foot from Aggra to Ajmer to visit the shrine of the saint Mu'in-d-din Chishti (Elliot, v. 328).

The original custom of branding the pilgrim with the "mark of the god as a proof that he had performed the pilgrimage" (Pliny, xi. 44) was superseded by a mark made with moistened clay. But in S. India, among the Sri-Vaishnavas and Mudhavas, the visitor to the monastery (mukhāti) is branded on both shoulders (E. Thurston, Ethno- graphic Notes on South India, Madras, 1906, p. 403 f.). The practice of piercing the cheeks and tongue with a silver needle when going on pilgrimage is more common in S. than in N. India (ib. p. 402 f.; Costes and Tribes of S. India, Madras, 1909, p. 639). Occasionally in S. India pilgrims keep a handkerchief tied over their mouths to show that they are subject to a vow of silence during the pilgrimage, or they wear a mouth-lock, a silver band over the mouth, with a skewer piercing both cheeks (Thurston, Costes and Tribes of S. India, 599). Ahi al-Fadhil says of Nāgarkot in the Punjab—"Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange is it that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they make the pilgrims wear these bands on their heads, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short a time it is not sufficiently amazing" (Al-i.isher, ii. S. Jarrett, ii. 313).

On the sacrifice of joints of the fingers at certain Indian shrines see OP, pt. iii., The Dying God, p. 219 ff. At the pilgrimage to the temple of Sambhu at Travancore the Aiayaps (for these pilgrimages the worshippers call themselves by the name of the god) have to undergo a preliminary course of 41 days' sanyasi diet and sexual abstinence (Census of India, 1901, vol. xxvi., Travancore Report, pt. i. p. 98).

10. Muhammadan pilgrimages.—It does not fall within the scope of this article to describe the pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca, Medina, or Kerbelah, right to which some degree of success is highly prized in the spring feast (W. R. Smith, Lectures and Essays, London, 1912, p. 546). In India the number of tombs of saints (pir, ayinya) or martyrs of the faith (shahid) is legion, and they attract large bodies of pilgrims.


Such monuments abound in the vicinity of Muhammadan cities, like Delhi, Agra, Lahore, or Lucknow, and they are visited by low-class Hindus as well as by Muhammadans. Some shrines, like those of Mu'in-d-din Chishti at Ajmer, the martyr Ghází Miya'n at Bahraich and Gorakh- pur, and Shāh Madār of Makampon, vie with Hindu holy places in attracting both Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrims. But the erection of tombs, and still more, the proliferation of sanctuaries and mosques in opposition to the laws of orthodox Islam, and Wahhabis—the puritans of Islam—prohibit visits to them. The practice now so common among Muhammadans of visiting such places is clearly derived from a theory of preservation of the relics and the rites performed differ littl' from Hindu and Buddhist custom. The pilgrims circumnavigate the building in the course of the sun, crush into the tomb chamber to imbibe the breath of the saint which is supposed to sur vive round his remains, or, as a special privilege to be gained by payment of a fee, they are allowed to observe or even to touch clothes which are supposed to have been worn by the saint or martyr—his turban in particular, or some other article which may have belonged to him. Many of these shrines are potent in the cure of disease, and at some—e.g., at the tomb of Hanwant Naik at Sānganer in the Ahmādān District—wooden legs or arms are offered to cure some relief (BD xvii. [1884] 757). Many of the Panjāb shrines are efficacious in the cure of leprosy and other diseases (Census of India, 1911, vol. xiv., Panjab Report, pt. i. p. 383 f.).

11. Opposition to tomb-worship among some Hindu sects.—Some modern sects which aim at the permanent restoration and perpetuation of Hinduism have protested against the worship of tombs and relics, and even against pilgrimage.

The Arya Samaj (q.v.) discourages the practice of bathing in holy rivers, of pilgrimage, of the use of beads and sectarian marks, of gifts to worthless
PILGRIMAGE (Japanese)—The practice of religious pilgrimage in Japan may be traced back to the 5th century, when the Buddhist missions opened mountain passes and consecrated some of the peaks to be places of worship (see art. Missions [Buddhist], vol. viii. p. 704). In the course of the 9th and 10th centuries groups of mountaineering priests were established, following their own pilgrim itineraries. Legend has it that an emperor (reigned 984–953), in the distress occasioned by the death of his consort, left his palace and paid a visit, wearing monastic robes, to the thirty-three shrines of Kannon (or Avalokiteśvara) in the central provinces. However this may be, we know that at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century frequent pilgrimages were made by the court nobles to Buddhistshinto temples (or Shinto sanctuaries), and that the pilgrimage to the thirty-three sanctuaries of Kannon was, from the 15th century, one of the most popular. In the former case the pilgrimage was combined with pleasure, and rhythmic meetings were often held in front of the sanctuaries.

In the latter case the pilgrimage was undertaken as an act of penance and accomplished by stiff climbing, for the majority of the thirty-three sanctuaries stood, and still stand, on hills or precipices, and were therefore dedicated to the conception that the deity Kannon looks down with compassion on the lower world.

The pilgrim hands to the thirty-three Kannon sanctuaries consisted usually of a few persons, often a family, priests, and a few out-caste people. To which they received stamps of the various sanctuaries, and, while marching, they chanted hymns supposed to have been revealed by the respective deities of the places. At the places of pilgrimage acts of penance were performed, such as fasting, bathing in water-falls, and sleepless prayer. On the way the pilgrims subsisted on alms, and, when they died, they were tenderly buried by the villagers, these acts of protection to the pilgrims being considered of similar merit with the pilgrimage itself. The same may be said of all other religious pilgrimages, and that was the reason why, even in the ages of warfare and disturbance in the 15th and 16th centuries, the practice of pilgrimage came more and more into vogue, stimulated as it was by the sense of misery and by many distressing experiences. In these centuries, and more decidedly after the restoration of peace and order at the beginning of the 17th, the places of pilgrimage were multiplied enormously, being arranged in lines of thirty-three annual pilgrimages. Most of these were Buddhist sanctuaries dedicated to certain deities or connected with the life incidents of Buddhist saints. The distribution of the places in one group was various—sometimes limited to a certain locality, sometimes scattered over a wide area. Besides the places arranged in series there were several isolated ones, to which the pilgrims, in company or individually, paid a visit after long tiresome journeys.

A noteworthy feature in some of these pilgrimages was that they were practised as a kind of initiatory ceremony introducing young people to religious mysteries when they were entering adult life. Most pilgrimages of this kind were mountaineering trips over dales and precipices, paying homage to the sacred mountains visited, and finally worshipping the chief deity enshrined on the summit. The pilgrims were guided by trained leaders, who were mostly regular mountaineering priests, and who directed the ceremonies. The pilgrimage of the mountains visited were Kimpū-sen in Yamato, Ontaké in Shimanō,1 a group of three peaks in the north-east, the well-known Fuji, etc. Besides these and other Bud-

1 Percival Lowell, Occult Japan, Boston, 1895, a book chiefly based on the author's observations on Ontaké.

MENDICANTS, and of all the many rites of modern Hinduism (H. A. Rose, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province, vol. ii. pp. 95–14, ii. 291). The Sikh guru Namāk (v. r.) said:

'Religion consists not in toiling or places of a pilgrimage, or in sitting at attitudes of contemplation' (M. A. Macauliffe, The Principles of Hinduism, Oxford, 1905).

Guru Aran Dās endeavoured to prevent Sikhs from visiting Hardwar, Benares, and other places of Hindu pilgrimage (ib. ii. 87). But this rule is now generally disregarded, and Hardwar in partic-

ular is visited by crowds of Sikh pilgrims. Guru Amardīsāh declared that visits to shrines like Gugga and Sakhi Sarwar, as well as visits to Muhammadan cemeteries and places of cremation (ib. v. 158). But Namāk visited the tomb of Shāh Farid at Aj̄alān, and modern Sikhs frequent Ambela and Kartarpur (ib. i. 84, iii. 280). Veneration of the Sikh saints, or bhagats, prevails widely (ib. vi. 1 ff.). One of the leading principles of the Linggāyat sect in S. India is that between God and His worshippers no mediator is required, and that the pilgrimages, penances, pilgrimages, and fasts are unnecessary (BG xxii. [1884] p. 105: Census of India, 1901, vol. xxiv., Mysore Report, pt. i. p. 533).

12. Social aspect of pilgrimages.—The desire for change, the relief of the dull everyday life of the Indian people, inhibitive to them, is stronger than religious enthusiasm. Hence women, who see little of the outer world, lose no oppor-
tunity of making these journeys. Trade is carried on at all the great religious fairs, where cattle, goods, and wares are sold, and where women purchase their annual stock of necessaries and trilles. This movement of the people on pilgrimage has done something to relieve the parochialism of village life; the possibility of meeting an out-stationed crowd at the railway carriage makes caste restrictions, while the need of food from uncertain sources diminishes some of the precautions which the Hindu by the rules of his caste is compelled to adopt. The improvement of communication by road and rail has certainly increased the number of pilgrims. But Brahmins and other managers of sacred places assert that their profits have not increased with the larger crowds. The tendency now is naturally to visit the most sacred places, while those of less religious importance are neglected. It makes a shorter visit, and the reaction against the influence of Brahmins tends to reduce the amount of his benedictions. The chief danger from pilgrimag-

es is the risk of the spread of epidemic disease, and on some occasions in recent years cholera seems to have spread into Central Asia and even into E. Europe and the Mediterranean area by contagion from pilgrims visiting Hardwar and other sacred places in S. India. The burden imposed on the executive and sanitary officials in managing crowds of excited peasants, ignorant of the elementary rules of sanitation, has become increasingly arduous.

LITERATURE.—There is no monograph on the subject of Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrimage. A full list of places of pilgrimag-


W. Crooke.
PILGRIM FATHERS.

The most prominent of these movements is Pilgrim, which is one of the most cherished memories of British and American Christianity. It is the movement of the 17th century, dedicated to the Christian life of England. The experiment then made of relying solely on the constructive and regulative power of the gospel in building a Church has been of great value. It has had an influence far beyond the limits of the Church which inherited directly the Pilgrim tradition. The political importance of the movement lay in the fact that it was a conspicuous experiment in democracy conditioned by religious motives and restraints, so that democracy is seen at its best.

This was the movement of the Pilgrims, of which we have the account of the first determination on the part of the members of the Church of England, and the establishment of the Church of England in America. The Pilgrim Fathers were the first to break away from the established Church, and to form a new Church on the principles of the Reformation. The Pilgrims were a people of the 17th century, and they were the first to establish a Church in America. They were the first to establish a Church in America on the principles of the Reformation. The Pilgrims were a people of the 17th century, and they were the first to establish a Church in America on the principles of the Reformation.
see Mather, Magnalia, i. 18, quoted in Brown, Pilgrim Fathers of New England, p. 260). Their aim was to constitute a Church on the principles of the NT, and they separated from the Church by law established, because (1) ‘the profane and ungodly multitude’ was admitted to communion; (2) the ‘various ecclesiastical offices and callings, courts and synods’ had no warrant in the Word of God; and (3) the Church was ‘in subjection unto an antichristian and ungodly government, civil contrary to the institution of our Saviour Christ’ (Harl. MSS 360, fol. 70, quoted in Brown, p. 83).

About 1600 from 1600 there was one church formed on these principles worshiping in Gainsborough. When its numbers increased and the members from the surrounding district found the distance too great, a second church was formed at Screellow, meeting in the house of William Brewster, an ancient manor-house which had once belonged to the archbishops of York. The pastor was Richard Clyfton, formerly a Puritan rector of Balworth in Lincolnshire, a ‘grave and reverend preacher, of good learning and of great good’. He had done much good, and under God had been a means of ye conversion of many’ (Bradford, p. 10).

3. Leading personalities.—Robert Browne (1550–1633).—See art. BROWNE.

Henry Barrow and Henry Browne.—In 1592–93 Henry Barrows (Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1570, Gray’s Inn, 1576), a converted barrister, John Greenwood, a Cambridge graduate (Corpus, 1581), and John Peny (b. 1559, executed 1593), a Welshman and Cambridge graduate (Peterhouse, 1580), were put to death for refusing to abjure Brownist principles at the bidding of Archbishop Whitgift. The Conventicle Act of 1593 provided that persons above the age of sixteen who refused to repair to church by law established, or attended a conventicle, should be imprisoned, and, if they failed to conform in three months, should be banished from the realm. If they returned, they should be hanged. That act led to the migration to Amsterdam and Leyden, and eventually to Massachusetts. Barrow left his property to the church in 1600. It had been a member, and with the help of his legacy most of the members were able to emigrate to Holland in 1633. They settled first at Kampen and then at Naarden on the Zuyderzee, where they lived in comfort. It must be remembered that the magistrates voted a small sum of money for their relief. In 1625 they were settled at Amsterdam.

Francis Johnson (1562–1618).—The pastor of the ‘Ancient Church’ in London—by ‘ancient’ the Brownists meant ‘primitive’—was Francis Johnson, formerly a Fellow of Christ’s College, Cambridge (1584, M.A. 1585), and a popular Puritan preacher. He was expelled from the university, and imprisoned, for a sermon preached at St. Mary’s, maintaining Presbyterianism to be of divine right, delivered on the petition of 68 members of the university, and allowed to emigrate to Middelburg (1589–92), where he became pastor of a Puritan church. His conversion to Separatist principles was due to a book by Barrow and Greenwood that was presented to him by a Quaker, namely, A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffard’s Book, intituled A short Treatise against the Donatistes of England. Johnson was authorized by the magistrates of Dort, where the book was printed, to confute the pamphlet. It was burned all but two copies. Taking up one of these ‘to see their errors’, he was convinced by its argument, gave up his pastorate, and visited Barrow in prison. He then joined the Separatist Church in Amsterdam and became its pastor. When his flock emigrated, he was left behind in prison, and it was not until 1597 that he rejoined them and resumed the pastorate. He had meanwhile made a voyage in the Hopewell to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but was obliged to return to Amsterdam owing to the misfortunes that overtook his ship.

Johnson’s antecarian temper led to some unfortunate disputes in the church of which he was pastor, the more discreditably that they were largely concerned with his wife’s family, the criticisms of his brother George. Johnson aimed at intra-congregational Presbyterianism, maintaining that ‘a body of simple church members, aggregated without Elders, had no power except to elect Elders. It could not even ordain them. On the contrary it was a prominent member’ (H. M. Dexter, Congrega
tionalism of the last Three Hundred Years, p. 320).

Henry Ainsworth (1571–1625) became a scholar of Caius College, Cambridge, in 1587. In 1593 we find him serving as a bookseller’s porter in Amsterdam and a professor Brownist. He was a man of sensitive, scholarly temperament, and played an important part in the history of the church at Amsterdam, where for a time he held the office of teacher under Francis Johnson. No fewer than 316 treatises came from his pen between 1589 and 1641 (see Dexter, p. 346), of which perhaps the best known are the Counterpyzon and the Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly called Antichristians, and some Observations as are laid upon them by the Heads and Doctors of the University of Oxford, which he, jointly with Francis Johnson, prepared for presentation to James I. and afterwards published in 1604 (ib. pp. 306–309). He was a man of wide and interesting reading, and was an especially eminent Cambridge Orientalist and commentator on the OT. Beginning in 1616, he published annually a book of annotations on the live books of the OT, the Song of Solomon, which were greatly admired by the Hebrew scholars in the universities of Leyden:

‘They thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue in the University, nor scarce in Europe’ (quoted in Mackenz., English Scholars, p. 210).

He gave up the allegorizing method of exegesis which was then general, in favour of the more modern method. His commentaries were thought worthy of republication in Edinburgh as late as 1845.

He was a notable story-teller. His Ainsworth in Amsterdam, illustrating his poverty, piety, learning, and Christian conviction. He was chosen pastor of the church at Amsterdam during the absence of Francis Johnson in Newfoundland, and later, when Johnson’s antecarian rule had made unity impossible, Ainsworth withdrew. The dispute began with a discussion on the power of excommunication, in which Ainsworth maintained, against Johnson, that the power belonged to the congregation as a whole and was not to be used by the elders alone. In 1610 Ainsworth and thirty others who shared his views formed a third Congregational church in Amsterdam.

D. Neal’s story of Ainsworth’s death is as follows:

‘It is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the streets of Amsterdam, he advertised it in print, and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered to return it for a sum of money which he would desire; but Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with some of his colleagues upon the prophecies of the V1Ith Testament respecting the Messiah, which the Jew proposed; but not having interest enough to obtain it, and Ainsworth being absolute in the demand, he was denounced as a malefactor, and he was prosecuted’ (ibid. p. 421).

John Robinson (1568–1625) entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1582 and became Fellow in 1599. For four following years he appears to have been a lecturer in Norwich, where he was ‘worthily revered of all the city for the God of him in him’ (Ainsworth,
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Counterpoint). He records his own unwillingness to break with the Puritan ministry:

'Had not the truth been in my heart as a burning fire shot up in my bones, Jer. xx. 9, I had never broken those bonds of discipline that had long confined me. I had not the strength to resist them, for I was not a man of stamps, but of a strong and tender spirit; and it was but a thing of little moment in my eyes, that my integrity should be broken by a single assault of the public.'

In 1603 or 1604 he was suspended for his disregard of conformity, and united himself to the church at Gainsborough. He accompanied the members of the Scrooby church to Amsterdam, to join with the church already established there. They found that church troubled by discussions about its own discipline, and decided to go on to Leyden. In the Amsterdam discussion Robinson sided with Ainsworth against John Smith, Thomas Helwys, and Francis Johnson, who were Presbyterianizing the internal government of the church. Robinson published a moderate and able statement of the Congregational position, rejecting all sectarian names and maintaining simply its justification as an original Christian type. In Leyden Robinson was admitted to the university in Sept. 1615, where he attended lectures by Episcopius and Polyander. An attempt has been made on very slight grounds to discredit the account of a debate between Robinson and Episcopius, in which Robinson defended Calvinism against the famous Arminian. Bradford's account of the debate (p. 21) is partisan, but obviously reliable, and the debate accounts for the position which Robinson holds in the Dutch records of the Pilgrim church. From this time onward, in the records of Leyden, he was known as 'Robinsonian.' A debate with Episcopius on a theological subject had all the ardours of a political contest, for the Remonstrants, who were Arminians, followed John of Barneveldt, who wanted an Erastian National Church. Robinson sided with the Lutheran true Spaniards. The Contra-Remonstrants, who were Calvinists, were on the side of Prince Maurice—in favour of a free Church in a free State, and bent on continuing war against Spain.

Robinson's published writings are the most authoritative, balanced, scholarly, and positive statement of Separatist principles that we have. They combine the claim for liberty of worship with catholicity of feeling and belief. He debates constantly in the English language, explaining the Separation, discussing reasons against it, confutes errors alleged to be held by Separatists, and deals with the nature of Christian fellowship. His teachings may be said to have leavened all Church relations with the Mayflower and the basis of Christian fellowship. In 1617 he joined with Brewster, who was associated with him as elder of the church in Leyden, in presenting 'seven articles' to the Privy Council, detailing the ecclesiastical position of the Pilgrims, in order to satisfy the Lords of the Council that they were proper persons to settle in Virginia. From that time till the actual migration in the Mayflower (1620) he was a leader in the correspondence with Sir Edwin Sandys and the negotiations with the Merchant Adventurers. It was in Robinson's clear mind that the reasons against settlement in Holland first took definite form. The Pilgrims cherished loyal attachment to the British crown and wished to live under it; their children were being drawn into service in the colonies under the Dutch government; the difficulty of earning a respectable living in Holland prevented other Englishmen from joining them, and they had a 'great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundations in these parts of the world.' They sailed for ye propagating and advancing the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of earth; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work' (Bradford, p. 24).

The facts as to Robinson's famous address to the departing Pilgrims are as follows:

That address appears first in a brief narrative attached to Edward Winslow's 'History of Plymouth Plantation,' makes no quotation from this address, nor does Morton mention it in his New England's Memorial, published in 1669. Cotton Mathew, writing in 1695 (Magnalia Christi Americana), turns the address into the first person, and changes 'very long into' to 'very long, and') which Mr. Robinson, it embodies the substance of a sermon preached on Ezra xii, mentioned by Bradford as following a day of solemn humiliation. Bradford says that the sermon was printed and in a book of the 'Covenant Word,' refer to polity, and not to doctrine. He defends this interpretation on the ground that this alone explains Winslow's quotation in a pamphlet defending the Plymouth settlers from Separatist exclusiveness. The attempt to discredit the address being made by Sir Robert Saye and Robinson was classed as a 'separatist sentiment, or, for that matter, a presbyterian, because he approved of communion with the Church of England, in the hearing of the word and prayer (though not in sacraments and discipline)' (John Shaw's MS Advice to his Son, 1664, p. 335). Robinson was well known for his approval of 'private communion' with godly members of the Church of England, and he preached the lawfulness of attending Anglican services as early as July 1617. He left a MS on the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England, which was found in his study after his death and published in 1634. Robert Ballie (1599-1662), the Presbyterian, writes that Robinson was 'the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect [Indians] enjoyed' (A Dissuasion from the Errors of the Time, London, 1645, p. 17). The English government prevented Robinson from joining the Pilgrims in the Mayflower owing to his authoritative influence with them, and, before the embargo was withdrawn, Robinson died 1st March 1621, after the Mayflower sailed for eight days. In 1691 the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States affixed a memorial on the outside wall of the Pieterskerk in the Klostegi opposite the site of Robinson's house in Leyden.

William Bradford (1505-1657) is the historian of the Pilgrim colony. He was born at Austerfield, in Yorkshire, and became a friend of William Brewster, who was 23 years his senior. He joined the Brownists in 1608, followed the Scrooby exiles to Amsterdam in 1607, and accompanied them to Leyden in 1609. He is entered in the books there as a 'fastian-weaver.' He was one of the signatories of the letter from Leyden to Carver and Cushman in England in 1620. In the same year he sailed in the Mayflower, and fortunately, when he was on an exploring expedition, he lost his first wife, Dorothy May (of Wisbech, Cambridgeshire), by drowning, while the ship lay in Cape Cod harbour. Chosen governor of New Plymouth in 1621, he was re-elected every year till he lost his life (at his own request) for twelve years till he 'by importunity got off' (Hist. of Plymouth Plantation, p. 367). He had literary and methodical habits which make his record of the doings of the Pilgrims of the 'Wilderness,' and later of the passengers in the Mayflower, with personal notes, is priceless to the American genealogist. He left in MS a full History of Plymouth Plantation, which lay unidentified for many years in Lambeth Palace library, till it was recognized by Joseph Hunter,
and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Bradford began his history, which he modestly calls ‘these scribbled writings,’ in 1630, and so pieced up at times of leisure afterward. (p. 6). The last sentence was written in 1630, when the narrative stops abruptly without any formal end to the book.

Miles (or Myles) Standish (1584—1656) was the soldier of the Pilgrim movement. He came of a Lancashire family, the Standishes of Standish, and had served in the Netherlands before 1602. Longfellow, who has portrayed him in song, in his courtship of his courtship, says that he could trace his pedigree plainly back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall in Lancashire, England, and that he was heir to vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded. Duxbury Hall is between Wigan and Chorley, lying off the highway, and it is true that a page in the registers of the parish church for 1584, the supposed year of Myles Standish’s birth, shows signs of having been tampered with. He became friendly with the exiles in Leyden, and, though probably not a member of the church, he went with the Pilgrims as a military protector. He was chosen military captain of the colony, and did much to secure its safety by his rapid and skilful measures of defense. The estates of Duxbury, New England, where he died in 1656, are still the property of his descendants. His force of character and romantic career have made him a favourite with poets and novelists.

Edward Winslow (1595—1655) or Dotywitch was, according to Hutchinson, ‘of a very reptilian family and of a very active genius’ (quoted in Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 269). He happened to pass through Leyden on his travels, and was so impressed with what he saw of the life of the Puritan exiles that he decided to identify himself with them, and eventually went with the migrants in 1620. Twenty-five years later he wrote:

‘I persuade myself never people upon earth lived more lovingly together and parted more sweetly than we the Church at Leyden did; parting not rashly in a distracted humour, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer, whose gracious presence was not only found with us, but his blessing upon us from that time until, as we think, now this day. (Experiences of the Pilgrims, p. 147). His name stands third among the signers of the compact on board the Mayflower. He was in England as agent for the colony in 1623—24, and for Plymouth and the Massachusetts settlement in 1635. In 1646 he was chosen to rebid in England the charges against the colonists of religious intolerance and persecution. He died at sea on an expedition against the Spaniards in the W. Indies.

Other eminent men among the Pilgrims were: John Carver (1575—1621), an English Puritan, who, having been chosen deacon in the church at Leyden, sailed in the Mayflower, and was made first governor of New Plymouth. Thomas Brewer, a wealthy Puritan from Kent, who established himself as a printer in Leyden. Persuasion followed him thither, and drove him to join the Pilgrims, where he was associated with William Brewster in printing and publishing several important documents. Robert Cushman, who was closely associated with Carver in the early arrangements of the new colony. He accompanied the Pilgrims as far as Plymouth, England, but remained in England to act as their agent. In 1621 he was in the new colony.

The Pilgrim company in Leyden.—The piety of New England descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers has moved them to investigate every record of the sojourn of the exiled Pilgrim colony in Holland. A list of the Pilgrim company in Leyden, compiled by H. M. and M. Dexter and published in their England and Holland of the Pilgrims, contains 584 names, including children. The majority of these were men and women in the common walks of life. Between 7th Nov. 1598 and 4th Jan. 1617, the names of 118 Englishmen occur in the marriage records of Leyden.

Of these 102 have recorded their occupations: 38 are fools, their work is of no account; six are tailors, four are grocers, three are masons, and two are clerks in each of the following capacities: court officials, button-makers, cutlers, cunning-men, embroiderers, hucksters, schoolmasters, smiths, turners. This group is characterized by the fact that all of them are defrauded by the same printer, sailors’ barber, seaman, sheathmaker, silk-cloth weaver, smith’s journeyman, Spanish chair-maker, sword-cutter, tobacco-pipe-maker, turner in ivory, and wood-sawyer.

These are typical of the whole company, apart from the leaders. They were people of good sense, native intelligence, solid habits of industry, frugality, and self-reliance, and with some education in the primary sense. They were not trained by the experience of high commerce to take large risks, nor by the owning of land to the duties of rule and government. The eminent qualities needed to explain their great venture are a regnant conscience, which makes an intense, religious, and idealistic spirit, and will of God, making everything else second to the supreme endeavour to get God’s will done on earth as in heaven; and these are the qualities which came out in their later history in New England. With the increasing complexity of social life, they found it difficult to agree on methods of determining the will of God in their circumstances, and this led to an increasing reliance on democratic methods and measures.

5. The Pilgrim migration. The Separatist church existed for eight or nine years in Leyden, marked chiefly by the sustaining and conciliatory ministry of John Robinson. But it was not possible for its members to remain there. Their children began to drift into the habits and customs of the young Hollanders, and the elders realized that the next generation would probably have lost distinctive character. They had no identity of interest with the country in which they were living; and, above all, they realized that there was no security for the public officials to provide. They believed that it was their lot to lay the foundations of a Church and to advance the Kingdom of God in some remote part of the world. It was not enough to have ‘freedom to worship God.’ Their principle was that ‘by working they would have a fair field for their exercise.’ Robinson and Brewster privately discussed the idea of removal to America. New England or Virginia. It was then made public, and, after much discussion between enthusiastic optimists and fearful pessimists, the enthusiasts carried the day. The period of negotiations for starting a colony in New England was protracted and dreary, extending from 1617 to the sailing of the Mayflower in 1620. The usual method of obtaining a colony was to secure a patent—or charter—from the king. The Pilgrims applied to the London Virginia Company, which numbered among its councillors Brewster’s friend, Sir Edwin Sandys. But the company was soon torn by dissensions; and the Pilgrims’ hopes were dimmed. John Carver and Robert Cushman, found it almost impossible to get their business through. More than once negotiations were on the point of being dropped. The church had hoped to have the right of liberty of conscience and to send them at once to the land under the king’s seal; but the king refused this, although he promised not to molest them if they were peaceable. When, on 19th June 1619, a patent was at last granted by the London Virginia Company and confirmed under
the company's seal, it was found that no financial help was forthcoming, for the company was penniless. At one point the problem of securing help seemed so hopeless that it was proposed to make a treaty with some Dutch merchants who were willing to transport them to the Hudson river and to provide them with cattle if they came under the Dutch government. In this extremity help came from one Thomas Weston, a London merchant, who visited the church in Leyden. He and some Merchant Adventurers, who were his friends, had taken out a patent from the Virginia Company in the name of John Pierce, and offered to advance money, and to make a voyage of discovery and adventure, to supply them with shipping. Articles of agreement were drawn up in London, but afterwards altered in favour of the Adventurers—much to the confusion of Cushman, who had to accept what he could get lest he should lose their help altogether.

At last, as the summer of 1620 threatened to pass with nothing done, a great effort was made to speed preparations, and two ships were got ready—the Speedwell, a pinnace of 60 tons, bought and fitted in Holland, and the Mayflower, a vessel of 150 tons, hired and fitted in London.

The departure from Leyden, which is immortalized in poetic and pictorial art, is the departure of the Speedwell from Delfshaven. A day of humiliation and tears, of farewell addresses and words with church. John Robinson gave the farewell address in the text Ezr 8 : 12: 'Then I proclaimed a fast there by the river Ahab, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our children for ever and for all our substance. It was on this occasion that he used the words afterwards recorded by Winslow. A small majority of the church had decided to stay behind, and by agreement the pastor was to stay with the majority. They accompanied the rest to Delfshaven, and committed them affectionately to the care of Almighty God. The Speedwell arrived at Southampton on 5th August, and was there met by the Mayflower, which had sailed from London with the rest of the company.

Difficulties still awaited them. There were financial difficulties with Weston, as the body of Pilgrims refused to sign the altered articles, and he refused to give them money that they had expected. They had to part with their stock of London goods, and enter Society. A week after the two ships at last got away, it was found that the Speedwell was leaky. She had been over-mastered and had strained her timbers. The ships put back to Plymouth, where the Barbican quay which they used is still pointed out. The Mayflower took on board the most effective part of the Speedwell's company and the latter ship was then dismissed. Among those who remained (about eighteen in all) was Cushman, who despaired of the voyage, but later recovered courage and joined the colony, where he did good service. After a voyage of nine weeks in a crowded vessel, which encountered the usual autumn storms of the Atlantic, the Pilgrims were overjoyed to sight land on 10th November. They recognized the headland as Cape Cod. Passengers and seamen got together and decided to sail southward towards the Hudson river in the direction of the land secured by their patent. But the ship was entangled in dangerous shoals and currents, the wind failed them, and they had to make for Cape Cod, where they changed in their destination brought with it some dangers. The Virginia Company had no rights in New England. Their patent, therefore, had no authority or could confer none. To avoid the risks of war under these altered circumstances, the adult males were called into the cabin of the Mayflower and all signed the memorable compact which became the basis of the constitution of the colony:

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of ye Faith, etc., have undertaken, for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Christian faith and honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye northern parts of Virginia. John Carver, governor, and 101 men, and mutually in ye presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and increase of ye ends aforesaid; and by virtue heard to erect, constitute and frame ye good and Builder of all lawes, ordinances, and justs, in ye most convenient way and order for ye general good, we promise and chune this person, Massasoit, for the head of the tribe, or person to take the lead amongst all the savages living there, as seems good to himself and to us. Witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our sovereign lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, the fiftye-fourth, Ano. D. M. 1620.’ (Brown, p. 20.)

Then follow forty-one names—the most notable list of names in the history of New England.

The landing of the Pilgrims by Plymouth Rock, as they called the solitary rock which marks the sandy shore, ended one series of troubles. The problems that they had now to face were those of a new settlement, wresting at first a bare living from nature in a severe climate and surrounded by watchful enemies. That the faith and courage of the little community were sufficient to meet and overcome this new adversity was largely due to the severe school of experience through which they had already passed successfully.

6. The Plymouth colony, Massachusetts.—As with most communities starting on a religious basis, the methods of the Pilgrim colony were at first communistic. The capital that had been advanced by the Merchant Adventurers—a commercial undertaking, whose profits were to be derived from the sale of beaver-skins, amber, etc.—was expected and sent over by the colonists. The Plymouth settlers agreed that all the profits of trade and labour were to be held in common till the end of seven years, and no individual enterprise could be started by the planters for their own benefit. The land-system was completely communistic, all the land being the property of the community and all the labour expended on it being for the common good. The people were conscientions and public-spirited, full of sympathy and mutual helpfulness, but, in spite of this, their life was full of perils and misfortunes. Men disliked the fact that their wives had to work for other men, and complained that, as they could not command the labour of their own servants, the servants that they brought with them were a burden without corresponding compensation. In the spring of the third year each man was given a small plot of corn-growing land for himself. The allotment was only for present use, not for inheritance; but the value of the additional incentive was at once felt. The men worked harder, and women and children went willingly to work on their own piece of land.

The following summary of the economic system of Plymouth Plantation is supplied by C. W. Elliot:

The Pilgrims were plain, labouring people who all worked with their hands and expected to get their living as "planters." They made their living by farming, fishing, hunting, and practicing the elementary arts of a prosperous community. They came from England under articles of agreement which were to govern the proceedings of the colonists, the conditions of which were fixed by two classes of persons, one called 'adventurers' and the other 'planters.' The adventurers merely put capital at the disposal of the outgoing of the expedition. The planters, on the other hand, who crossed the ocean and were to bear the hardships and risks of the expedition. The planters might or might not put capital into their own care. Some of the more venturesome made their venture in the joint-stock company as adventurers by putting in money and the others by putting in labour. It is a common error to suppose that the joint-stock company were adventurers by putting in money and the other planters by putting in property. Every planter aged sixteen years and upwards received on going a single share in the capital company rated at ten pounds. A planter who carried
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with him his wife and children or servants was allowed a share in the common stock or the person sixteenth and upward and for every two children between ten and sixteen years old. Every freeman was expected to work for the maintenance of the city and the ultimate division of the holdings of the company fifty acres of unmannered land. All the planters were to be fed and clothed out of the salt and good of the land. Each planter was to work four days in each week for the company, and two for himself and family. At the end of seven years each planter was expected to show that he had turned his five acres of garden land occupied by him and his. The undertaking entered into on these terms was a strong case of co-operation and co-operative management for a short term of years, with acquisition by every head of a family, at the end of that short term, of a hundred acres of land to be his for ever.

For the protection of the colony, every able-bodied citizen was expected to bear arms. Every youth learnt the use of the small arms before he was taken off to sea and then available for the chase and war. The Pilgrims started the New England muster and military system, prototype of the admirable organization of republican Switzerland (ib. p. 174).

In the fourth year the communal system was still further abandoned. A piece of land was granted in perpetuity to each family in the proportion of one acre to every person, as near to the town as might be. Gradually room had to be made for the establishment of enterprising men in the collection of furs. In 1626 the Merchant Adventurers sold their rights in the plantation to Isaac Allerton and some associates for £1800. All heads of families and able young men of the colony then became partners. The land and cash were divided among the partners, and each was required by lot twenty acres of land. Bradford, Allerton, Standish, Winslow, Brewster, and three others accepted responsibility for the debts of the colony, and hired the trade of the whole community for a term of years to enable them to discharge the debts. The community then definitely broke with its communitarian tradition and entered on that capitalistic phase of social organization which is still an outstanding feature of American life.

In 1634 a charge most frequently levelled against the Pilgrim colony is that of illiberality. It is urged that they adopted the very methods which had driven them out of England. John Lyford, who had been sent out by the London Merchants as a clergyman, was sent home for trying to set up the ritual of the Church of England, though his offence was confined to occasional use of the Prayer Book. They persecuted Roger Williams and drove him out to become the founder of Rhode Island. They persecuted the Quakers, and were guilty of the confusion of Church and State functions against which they had protested in England.

The reply to this charge is twofold. (1) In the early days of the colony it existed in the midst of enemies. Its Brownist reputation exposed it to constant criticism both from England and from other colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. Its very existence depended on maintaining the purity of its own communion and its solidarity in the face of hostility. Bradford's conduct towards Roger Williams was personally useful and considerate. He regarded him as a man 'godly and zealous...but very unsettled in judgement' (p. 310), and this was true. Williams was allowed to go to Rhode Island, which was within the Plymouth patent. In each case of so-called persecution other elements were involved besides those of religious opinion. Action was taken on the ground of civil order rather than religion. The colony could not afford to be hospitable to divergences of conduct which were illiberal, or which were considered to be undesirable even carried to the point of excess were preferable, in the interests of public policy, to taking risks which might jeopardize the main will and even the existence of the colony.

(2) The reality is that Plymouth, in virtue of its democratic method, contained the remedy for its own mistakes. The argument for democratic liberalism is not that it will always be right, but that, when it goes wrong, it can right itself. In the Pilgrim case it was a fundamental principle that the government is necessarily dogmatic, and, having gone wrong in a matter of judgment or policy, generally makes the wrong worse by using force to make the wrong appear right. Thus it goes from bad to worse and makes matters worse. Democratic government may make as many mistakes as an autocratic government, but the mistake, once discovered, is easily repudiated and remedied by a change of leaders and of policy. The appeal in democracy is always to the better principle of the whole body of the people, and the democratic method is the surest way of allowing that principle to assert itself. The Plymouth colony was responsible for acts that in the modern judgment, though not in its own, were illiberal, but it was never illiberal in principle. It worked out in its own way a distinction between civil and religious policy, and ultimately established a much greater freedom of individual opinion than England has yet achieved. It led the way towards the discovery that in order to live peaceably and helpfully beside each other it is only necessary that men should cherish the same ideals of public liberty, public justice, and co-operative management.

The Pilgrim colony existed as a separate State only from 1620 to 1691, when it was incorporated with Massachusetts. By far the most important part of its history is included in the years before 1660. During the years 1620-69 it was under the leadership of such men as Bradford, Standish, and Brewster, and its influence was due to the precedents laid down by these outstanding personalities. For more than thirty years Plymouth was fortunate in enjoying the benefits of democracy without its drawbacks. The disadvantages of popular rule are well known: it tends to be unstable; it lacks authority; it encourages place-seeking and popularity-hunting, and sets a premium on self-advertisement. From all these Plymouth was saved by the massive character of its first leader, Bradford. He held office without salary, and so stimulated public spirit. He promoted unity in the colonial government by maintaining the pre-eminence of Plymouth and by supervising the growing towns. He gave stability to the government by preventing it from breaking up into a multitude of small, jealous, and avaricious cities. He introduced social and philanthropic reforms so far in advance of the general custom in England that many have attributed them to his sojourn in Leyden, when he may have reaped the benefits of centuries of Dutch experience. So consistently was Bradford elected to the post of governor that the colony is perhaps best pictured as a large family over which this wise leader presided with paternal authority. With the exception of about five years, when at his request Winslow or Prince held office, Bradford was governor from 1621 till his death in 1657.

During his long period of office the characteristic features of the Pilgrim spirit in public affairs had time to get well established, such as local self-government, dependence on the people for their meeting, elective unpaid officials, State registration of births, deaths, and marriages, the registration of land transfers, State schools and pensions. The foundation of Harvard University was begun in 1636 by John Harvard, a citizen of the Pilgrim colony, and the monument which he erected for students who gave one half of his estate, it being in all about one thousand seven hundred pounds, towards the erection of a college, and all his library (Chron. of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 142). The colony was made efficient for New England towns which gave them a voice in the administration of its affairs. The public hand of the State added
the rest (Hunter, Collections, i. 242). The importance of those methods lies not in their local value, but in their having created a type that was imitated far and wide as settlements multiplied and colonization spread over the hinterland behind Plymouth rock.

7. Survivals of Pilgrim influence. — Heroic figures in the dawn of a nation's history constitute one of its most precious assets. Such figures are the Pilgrim settlers as they stand out against the background of battle with nature and unsympathetic governments, inspired only by great principles and a great religion. Americans have learned to treasure the memory of the men of the Pilgrim migration, and both directly and indirectly the influence is distributed to lay beacons on the national ideals. At Plymouth in Massachusetts an obelisk commemorates the landing of the Pilgrims. The original rock on which they landed is enclosed to prevent curio-hunters from carrying away mementos. Articles of furniture belonging to the Pilgrims are preserved in a special museum. The names and genealogies of the Mayflower families are carefully preserved. A society of Americans in England is known as the 'Pilgrims,' and the Pilgrim club relays on the pleasant memories of old, beautiful marble at Southampton marking the spot from which the Pilgrims sailed. In the Pilgrim clubs, such as that of Philadelphia, which hold an annual dinner, diminutive models of the Mayflower are presented and the identity of its beauteous virtu of the Pilgrims is still chanted in post-prandial perorations. The religious significance of the Pilgrim migration gives way on such occasions to their importance as national founders and philosophers.

More significant are such institutions as Thanksgiving Day — 26th Nov. — which commemorates a turning-point in the experience of the first settlers. In October of each year the President of the United States issues a proclamation recalling occasions for special thanksgiving and recognizing providential guidance in the events of the year. The governor of each State issues a proclamation for his own State with the same general object. The people are invited to spend a day of thanksgiving on the day set apart, and the church services, the dinner, the religious observance, and the general observance is the more notable as there is no Established Church in any State. It is an adequate illustration of the observance of national religion without an Established Church. Some days are marked in each State, and there is a novel feature in that often it is said that the Pilgrims landed on the 26th November, and the day is kept by the inhabitants with whom their first landing is known, and their contacts, Boston, New York, and New England conscience is a synonym for an exact puritan rectitude that produces a high level of personal character. It would be fanciful to trace all these characteristics to one origin, but undoubtedly they have flourished in America owing to the fact that Separatism Puritanism was hospitable to those features of human progress and hostile to the opposing influences. Democracy in America is not quite so triumphant over all the evils of the Old World as some of its advocates have claimed, but it has faced the economic and political course with success that it has reasonable confidence that it will be found adequate in meeting the remainder.


PILLARS.—See POLES AND POSTS, STONES.

PINDAR.—I. Life.—Pindar, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, was born at the village of Kynos-kephalai, near Boeotia, in 522 B.C. (see 408 B.C.). The date of his death is not certainly known, but Pyth. viii. is assigned to the year 446 B.C. As his earliest poem, Pyth. x., belongs to 496 B.C., his poetical activity covers a period of more than half a century of the most stirring epoch of Greek history.

The ancient lives of Pindar, which are full of the usual type of legend attaching to the youth of genius, have little or no independent value. His father, as is generally supposed, was a descendant of the Aigeidai (Pyth. v. 75 f.; ἡθοποίον ὄνομα Αἰγείδαι, Ἰάκωβι πατέρας); his father's name is variously given in the ancient lives as Dalphantos, Pagonidas, Skopolinos, his mother as Kleodike or Myrto. In the course of his poetic career he was brought into close relations with the ruling families of Greece proper, as well as of Macedonia, Sicily, and Kyrene in Egypt. He appears to have had a specially close connexion with Delphi, where in the temple of Apollo, according to Pausanias, ἔστω τῇ ἴθας ταῖς Πολύμνιος ἡ σπηλαῖα ἕνεκεν ἐπὶ κατοικεῖαι τῇ τε Ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔφεσα ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπὶ ἐκλεκτικής (x. xxiv. 2).

He is said to have died in Argos. His tomb in the hippodrome at Thebes is mentioned by Pausanias (IX. xxi. 2).

Arrian (Annab. 1. 10) and Plutarch (Alex. 11) record the pleasing story that, when Alexander the Great came to the ground, he spared the house of Pindar as well as the descendants of the poet 'out of reverence for Pindar.' The ruins of this house were still shown in the time of Pausanias, and beside it a 'temple of the Dindymene Mother (Kybele), dedicated by Pindar, the image being the work of Aristocrates and Socrates, (in which he placed an image of this temple on one day in the year and no more. I had the good fortune to visit it on that day and saw the image of Pericle marble, as well as the throne' (Paus. 1. xxi. 3). To this temple Pindar himself seems to refer in Pyth. iii. 77 f.: 'But I will pray to the Muses now; and with Pan beside me do the maidens sing oftentimes by night.'

2. Works.—Pindar's lyric production covered a wide variety of subject and form. His poems were distributed by Aristophanes of Byzantium in 17 books; and others, by the Empedokles, Anaximander, Empedocles (2); ἄφθονα (3); ὑποχώρησα (2); ἐγκόμα, ἄρχην, ἐπικία (4). Fragments of the various types survive, but only the epinikian odes are extant in any completeness.

The epinikia are classified—not always quite accurately—as Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian, according to the games at which the particular victory celebrated was won. It might seem surprising at first sight that Pindar should have been able to weave poetry of enduring interest and charm. But, indeed, the details of the victory are, as a rule, only lightly touched upon. The central theme of the poems is a myth—connected with the history of the victor's family or city, which Pindar introduces with surprising propriety and skill. This myth, and the moral reflections which it suggests and illustrates, constitute the real substance of the Pindaric poetry.

But, further, there seems to be no doubt that the great games for which Pindar wrote were more much than mere athletic gatherings such as we are familiar with in modern times. Part of the regular ritual at the funeral of a dead chieftain was an athletic contest—an ἀγων τεχνών—such as that described in Iliad xxiii., embracing competitions in feats of physical strength and skill as well as in music and poetry.

Hesiod (Works and Days, 654 f.) tells us that at the funeral of Amphimedes, king of Chalkis in Euboea, 'his great-hearted sons advertised many prizes; and there I say that I was victorious in the battle of fifty men—so an early history of the Pindaric poetry. Celebrations of this sort held annually in honour of a local hero and accompanied by the due performance of offerings (ἐπανελευθέρωμα) to the dead are attested all over Greece. It was an amalgamation of such local festivities, the worship of Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon that gave rise to the great national games of Olympia, Delphi, and the Isthmus.

Thus these meetings were essentially in the nature of religious festivals, of national and not merely local meaning and importance. And as national festivals they conferred on the victor and his city a glory to which it is difficult to suggest a modern parallel. Politically, too, they were of immense value for the realization of Hellenic unity, none but competitors of acknowledged Greek blood being admitted to participation in them. In the brilliant period at which Pindar wrote the Greeks had everywhere repelled the barbarians—Persian, Etruscan, Carthaginian. They had righted their 'place in the sun,' and had entered into full possession of their heritage of intellectual freedom, champions of civilization and consciences of their power. The games celebrated at the hallowed sanctuaries of Greece were not only for the Greeks, but were for the whole race. 'An opportunity for distant colonies beyond the seas an opportunity of meeting together to worship the gods of their ancestors and to realize amid the splendor of the festival their common pride and glory of Hellenic blood. Small wonder that the victor at Olympia or at Delphi seemed to have attained the pinnacle of earthly success.'

'The victor for the rest of his life had a honeyed calm, so far as tastes games' (Ov. l. 97 f.)

This is the feeling which the sculptor of the famous statue of the charioteer discovered at Delphi in 1856 has sought to realize.

Le conducteur du char est beau, paisible, heureux d'avoir dégagé le pays; il s'en contente' (E. Bourget, Les Ruines de Delphes, Paris, 1914, p. 257).

3. Leading thoughts.—(a) The fruirti of man.— We are told that at a Roman triumph it was customary for a slave to ride behind the general in the triumphal car, whose duty it was to remind him of his mortality: 'Respice post te, hominem memento te.'

*et, sibi consil

Nel placeto, curru servus portatur Codyem' (Juv. v. 411).

So in Pindar over against the brilliance of festal joy and splendor looms always the shadow of mortality. Thus in Nœm, 11.—a poem which is, however, not an etvlicem—be says:

'Now if a man hath wealth and in beauty surpass other,
On no other condition can human prosperity attain such relative stability and permanence as are attainable by mortality than that it be made up both of 'these and those' (τά καί τά), of good and evil.

Yet quench the boast in silence: Zeus giveth both these and those, Zeus the lord of all' (Isth. iv. 51 ff.). 'They say that just so a man's possessions, if he knows them on earth, must take both these and those' (Isth. vii. 166 ff.). 'Everyone who stays at home and there is uncertainty of Fortune till they reach the very end. For she giveth both of these things and of those' (Isth. iii. 152 ff.).

(b) The strength of the gods.—Over against the frailty and mutability of mortality Pindar emphasizes the strength and stability of the gods:

Time (alone) with the rolling days brings ever other changes; but the gods, their strength cannot be exhausted by time.' (Isth. i. 40)

'In a little while the pleasure of men grows up, and even so it falls to the earth and is shaken by the breath of death.' (Isth. i. 34)

'I am the dream of a shadow' (Isth. vii. 162 ff.).

The background of Pindar's theology lies in his own universe, with its anthropomorphic representation of the gods as a race of beings superior, indeed, to men but of like passions with them. But the reasoned beliefs of the worshipper are inevitably framed in a setting of traditional mythology, in which he translates his inward quest of his intellect and to his moral sense. It is quite evident that Pindar, like Ἀσκληπιός, felt strongly that the orthodox theology held much that was inconsistent with a worthy conception of the gods.

He was the apotheosized hero of his ancient home towns, men's characters in his eyes. He, and not the gods, attributed to the heroes all those things that are a shame and a reproach among men, and he would have agreed with the famous line of Euripides (Ap. Pyl. vi. 21 A): οὐ δέχάσεται ἀδόκιμον, αἰσχρόν οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ. 'Meest is it,' says Pindar, 'that a man should speak noble things of the gods: the blame is less.' (Ol. i. 35).

This feeling is well illustrated by the manner in which Pindar on occasion redesigns the grosser elements of the traditional mythology.

Thus in Ol. ix. he deals with the story of Pelops, son of Tantalos.

Legend told how Tantalus invited the gods to a banquet at which he served up to them his son Pelops. The gods did not partake of the flesh, save only Demeter, who ate a portion of his shoulder, which was afterwards replaced by a piece of ivory. This story was enhanced, and Pelops became a model for mortals by his method of dealing with his enemies to account for the supernatural carrying off of Pelops by Poseidon; the ivory shoulder (referring probably to some eden-like hereafter) being the enduring reminder of a past sin which took him from the domain of purification' (I. 20)—the λέοντας την ἀρκουνδιά, the lion who thresheth, and which, in the symbolism in which, Pellas-like, the membra disjecta of the boy were cooked into a new life.

Again, in the treatment of the story of Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, in Ne. vii. There was a persistent tradition that Neoptolemos was slain at Delphi. According to one version, he had come to offer the sacrifice of a bullock (Παῦλος, x. vii. 32): Ἰλίῳ ἄλλου, Ἀλκυόνων ἐπετεργίσεις αὐτός ἦν καὶ σαλτούσα τῆς Πελοπίδος τοὺς Πελοπίδους τῷ Πελοπίδῳ, εἰς ὀνομασίαν τοῦ Ἀλκυόνων (οἱ Λαγές τῆς Κρήτης). In Pindar's version all the untoward elements of the myth disappear. Neoptolemos came, not as an enemy, but to offer to Apollo the firstfruits of the spoils of Troy. His death was the result of a chance quarrel that he might fulfill his destiny which men saw in him. He was one of the heroes of the poet's thought who dwelt within the grove of Apollo and the presiding genius at the hero-columbations; so far from the Delphians causing his death, the Delphians were accounted his, for his death brought treasure of firstfruits from Troy; and there a quarrel over necks a man slew him with a knife (κεφαλήν). The acceptable sacrifice bestowed his name upon the land of the Laconians, and he fulfilled his destiny: it was decreed that within that most ancient grove there should be in time to come, beside this well-shaded abode of the god, some one of the lords Askaliad, and that he should dwell there to keep of judgments for the sacrificial heroines and to keep the ancient feast of the Isthmian (Isthm. vii. 40).'

Yet again, Homer tells us in Isth. vi. 565 ff. how Hekules wounded Hades at Pylos (Iliam): 'And giant Hades thereon suffered a swiftest arrow, when this same man, the son of Zeus, on the hill of the gods, spake him cruel words in his heart. Then, however, O Hieron, cannot understand the sum of words, thou knowest by hearsay from men of old—for one good thing the immortals do not change—how that this son of Hades, this foolish are not able to hear in orderly wise (καὶ τοιαῦτα άληθεία), but only good men who turn the fair things out' (Ol. ii. 52).
seem to reflect upon a god, Pindar, employing the figure of sacrifice, breaks off suddenly and says nothing of the wound- ing of Hades; 'By favour of God (διός) are men good and wise. For how else could Herakles have blazoned in his heart the strength to ride the chariot of the sun and to stand and pressed him hard; pressed him, too, Phoebus warring with his silver bow, nor did Hades keep impure the wand, whereas his brightness dreads the holiest of all days, is more sweetly than the mortal bodies? Fling from thee, O my mouth, this tale! To speak evil of the gods is hateful task, and infinitely vainer strikes a note of malice. Prate not, then, of such things; leave war and battle altogether (κωπεῖτε) from the immortals' (Pyth. x. 18, 19). The words, which perhaps have almost technical in this special sense; cf. Aesch. Ag. 696 f."

The same tendency is seen in his treatment of the story of the Danaids in Pyth. ix. 111 ff. and in the epithet μῶδος in Pyth. i. 391 (ἀρσεν μῶδος δέντιν τετελεῖ τίττει θεόν), which reappears in passing in the graceful sally which represented Achilles as the sole survivor of seven children (Lycurg. 170; schol. H. i. xvii. 37, etc.). Pindar's position in, in fact, precisely that of Euripides, Iph. in Taur. 386 ff., where Iphigenia rejects the idea of human sacrifice being pleasing to Artemis:

"Si Dieu a fait l'homme a son image, l'homme lui a bien rendu."

The gods, according to Pindar's view, though their life, like men, are deathless and ageless, free from disease and pain (frag. 143, ap. Pint. de Superstit. 6), omniscient (Ol. i. 64), and all-powerful:

"God accomplishes every purpose according to his hopes; God, the winged men and outstripsthe dolphin in the sea, and brings low many a proud man, but to others gives all good fortune. But some things, he says, are too short when men are slow (ib. 67 f.). For me no marvel is better belief when it is wrought by gods (ib. 10, x. 18 f.). God is able to raise undoubted lightfrom black night and to hide the clear radiance of day in cloudy darkness (frag. 142, ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 795)."

The inexactitude of the authors of all human success and achievement:

"From the gods are all means (μέσα) for mortal excellence (όμορφος); from them are men wise and mighty of hand and eloquent of tongue (Pyth. i. 411; cf. Ol. x. (19) 10). Only such success as the gods give is to be desired: 'May I desire glory from God (θεός)' (Pyth. i. 50). Only such success can be enduring: 'The prosperity that is begotten by the grace of God is more enduring for men (Apoll. vii. 17). Man propesces, God directs; and God, but the deities have no choice, but the man lies with God' (Ol. xii. 104). What is done without god is better left unsung: 'Each thing that is without God is not worse hushed in silence' (ib. 108)."

The inexactitude of fate or destiny is strongly affirmed in Pindar, but it is not an uncompromising fatalism and is in no way inconsistent with an overall sense of purpose, of the inevitability of the intuitive and effort of men. A man should cherish good hope (Isth. vii. (viii. 15)—not the κεφαλή Θεών whose issue is vanity (Nem. vii. 45, Pyth. i. 23); not the desire of the moth for the star; that way lies madness (Nem. xi. 48). A man's duty is to aim at a reasonable ambition (ib. xi. 47); in the perplexities of life to look to the immediate duty (Isth. vii. (viii. 13 f.). In pursuit of his aim he must spend and be spent, though the issue is uncertainty (ib. xi. 45. He cannot foresee the future, and fortune now bestows and now withholds:

"The black fields do not give their fruit continuously nor with the same growth for all the same habitation is not with equal wealth, but only alternately. Even so Fate (μορφή) guides the race of men. There is given to Zeus no certain mark for the effect of his will. He works, but not his will, the will of his eye (οὖς ἐπιθετόν) for our limbs are chained by hope unbalanced; but the river of Foreknowledge is set star (Nem. xi. 30)."

What the god, however, in store for us—not an anstere impersonal fate, but the will of God: "τὸ μορφής ζωῆς Δῶσις τετελεῖ (Nem. iv. 61; cf. Pyth. xii. 28 f.)."

"The gods choose Zeus to reign (οὐχ θεοί) the destiny (μορφής) of men whom he loves" (Pyth. v. 1291 f.)."

In this conviction Pindar says:

"To me whatever excellence sovereign Destiny (Θηριοη) has assigned, I know well that Time in his course shall bring it to its fated fulfilment! (Nem. iv. 418)—which words might almost seem to have been in the poet's mouth when he wrote:

'Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow, It shall be still in strictest measure even here to Time which leads me, the will of Heaven (Somn. ii. 9 ff.)."

The cruder form of the doctrine of the envy of the gods was of course familiar to his contemporaries, and it is clear that Pindar, who calls envy 'the companion of fools' (φόνιοι κεφαλήθρων ἔταιροι (frag. 123)), would not seriously attribute envy to the gods. When he alludes to it, it will be seen that it is merely pressed, and either as a mere expression (σεπτὸν, that a man should not seem to encroach on the prerogatives of the gods,

'Or pass beyond the goal of ordinance Where all should pass, we must meet for all' (Tennayon, Tithouno, 301.)"

That this is so becomes clear upon an examination of Pindar's references to the doctrine. In Pyth. x. 10 ff. the train of thought is evident. The Aeolean have had great success; may they not now, with envious reversals (φόνιοι μεταφοράς) from the gods; a god may have perfect and unbroken felicity, man must expect alternatives of weal and woe; he cannot climb the brazen heaven. In the second passage, Ol. xiii. 25, it is little more than a form of aeolius, Ol. i. viii. (vii.) 30 ff., rightly interpreted, is an admirable commentary on the ethical content of the doctrine of the φόνιοι θεῶν:

'Let not the envy of the immortals disturb whatsoever pleasant thing of the day I pursue quietly into old age and for my destined life. For all alike we die, but destiny differs. But if I look for things far, his stature is too short to reach the brazen abode of the gods: the winged Pegases throw his master Bellerophon when he would have come to the habitations of the gods and the company of Zeus. That is but to say: I recognize my mortality; I will not seek the things afar; being the creature of a day, I will pursue quietly (κελίον, not with violence) in the same way as I aspired to (cp. Pyth. x. 54 ff.; φόνιοι θεῶν ἄνωθεν άπείρον εἶναι τὰ δύο ἀνέρρητα τοίχων ἐνεπιτεινόν μεσάν ἐνεπιτεινόν, not the far things, but the good of this day which is ever the highest for a mere mortal (φόνιοι θεῶν, ἀπείρον εἶναι τοίχων ἐνεπιτεινόν ἐνεπιτεινόν ἐνεπιτεινόν, ἀπείρον εἶναι τοίχων ἐνεπιτεινόν)."

So shall I not be liable to the envy of the gods."

Pindar's attitude may be summed up in three words—εὐγένεια, κόρος, ἄρη. The precise meaning of these terms is somewhat fluctuating and the relation of the first two is sometimes reversed. ἀρη is 'insolence,' 'wantonness,' 'pride' (Pyth. i. 25, 12, 190) and Ol. i. 30, 36, 41, 56; or 'violence' (Nem. i. 50, Pyth. iv. 112). κόρος is 'satiety' (Ol. i. 55, Pyth. i. 82, viii. 32, Nem. vii. 52, x. 20) or the resulting 'insolence,' 'pride' (Ol. i. 36, Nem. i. 65). Hence Pindar (Ol. xii. 10) vaunts "καθαρία μηδενὸς, καθαρέα μηδενὸς"(Ov. i. 985) elsewhere (Theognis, 153; Solon. frag. 8) κόρος is father of ἄρη. 'My κόρος is in Pindar' win. (Ol. i. 57, x. (x.) 27, Pyth. x. 55, Nem. ix. 21, and frag. 42 (171) 4, but ἀρη is 'infatuation' (Pyth. ii. 28, iii. 24). The dogma of sin implied in these terms is illustrated by the following passages:

'He [Tantalos] could not digest his great prosperity, but for his insolence (φόνιοι) won no good deeds; he was the same as he was wont to be' (Pyth. iv. 1.)

The sequence is success (δηλον) pride (φόνιοι), insatiation, or moral blindness (ἄρη)—'quem deus vultedere, dementat primum.' "Escrilyses, rejecting, a-Pindar does, the crude conception of the envy of the gods and the idea of the secondary side of the god (Nem. iv. 33) and supports his views by "Τάρα βέβηλος μεγάλης ἀρηδίων θεῶν, which are dark Aras for the house. In other words, success leads to pride, whence springs sin; one sin leads to another, and with repeated sin comes greater boldness (Ib. 221). θάνατος βραχίους τοιχών ἄρη."

precisely so in the OT 'Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: . . .
then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation. They moved him to Jealousy with strange gods, with abominations provoked they him to anger (Dt 32:29).

(e) Man's relation to the gods and to fellow-men.

--Pindar's position is expressed in Pyth. ix. 131 ff.

"Therefore a citizen be he friend or be he foe, let him not hide that which is well done for the common weal, nor make void the saying of the sea of the son that said that one should praise even a foe who doth good deeds."

Among the primary duties is honour to parents and patriotism:

"In that thou keepst thy father at thy right hand, thou maintainest the precept which of old among the hills they say that Philyra's son gave to his fatherless son of Pelasgus to honour above all the son of Kronos----but never to rob of like honour the destined life of his parents. Of old Antilechos (ὁλοκάυτων Ἐν Κύπρῳ Πίνδαρος) had this mind, who died for his father's sake."

Although the poet occupied a worthy position in the great struggle against the barbarians, Pindar speaks with real feeling of the glory of the victory which removed the 'Tantalos-stone' which hung over the head of Hellas (Isthm. vii. (viii.) 10; cf. Isth. ix. 56 ff.). Pindar recognizes, too, the duty of kindness to the stranger within the gates (Isthm. ii. 6, Isthm. iii. 39 f., and passim). It is noteworthy that the μοισαί in the Κανές of Aristophanes base their claim to bliss on the two grounds that ἐργάτης εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἱερῶν περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν και τραχύς (456 ff.).

Pindar, as an aristocrat, insists much on the virtues of heredity:

"That which is by nature is always best (Isthm. i. 100; cf. ii. 55 ff., etc.);

and he is much impressed with the splendour of a tyrant such as he witnessed in Sicily:

"On a tyrant, leader of a people, looks the high Fortune if on any man (cf. Isthm. ii. 56); 'Diver are the kinds of greatness, but the crown of greatness is for kings' (Isthm. i. 113 f.)."

But his personal predilection is for a modern aristocracy in which the government is in the hands of the ἀριστοκρατία (Pyth. iii. 45 ff., Isthm. i. 48 ff.). Pindar recognizes, too, the duty of kindness to the stranger within the gates (Isthm. ii. 6, Isthm. iii. 39 f., and passim). It is noteworthy that the μοισαί in the Κανές of Aristophanes base their claim to bliss on the two grounds that ἐργάτης εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἱερῶν περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν και τραχύς (456 ff.)."

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PINDAR

Wealth and Disease. 

Then we have the miraculous carrying off of Pelops and Gymnedo to Olympia (Ol. i. 40 ff.); the swelling up of Amphiaraos by the earth (Nem. ix. 24); Ino (Lenkothena) lives an immortal life with the Nereids (Ol. ii. 28 ff.); even after death Seule is raised to Olympia (ib. ii. 25 ff.). Polydeukes is on the verge of a life with his brothers — half the time beneath the earth and half in the golden halls of Heaven (Nem. x. 87 ff.); and so on.

But of far more importance is the Hesiodic passage. The conception of the 'heroes' — the great men of the heroic past — as being after death exalted to perpetual felicity had become part of the orthodox Greek belief. And the word 'hero' (heros) was no longer confined to the great figures who had fought at Thebes and Troy. Great men of a less remote past who had deserved well of their fellow-men were conceived as enjoying an exalted state after death and received the honours and offerings of hero-worship. The founder (kouros) of a city, especially, was worshipped as a hero in the city which he had founded.

The full content of this hero-conception cannot be discussed here. The offerings made to them were in the main those which were made to the gods (see Nemes. vii. 95 ff.). As compared with the gods, their range for good or evil is restricted, their worship and their influence being local and attached to the place of their grave. Hence we hear constantly of the bones of a 'hero' being brought home from a foreign land, where he had died, that they might find sepulture there, and there form the centre of his worship. But, like the gods, the heroes could take on bodily shape, human or otherwise, to aid their worshippers in a crisis, and such phantom appearances (phantasma) are often referred to — e.g., Echecus or Echelaios (the man of the plough-stil), who appeared at Marathon and, like Hy of Luncardy, dealt havoc with his plough (Plau. i. xxxii. 5; cf. i. x. 5), Neoptolemos and others, who helped to repel the Gauls at Delphi (τα των ἱππων παράκατα σφόνες, εἰρων, ἡμέρα) or 'Τέτρακος' and ὁ Δαυδήλατος και Πόστερ (Plau. x. xxxii. 2; cf. i. iv. 4). Hero-worship is closely akin to the cult of the chthonian deities and the veneration of the dead, and found an especially congenial soil in Boeotia, and hence interests prominently the Boeotian poets Hesiod and Pindar. Pindar knows of the heroic cult of Pelops at Olympia where 'in his grave by the stream of Alpheos he lies apart in splendid beauty' (Ol. i. 90 ff.) and of the offerings of others at Delphi (Neum. vii. 31 ff.; cf. Neoptolemos . . . τάφος καὶ οἱ κατὰ ζῶς ἑαυτῶν οἱ Δελφοί (Plau. x. xxiv. 6), and, besides others, most significantly of all, Battos (Aristotes), founder of Kyrene (16: 250 C.).

'Aristotles ... built a greater grove of the god and laid down a straight-cut horse-trodden way across the plain for the processions of Apollo; where at the end of the marketplace he lies apart in splendid beauty' (Ol. ii. 25 ff.; cf. Smith. ii. 298 B.; cf. also the Excursus, 'The Recent Discoveries at Olympia, 1860-63', London, 1864).

Pindar's deep interest in the state after death is unmistakable. He likes to imagine the dead still touched by the fortunes of their living descendants: Apollodorus, who once fought at Marathon and later in the war with the Titans, and thereafter a hero worshipped by the people (πολισμένοις) (Ol. i. 99 ff.): the dedication of Neoptolemos of Ithaca (Sadlers), who has never the less the doom — or Would it not be an epithet
of Artemis; cf. the sacrifice offered by the polemarch (Pollux, viii. 91; Phutarch, de Malign. Herod. 20), and so on. Also we do not know how far the passages represent one consistent doctrine.

But in general outline the essentials are as follows. The soul and the soul alone 'comes from the body' (nafs),† but, in the sense of ancient philosophy, suffering which is sin—the soul is imprisoned in the body. Then it passes through a period of trial 'three times on either side.' Some commentators take this to mean three times in all—once in the body, once in the body of the dead, and, more naturally means once here and then below; then here and again below; then once more here and once more below. Having passed these six alternating periods successfully, in the ninth year—the sacral izarayf—or Periphrase accepting atone-ment, the soul enters its final life in the body of a king, a mighty athlete, a poet, or a philo-sopher, alter which it passes in the guise of a hero to the Isles of the Blessed.

It is much Pindar in these speculations owed to the mysteries of Eleusis (to which frag. 137 especially seems to refer), how much to the rise of Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines in the latter part of the 6th cent. B.C., we need not here in-quire. There is a natural and mystical sense in which, through Pindar, these doctrines exercised on Plato and later thinkers. What is important is that Pindar expounds, with all the earnestness of personal conviction, the doctrine that the soul is immortal, that it is a living being that the exercises in the body can cause to expand, the seed of emanation from the flesh—an emanation to be attained, not by some peculiar dispensation of the gods, but by her own effort towards purity.


A. W. MAB.

PIR. 1. The term and its synonyms. — Pīr is a term denoting a spiritual director or guide among the Sufis, or mystics of Islam. The functionary described by the title is known also under other names: shaikh, mursih, ustadh. Pīr is a Persian word, and is believed to be derived from a name commonly in India and Turkey than in its native home; shaikh in our special sense is in general use throughout Islam; mursih is also wide-spread, but in Turkish or Arabic-speaking countries rather than in Persia, and is found.

2. The authority of the spiritual guide. — Theoretically speaking, any one who has advanced sufficiently in the mystical experience of divine reality may undertake to give spiritual guidance to others. But, as a matter of fact, the pīr, or mursih, nearly always holds his right to direct souls on the authorization of some teacher who has directed him in the mystic way (tariqh). This authority is valid only in so far as the teacher traces his claim to teach through a succession of teachers, who have traced their claim to the founder of the numerous Dāwīrī orders. The mursih

1 Shaikh is used also of the khālīyah, or deputies, of a pīr, or mursih. These men may have their own disciples, usually of the poorer classes or such as are at a distance from their own pīr. The authority of the khālīyah is limited to the area who seek it, and may even confer the rank of shaikh upon such and such a disciple. The khālīyah is usually the official head of a dawriy community rather than the same man as the spiritual director of a narrower group of disciples (mursih). Pīr is employed to the title that both the founder of a Dāwīrī order, and still more generally of a sect, or saint. In Persia, India, and Turkey the term in current among non-Muslims the Hennecke, and it is used of all the saints, and in Persia and Turkey it designates an inferior priest among the less commercially minded. Pīr bears just the ordinary gifts of knowledge and management are employed as the Muslims ascribe to their pīrs.

follows the tradition of the order to which he belongs. He is under the grand shaikh of his order, who resides at the place where the tomb of the founder of the confraternity is found. The grand shaikh, for his part also, proves an authority lineally derived from the founder. He makes little or no control over the local or provincial shaikhs under him. It is in his power to summon a general council of shaikhs, whose action would be binding on each of them and on the Dāwīrīs subjects to them; but such councils are and always have been of exceedingly rare occurrence. In reality there is little official restraint on the independence of the Dāwīrī shaikhs. Even in their relation to the civil power they occupy a position of special privilege, and shaikhs of pre-eminent sanctity or strong character make a large place for themselves in public life. The local influence of many shaikhs is very significant; their word is felt to have the force of law, and the demands which they may make on the community are granted without dis pute. But, if one line be the responsibility of a member of a group, it will be paid, Government officials pay them respect in various ways. On the whole, the pīrs played by the dawriy in the communities of the Muslim world has been in favor of order and public welfare. They have taught by example and precept the principle of loyalty to authority, and they have been devoted to the interests of Islam, which they recognize to be inseparable from the interests of the sovereign State.

3. The pīr and the mystical life.— In order to act as a spiritual guide in the life of the mystic (tasawwuf), 'to live the life of a Sūfī' the pīr, or mursih, must hold a sānawād from his teacher. This is a certificate given by his spiritual leader that he has the right to pass on to others the tariqh, or mystical discipline, as he has learned it, and also conferring upon him the authority to perform healing miracles and to work signs. The validity of the sānawād depends upon the claim of guides whose names connect the name of the issuing shaikh with that of the founder of the tariquh, or order. The shaikh may hold the ijtāzh of more than one teacher if he has followed more than one

1 The grand shaikh is described as occupying the sānajad, or head-carrier, of the order.

2 The shaikh al-Bakr, who is supposed to be descended from Abu Bakr, the first khalifah, is appointed by the Egyptian Government to maintain order in the countries of Persia, Turkey, and Egypt, and within the borders of Syri; country exercises a real official authority. The office which he holds finds an analogy in other Muslim countries, and in Egypt it is possible to dictate but to prevent excesses.

(a) Occasionally a specially forced pīr may be accorded a controlling influence over several local Dāwīrī fraternities, and the recognition may even be given to his son after him. This does not necessarily imply the right to modify the spiritual discipline of these fraternities or the direction of novices. The influence may not be the same and affects the general well-being of the sect. The authority of the spiritual director of the latter is in the hands of the pīr, or mursah (shaikhs who are spiritual directors). (b) The history of the pīrs in Morocco in the 17th cent. was that of a sect governed by Sūfī shaikhs. In Persia the political power of the shaikhs has been a constant feature of the history of the country, and the poets of Persia in most cases have been Sūfī teachers. In Turkey the highest places of power sometimes have been held by Dāwīrīs. For instance, the Abū Hamid, the great Mulla, was the Sultan Abū-Hamid. The weight of influence exerted by hundreds of powerful Dāwīrī shaikhs throughout the Ottoman empire was admitted by competent observers.

The principles of Sufism, if pressed to a logical conclusion, lead to a form of sectarianism which is either civil or religious authority. Even the Dāwīrī excesses which are promoted by the shaikhs have in them no spirit of antagonism to the public order. The Wahabi, Mahdist, and Sennial movements are, indeed, revolutionary in character, but neither professedly nor really are they part of the Dāwīrī move ment.

The chain of supporting names (khatā) is, of course, carried back from the shaikh to his own teacher, who was, in his turn, under a teacher, and so on. The names of the Moravians, Adam, Abraham, and God Himself. The mursih usually bears the seals of other shaikhs as additional credentials.
The premise is that one who holds a suwaad has attained to that stage of advancement in the mystic path which brings him to an intuitive knowledge of God. He has attained to marifat ('gnosis') and is himself an 'a'wal (guru) of the innermost consciousness of Allah (fanā'ī jāhā) and he is regarded as majdhub ('attracted'). The one who is to guide others in the tariqah must have gone at least thus far himself. He through his teachings and spiritual chain, which ensures that the teachings and spirit (ruhāniyyah) of the founder of his order have come down to him. Spiritual guides possess a trained susceptibility to hypnotic influences, whether mediated through the environment, through other persons, or through autohypnosis. Training also enables them to arrange conditions adapted to produce hypnotic states in others.¹

It may be allowed that a great many of the Sāfi sheikhs meet fairly well the conditions laid down by the great Sāfi al-Ghazzali for the murid. They are orthodox, faithful to the sunnah of the Prophet, and correct in life. They are not unusually well trained in the higher branches of Muslim learning, and are often of the lower orders of the tradition and ritual of their particular order. The greater number hold scientific knowledge in slight esteem, as conveying a false conception of reality and so hindering progress towards an immediate perception of truth. A relatively small number of shāikhs are serious students of theology and law, and some of these have established for themselves a secure reputation as teachers of these sciences.²

4. The shāikhs and learning.—The attitude of the Sufis towards the spiritual guides of Sufism is now not so hostile as it was in the early centuries of the movement. Many are still covertly suspicious or jealous, but nearly all recognize that the shāikhs are meeting a deep craving of the Muslim world for a satisfying experience of communion with God. They infuse a spiritual vitality into Islam which theology and law have never been able to contribute, and the orthodox doctors admit this. The majority of the learned are aware that they put themselves under the direction of spiritual directors and are members of some Darwishi order.³

The Sāfi view of knowledge is that to be true it must be given to the heart by God (ilhām). The task of the Sāfi guide is to prepare the heart that Allah may open it and lodge therein the apprehension of reality. The imparting of ideas and cultivation of logical capacity are not his special task, but rather the development of the power of suggestion and direct emotional impression. If this is secured, the vivid and immediate states of mind which result seem to be unattended and observer to be of the nature of a super-added communication. Highly wrought feelings and ecstasy become themselves the most perfect apprehension of the real. Ineffable emotions, because of the intense pleasure which they afford, are in themselves the highest goal of life. At the same time, they suspend deliberate attention and volition, except in relation to themselves, all knowledge and all being are swallowed up in the immediate consciousness of God, and God becomes the only reality. Every other thing is but phenomenal; the real is He. The discipline of the shāikhs seeks to bring the murid to the point where this inference from an absorbing emotional consciousness becomes a fixed belief furnishing a powerful and consummate motive for life. In the greater number of cases the motive of those who follow the guidance of the murshid is a mixed motive. The emotional satisfactions are made an end in themselves and not merely an index of divine reality. In view of the moral danger involved, the prominence of this lower motive is not without harm. Sufi al-Ghazzali taught that the true Sāfi should be careful to fulfill ethical obligations, and should make his mystical experiences subservive that end. The shāikhs of greatest influence to-day follow this rule.⁴

5. The shāikhs and their circle of influence.—There are certain moral aspects of the Darwishi life which, indeed, are rarely if ever wanting. The disciple chooses his spiritual director without constraint, binds himself to him freely, and holds to him to the end, though the relation between them is under moral sanctions only. The devotion given is complete, spontaneous, and marked by affectation veneration amounting almost to worship. The shāikhs live for duty, and remit on all the duties of brotherliness towards one another and general benevolence towards all. Hence the assistance given to wayfarers and needy persons at the tokiyuhs (or zāviyyahs, Darwishi houses), and the readiness of Darwishes to share even a meager portion with those in want.

The greater shāikhs are men of agreeable and magnetic personality, and show conspicuous gifts of leadership and organization. They are great organizers of the Sufi fraternities, often kindred, or kindred-like, in practical wisdom in the direction of affairs. The success of the Sāfi shāikhs in providing for a real spiritual need has made them effective propagandists in the cause of Islam. They have been more successful in this regard than the wālīs and other orthodox agencies. The mystical fellowship of the Darwishi fraternities has been of itself an attraction to outsiders, but the pir himself, with what he has to promise, has been the indispensable factor.⁵

Among the shāikhs of a lower type are found some men of weak or unbalanced minds. Many of these are looked upon as saints (wālīs) and faqīrs, and are consulted in sickness or other special need. Their influence lies in this respect in the control and guidance of a group of disciples.

The influence of the shāikhs touches women as well as men. Indeed, as far as occasional consultation of the pir goes, women are more frequent than men. There is no prohibition against their being admitted to the tariqah, and there is eminent Sāfi authority for the view that the female mind is more sensitive to mystical discipline and thereby more susceptible than the male. The temper of the Sāfi movement is less that of individual leadership rather than the effective co-operation of leaders.⁶

The shāikhs have in their khālifs or very effective agents to second their influence. The murids also actively recommend their own shāikh to others.
impressions than the male mind; still, the number of women Darwishes is not relatively great. 1

The shahidh's high standing with God is attested by the miracles (karimati) with which God honours him and sends him as a gift back to the disciples. 2 They may be asked to God gives them to him. 2 In all parts of the Muslim world healing miracles are attributed to walis and murshids; they are a mark of their special holiness. The most famous instances of these healings occur in connection with wounds or serpents-laid inflicted in the dhikrs (Darwigh religious exercises) of the Darwigh orders. Shawiks are of the soundest reputation do not favour the extravagant self-mutilations inflicted in the dhikrs of special orders, and in general give their approval only to the miraculous cure of disease or wounds resulting from accident. They are inclined to demand also that those to be cured shall be known to be of good character. There are as striking instances of cure by means of suggestive therapies in the Darwigh circles as are to be found anywhere, and, similarly, the immunity from injury which may be secured through hypnotic suggestion is very strikingly illustrated in the self-inflicted woundings and burnings of the dhikrs. They differ, however, from the latter in the societies of the Rifalyyah order. In hundreds of instances neither pain nor permanent injury follows. 3

The power to reveal the unseen and to predict the future is also ascribed to the shahidh, as Allah honours the holiness of his servants. In certain cases the shahidhs show remarkable powers of mind-reading, telepathy, and clairvoyance, and some quite accurate verifications of their predictions are a matter of record.

The shahidh's circle of influence includes those who are in the habit of consulting him when need arises; those who take part occasionally in the dhikrs which he directs, because they find it either pleasant or helpful to do so; those who have chosen the shahidh as their murshid, or spiritual guide, and either look forward to joining his order or are already members of it; and those who occupy a cell in the zawiyya, or takiyyyah. The first three classes have not separated themselves from the order; the last have done so and are living a celibate life under the constant superintendence of the shahidh. It is possible to have such a class only where there is a zawiyya that is large enough to provide lodging for a group of brothers. In addition to the assembly room of the fraternities.

6. The vocation of the shahidh.—The shahidh may hold his position by nomination on the part of his predecessor, or, if the latter is his father or brother, possibly by right of inheritance, or he may be elected by the vote of the local group of Darwishes. His appointment will be confirmed by the mufti of the place, in rare cases by the Sultan himself, and regularly by the grand shahidh of his order. The celibate life is not binding on him, and in certain cases the rule is that his office is inherited by his son. Where there is no zawiyya with a resident group of disciples, the shahidh, unless he is a mendicant, will follow some secular vocation. If there is a Darwigh hostel, it may have land attached to it, which will be managed by the resident murids. The shahidhs who do not follow any trade are supported by gifts from their disciples and others. The zawiyya over which they preside are provided for by income from local endowment funds, grants from public endowment funds (waqf), or private gifts. The gifts which fall to the shahidh he regularly devotes to the purposes of his order. As the shahidh may arrange, meetings of the local fraternity are held in the assembly room of the zawiyya from time to time. If there is no zawiyya, the group meets regularly in a mosque. The usual meetings are a weekly, or, on an especially important weekly one (often held on the eve of Friday), a monthly observance in honour of the founder of the order, a similar service for the Prophet, and a yearly celebration of the birthday of the Prophet and the holy month of Muharram. The assembly room serves not merely for the performance of the dhikrs, but as a meeting-place for the brothers and those interested in the order. Not all present are permitted to join in the religious exercises, and not all care to do so.

7. The murid and the tarigah.—The life of the disciple (murid) who has chosen for himself a spiritual guide is subject in all respects to the direction of the latter. He submits in him implicitly, and his life is adjusted to his teacher's plans. The disciples resident in the zawiyya take part in the regular dhikrs (religious exercises), and, in addition, are assigned special exercises for their own private observance. In a general way the shahidh instructs each murid how to conduct his life with his teacher, and the disciple attempts to attain a spiritual or artistic goal. He may from time to time visit the murids in their cells. They visit him each week in his cell for the purpose of disclosing to him their religious progress and receiving from him necessary directions. In a majority of cases the murid is one who is practised in noting the signs of spiritual advancement in his disciples.

The nature of the shahidh's relation to the murid in the tarigah is well illustrated by the typical instance of Tawakkul Beg's initiation at the hands of Mulla Shah. 2 Tawakkul Beg chose Mulla Shah as his spiritual director and was accepted by him as a murid. The fakih ('seeker') usually undertakes a long course of penitential discipline prescribed for him by his guide with a view to securing a complete detachment from the world of temporal things and an utter humility which will prepare him to receive the positive blessings of the mystic way. 4 The shahidh then admits him as a shahidh, or traveller on the way. He takes the 'shahidh oath, declaring particularly his devotion to the founder of the order whose tarigah he is following and to the spiritual culture which has been selected for him. This is described by Tawakkul Beg, but in those follow he shows how through private exercises of devotion 5 and the hypnotic influence of his master, and his khutbah the initiate reached the goal of union with God.

The method of guidance is expressed by the term dhikr, 'recollection.' This implies the fixing in the mind of some object of thought. It is accomplished by concentrating the attention upon the conception and its name, or upon some religious idea and its corresponding formula of expression. To assist in fixing the notion the mental effort is accompanied by vocal repetition of the name or formula with varying tone, pitch, and force of voice. In the vocal exercises the breathing is timed and adapted to accord with the strict rhythm and time of the vocal utterance. In the collective dhikrs of the

1 Some zawiyyas have endowments more than adequate to meet their expenses and the maintenance of their order. The greater part is used for the support of the order and the gifts which may be supplemented by grants from the public religious endowments (waqf).
2 The formal name of the shahidh is called takiyyyah.
3 Cf. Macdonald, Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, pp. 120-126. Murid and muridat are the names given to the members of the order of a shahidh. Nowadays it is held to be enormously difficult to do this, and the choice of a murid, or spiritual director, is left to the shahidh for the selection of his disciple.
4 This 'repentance' (tawbah) is for the purpose of eradicating the shahidh's khalq, or evil impulses.
5 The exercise begins with a short recitation of formulas taken from the Qur'an, the recitation of longer sections from the Holy Book, the repetition of thought or expression of one of the sacred names of Allah or of a pronoun referring to Allah. The repetitions may be assisted by means of a rosary of 36, 66, or 99 beads. Such is the usage of the Darwishes to day.
Darwish fraternity the shaikh fixes the programme of exercises and determines the number of repetitions of a given formula and the manner of recitation in each part (dhurb) of the dhikr. He or his khaltifa superfet the ceremonies, exercising constant and close control in order to secure perfect harmony of voice and movement among the adherents, who are instructed to follow the traditions of his own order, but at the same time there is a large element that is common to the dhikrs of the various Darwish orders. It is in the exercises prescribed for the private use of individuals that the shaikh, without loss of spiritual direction to the needs of special cases.

The advancement of the sâlik is in the hands of the spiritual director, who lays down the means by which it is to be realized, and decides when the respective stages of progress have been reached. There are four major objectives which are to be successively attained. The first of these is described by the technical term fana fi-sheikh ('disappearance in the shaikh'). The disciple is directed to fix attention upon the thought and mental image of the spiritual director, who then projects himself into the consciousness of his disciple.¹ By these means and by the help of various external exercises such as have been already referred to hypnosis is at last effected and the sâlik feels that his soul has merged itself with that of the shaikh.² He declares to his instructor, no longer 'I am I,' but 'I am thou.'

When dhikrs have served their purpose in this way, the director introduces into the mystic discipline exercises in meditation (aurad-qa'bah) to fix firmly certain convictions and to intensify spiritual longing. The next major objective is designated fana fi-llah ('disappearance in God'), and the shaikh declares it to have been attained when, through the habitual recurrence of his will exercised upon the murid and through assistance of the prescribed discipline, the murid feels 'I am He' (God). His own identity has become an element in his consciousness of God, and, similarly, his sense of the phenomenal world has ceased to be separately true and has passed over to be an element in his sense of God. The sâlik who has travelled on the way (tariqah) until he has attained to God in the way described is 'united' (attrihed) or 'attracted' (majdhib) and henceforth will travel on in God.³ He will remain united after he has reached his goal, a state which may wear the characteristic garb of his order, and may receive authority to pass on the tariqah to others as a marâsid. Before the last objective shall have been reached he must still seek to reach fana a'd-fana ('disappearance of fana'), in which he loses all sense of 'union,' 'attraction,' or 'absorption,' and the sense of God which results from these processes is all in all. Beyond that is the ultimate goal, baqîn, in which the heart returns to express itself in the relations of the phenomenal world, while never losing the true vision of reality, namely, that there is but one real being and that the world and self are but phenomenal manifestations of the one.⁴

In every order the actions of the participants in the dhikrs are accompanied by music rendered by attendant mawakhid. This accomplishment materially assists the process of hypnosis desired by the director, and by the notation of the rhythm and time of the regulation of the breathing tend in the same direction.

¹ The process is helped forward by the novice fixing his eyes upon the face of his director.

² The mystic objects may be placed before the sâlik (traveller), namely, fana fi-spir ('disappearance of the founder') and fana fu-SnShi ('disappearance in the Prophet'). A synonym for fana fi-shaikh is fana fi-murid (disappearance in his disciple).

³ When one has become majdhib, his soul and its motions are ruled by the will of his shaikh and henceforth he is no longer the sâlik in his own right, but the mystic fulfilment of desire. Such an one has attained a status (wajmah)

⁴ In the sâlik the traveller has reached the qubh, the focal point in which the onward movement of the spiritual life rests. It is obvious that this pantheistic teaching of the Sufi shaikhs is not logically consistent with the theology and tradition of the Sufi shaikhs. Finally, however, the scholars have explicitly said that one who was majdhib, or attracted, was above the law; and the division of the Darwish orders into Ba-Shar³ ('within the law') and Bi-Shar⁴ ('without the law') gives the grounds of the principle that the shaikh is to act according to the dictation of his own conscience. The transition towards the law of the shaikh or the shaikhs is one which the novelist and the poet have frequently traced through the Shaikh to Yousuf and Vedantist influences.


Pişâchas.—In modern India a pişâcha is a kind of ghost, usually the ghost of some one who has died an unnatural death, or for whom the requisite funeral rites have not been performed. He is classed as a bhîta, or ghost, and the term bhâl-piştâcha is more generally used. Pişâchos haunt burial-grounds and places of cremation, and eat human flesh. Their speech is a kind of gibberish, and hence modern English is called piştâcha-bhâsa, or 'goblin language,' by those who cannot understand it. In S. India the small circular storms, called 'devils' by Europeans, are called piştàchis, or 'she-ghouls.' In ancient India pişâchas played a much more prominent part. They are frequently mentioned in the Veda. Here, according to the Vedic kârâvâyâ, a term which, like pişâcha, is said to mean 'an eater of raw flesh.' Most scholars agree that these Vedic piştâchas were malignant demons, but A. Hillebrandt considers it to be quite possible to may be remarked that the discipline imposed by the shaikhs in modern times is quite different from what it was in former times. To the weakening of the power of nerves resistance, a loss of will power, and a general weakening of character. Through self-sacrifice conspicuous and obvious, the social value and their value for work are lessened. 

PIŞÂCHAS. In modern India a pişâcha is a kind of ghost, usually the ghost of someone who has died an unnatural death, or for whom the requisite funeral rites have not been performed. He is classed as a bhîta, or ghost, and the term bhâl-piştâcha is generally used. Pişâchos haunt burial-grounds and places of cremation, and eat human flesh. Their speech is a kind of gibberish, and hence modern English is called piştâcha-bhâsa, or 'goblin language,' by those who cannot understand it. In S. India the small circular storms, called 'devils' by Europeans, are called piştâchis, or 'she-ghouls.' 

In ancient India pişâchas played a much more prominent part. They are frequently mentioned in the Veda. Here, according to the Vedic kârâvâyâ, a term which, like pişâcha, is said to mean 'an eater of raw flesh.' Most scholars agree that these Vedic piştâchas were malignant demons, but A. Hillebrandt considers it to be quite possible to
that they were ancient enemies who subsequently became traditional fiends, while Macdonell and Keith (loc. cit.) admit that in later times the name may have been given in scorn to human tribes. In the Central Asian description of the nágás, the demon and the maḥākārāvatas, while the demon character is most often assigned to them, they also over and over again appear as a race or races of men inhabiting N.W. India, the Himalayas, and Central Asia. They are described as cannibal human sacrificers and eaters of raw flesh. They have a form of marriage which consists in embracing a woman who is asleep or drugged, and are guilty of other abominable practices. Two pīṣakas are specially mentioned as living by the river Vipās, who were progenitors of an impure W. Panjāb tribe known as Bhalikas. On the other hand, individual pīṣakas are here and there referred to as pious ascetics living by holy streams in N.W. India.

In late Sanskrit literature, with important exceptions to be noted below, the human nature of the pīṣakhas has disappeared, and they are merely demons. Sometimes they serve men for a ānīd piro quṇa. Thus, in the Kathāsūrīrīgāra (11th cent.; A.D.), iii. ii. 292 a pīṣaka is possessed of surgical skill, and will cure a wound, provided he is always given a new wound to cure as soon as his present job is finished. Otherwise he kills his patient. With this we may perhaps compare the unknown science called pīṣaka-pīta, or pīṣakha-pīta, mentioned in two works of the late Vedic period.

According to the Purāṇa legends, the valley of Kashmir was once a lake. When the water had been drained off by the god Siva, it was peopled by the Prajasāi Kaṇsya. This Kaṇsya had several wives. Three were Kadr̥, Kridāvāsa, and Khásś. By the first he had as offspring the nágas, or snake-gods, by the second the pīṣakas, and by the third the cognate yaksas and rākṣasas. In Buddhist literature the yaksas and pīṣakas are confounded, and both had cannibal propensities. Similarly, Kalhasa, the non-Buddhist chronicler of Kashmir (12th cent. A.D.), in the Rājatārāvīya (i. 184), uses the word yaksara as equivalent to pīṣaka. As the pīṣakas are also called Kaṇsya and Kaṇsya-gud, and adjoining countries lying south of the Hindu Kush, while the word pīṣaka has fallen out of use, yaksara, under the form of yakh, is still the name given to malignant demons who are cannibal.

This brings us to the work known as the Nīlakāti, a legendary account of Kashmir certainly older than the 11th cent. and perhaps as old as the 6th or 7th. According to it, when the valley of Kashmir was formed, Kaṇsya at first peopled it with his sons, the nágas, who were the former inhabitants; and then, to introduce men (i.e. people from Aryan India) also, the nágas objected, and he thereupon cursed them, so that thereafter the country was peopled for six months of each year by his other sons, the pīṣakas. These came from an island in the sand ocean, i.e. from an oasis in the Central Asian desert, and Keil identifies this with the Mahākārāvatas. Dr. Müller also found similar traditions of yaksas (i.e. pīṣakas) superseding the nágas. In after generations the Kashmir pīṣakas were finally expelled, and the country became inhabited only by nágas and men. For a summary of the whole Dard country north and west of Kashmir, as far as Kāfiristān, there are still told numerous legends, some of them intimately connected with the foundation of a tribe or of its religion, in which cannibalism plays a prominent and important part.

F. Lacoste2 maintains that there is no sufficient reason for assuming that there was ever a tribe or tribes known as Pīṣaka, and this opinion is shared by S. Konow;3 but a consideration of the legends just recounted and of the references to pīṣakas in the Mahākārāvatas entitles us to believe that (1) there were actual people whom the Aryan Indians called Pīṣakas—yaksara; (2) this name and also the latter form were probably appositional epithets, derived from the names of demons; or, as an alternative, they were names of tribes, which hate in later times converted into names of demons; (3) the Mahākārāvata considered these people as inhabiting the north-west of India and the neighbouring mountainous tracts, and Kashmir tradition connected their original home with an oasis in the Central Asian desert.

The question next arises as to the language spoken by these pīṣakas. There are two independent streams of tradition concerning this. In the first place, there is the great encyclopaedia of stories appearing in Sanskrit under various forms, the best known of which is the famous Kathāsūrīrīgāra.4 All these collections come from the Himalaya—one from Népal and two others from Kashmir.5 They purport to be translations into Sanskrit made from an older version, entitled the Bryhatkathā, which is said to have been communi- cated to one Gunnāḍya by a pīṣaka, in "Paśāći."6 Paśāći means the pīṣaka language, and is usually explained as signifying the language believed to have been spoken by these demons or by these people. Lacoste, however, maintains (p. 45) that the language was given this name simply because the original narrator was represented to be a pīṣaka, and points out that the Sanskrit name, later adaptation of the vulgar speech of the tribes of the north-west. As it has been shown above that there were people in the north-west who were called Pīṣāca—a fact denied by Lacoste—the point so far is of little importance. The two streams of tradition is contained in the works of the Indian grammarians. Several of their grammars of the Prākt language contain sections dealing with Paśāći. The oldest of these—Vararuci7 means the pīṣaka-language and is usually, though not quite correctly, taken to mean the Paśāći dialect, but, as time went on, the number of dialects mentioned increased till Markandeya (17th cent.) discusses no fewer than thirteen. With- out doubt the later grammarians included under the name many local dialects spoken in various

2 Gopala Brahmanāla, tr. x. 10; and Aṣṭāvāṇa Srenta Śatra, x. viii. 6, both quoted by Macdonell and Keith, loc. cit.
3 Nāgas and pīṣakas are con- siderably summarized in H. H. Wilson and F. Hall’s tr. of the Vīma Purāṇa, London, 1856, ii. 74. The vihit, of course, was mainly a popular version, but he mentions also the memories of a race of men so called. According to other legends the pīṣakas neither are a tribe nor a race, but some Kapiśa, with which may be compared the name of the neighbourhood Kapiśa at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush (see F. Thomas, in ZDMG, 1899, p. 136), which looks like a metathesis of Kapiśa, the feminine of Kaṇsya.
5 See infra, p. 525.
7 Tr. C. H. Wilson, 1886, p. 525.
8 For full particulars see F. Lacoste, op. cit., and also his ed. of Buddha-vanini’s Bryhatkathā Brahmasūtra, Paris, 1896.
of some Gnostic Christian circles in Egypt (ERE iv. 115). The particular type of Gnosticism is known as Barbelo-Gnosticism, and is the mythological romance of Sophia's redemption; some critics have ascribed it to the Valentinians (q.v.) or even to a disciple of Valentinus himself, 1 others to the Ophites, others, again, to the Barbelothorians. 2 ERE vi. 229, 253. 3 The first point to notice is that Coptic scholars generally agree that the extant MS represents the Sahidic translation of a Greek original. The MS itself, written in double columns on both sides of a parchment, was found to be more than 1,000 years older than the end of the 4th or the opening of the 5th century. How much earlier the original was composed is impossible to say; the fact that the Epistles of the NT are quoted as Scripture seems to fix a terminus a quo not earlier than c. A.D. 140; but the internal evidence is too uncertain to allow any precise inferences to be drawn with regard to the period at which it was compiled. What is certain is that the Pistis Sophia is a product of the later Gnosticism, especially of Gnosticism as it grew upon Egyptian soil; and, as few of the Gnostic documents have survived in their entirety, this invests it with special value for a student of the movement; its contents are often tedious and occasionally tiresome, partly for the comparative criticism of the scattered pieces which in most cases represent all that is extant of the rich Gnostic literature. We have here the morbid craving for an esoteric revelation, as well as the blending of mythology and ritual, which made some of the Gnostic circles more than mere schools of religious philosophy. We have sacramental rites combined with Christology, 2 in a form whose spirit is sometimes not far from Catholicism. We have theurgical elements fused with ceremonialism, 3 and we also find in the Pistis Sophia an illustration of how Gnostic writers could employ the dialogue and the hymn 4 in order to convey their opinions, and of how they personified discourse. The student may also consult variously in the Prometheus Vinctus, and the Hebrews in the Sophia of Proverbs and of the Wisdom-literature more simply.

The affinities of the theosophy reflected in the Pistis Sophia are with that branch of Ophianism which is called Barbelo-Gnosticism (ERE vi. 258); the description of this sect, as given by Irenæus (adv. Her. i. 29) in what seems an extract from the Gnostic ‘Gospel of Mary’ (cf. DAC i. 302), does not exactly tally with the details of the Pistis Sophia, but this is not surprising, as the latter reflects innovations and modifications of any Gnostic scheme. The Barbelo-Gnostics seem to have been originally Syrian, and have passed south-west into Egypt. The characteristic feature of their prophecies (epistles) is the relation to the female principle (ERE v. 827; E.), which led to an exploitation of the term ‘Barbelo.’ This was applied to them by the female deity, either as the supreme Εὐθανος of the invisible God 1 or as the ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ

1 Appealing incantuously to Tertullian's language in adv. Valentinianos. See Del sur, "Das u. die Hermetik", p. 296, or quaeendi, at docet ipsa Sophia, non quidem Valentinus, sed Solomonis, i. 287, 56; S. Legge, "Some Heretic Gospels," in the Scottish Review, vol. xii. 153-162.


3 On the development of the hymn in Syriac Christianity see ERE vii. 12.

4 According to Irenaeus, Barbelo was 'an omen, in virgin-state, who never aged,' existing with the 'incommissibüs Pater.' The
lower Sophia, and it gave them their distinctive name. It is this figure, not the serpent of the specific or narrower Ophites, that appears in the cosmology of the Pistis Sophia. The doctrine describes the appearance of the Ophites given by Epiphanius (Har. xxvi.); whether or not the Pistis Sophia in its present form or in the original form of any part is to be identified with the 'Little Questions of Mary' to which Epiphanius refers in his account of the Gnostics, the similarity of physiognomy is unmistakable. The insistence on the virgin-birth of Jesus, the salvation of the spiritual through initiation into the mysteries, and the identification of the Highest Being with Sophia, are in common with those Ophitic documents. But, so, the description of the tyrants who guard the portals of eternity (cf. Origen, e. Cels. vi. 30 f.) but the functions of Ialdabaoth (cf. ERE vi. 238) differ, and the adventures of (Pistis) Sophia are not quite the same as those of Sophia Achenatho in the Valentinian scheme or in the Ophite; in the Pistis Sophia she is not connected with the origin of matter, and she is represented as the object of redemption by Christ, not as a medium or principle of redemption any less as a mother of Christ. The conception of the light-maiden Barbelo, again, is variously defined in the extant notices of the Gnostic theosophies, and her ill-defined characteristics in the Pistis Sophia do not suggest that it was possible for a figure to be set her in the eighth heaven, as the mother of Sabaoth or of Ialdabaoth (蹉蹉蹉蹉, son of Chaos!), who, to her sorrow, usurped the seventh heaven. In the Pistis Sophia she is a great Power of the Real God, but she does not produce Jesus as 'the Light'; she merely confers on Him His creature, and Ialdabaoth is in the chaos of the under world, a torturing fiend instead of a demiurgus. The Barbelo-Gnostics were evidently not homogenes, but the occurrence of Barbelo in the Pistis Sophia assigns that miscellany to some circle more or less allied to the pious theosophists of the 2nd cent. whom we know as the Ophites—collectively, and as the Nicolaitans, Simonians, and Barbelo-Gnostics specifically. For the Ophites, though numerically insignificant, were in the second to the eleventh centuries, and the tenets which they started seem to have been capable of permutation and modification in several directions.

Five etymologies of the term Barbelo (βαρβέλος) have been proposed. The first is from the Hebrew word for 'riddle', probably καθαρός; (2) 'God in the Tetrad,' πάντως, which is probably the most satisfactory explanation; (3) 'the Supreme Light'—the Hebrew Orphan, the Indian veṣṭa, the Christian lumen. It has been made by Julius Grill (Unternehmungen über die Entdeckung des vierten Evangeliums, Tubingen, 1862, pp. 385—387), who connects it with the Egyptian Osis, the Barbelo being called 'the supreme lumi' in relation to the Ἰσραήλ ἑκάστος αὐτοῦ on the one side and to the lower seven on the other; (d) Bouquet (Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, Göttingen, 1897, p. 114) suggests, on the lines of (c), that the word is a mutation of μαθηματός—the intermediate form, βαρβατός, actually occurring in Epiphanius (Har. xxvii. 1) as the name of Noah's wife; (e) finally, Hort's (BCI, 230, 249) conjecture has been chronicled, which regards 'Barbelo' as identical in meaning with its equivalent 'Babel' in the Gnosticism of Justin (Hippol. adv. Har. v. 30) and that of Irenaeus (Adv. haer. iii. 9. 2) and that of Polycarp (Adv. haer. iv. 33). From the catacomb frescoes, the cosmological functions of Barbelo are very different from the celestial position of Barbelo and her Christological significance in Pistis Sophia.

The only quotations are from the OT and the NT, the former including the Odes of Solomon among the canonical Psalms, the latter ranging over the four Gospels and most of the Epistles (1:30). It is possible that this, as well as depreciating the OT, the Pistis Sophia believes in its inspiration; the divine power in Christ is traced in the OT as well as in the NT, and this absence of anti-Semitic bias differentiates the matriculate from the general class of Gnostic (Ophite) speculations. Furthermore, it makes no appeal to outside myths, as did the Ophites and the other Gnostic sects. Whether this was intentional or not, whether the Pistis Sophia documents came from a circle less cultured than the rest or from Gnostics who were shy of syncretism, it is a feature which allies them in their family. It may, though not in the usual kabbalistic expressions, to the main body of the Church. Nor is it the only feature of this kind.

Belief in the absolute efficacy of the sacraments, a certain reserve in exploiting mythology, a real devotion to the Virgin and to 'God for all the world' shimmers through the coloured and wavering mists of theosophy in the Pistis Sophia, and suggest that a genuine faith lay behind the chimeras and amalgamated texture of the Gospel.

2. Contents.—The esoteric mysteries are usually represented as a revelation—in this case, as in many other Gnostic documents which are known or may be of a similar type, by a revelation made by the risen Christ to the inner circle of His disciples. The precedent for this method has been furnished by the accounts of the Patriarchs in the Jewish Scriptures. Thus Justin Martyr (Apol. i. 67) closes his account of the Christian sacraments and teaching by stating that he was initiated by a setting out into the mysteries of the Logos, who, when He appeared on Sunday to His apostles and disciples—an annunciation to the Gnostic Christians that the Logos of Christ is to reveal and institute mysteries, and mysteries of a sacramental order, by which alone redemption from sin is possible. This was the starting point of many later uncanonical gospels which dealt with the Resurrection and passed into apocrypha, viz. the period of forty days which, according to Ac 1:10, Jesus spent with His disciples between the Resurrection and the Ascension. The communications which Christ bestowed was supposed to be a revelation to the disciples. The period of forty days was important for the development of the knowledge of the mysterious Light-world. Since He had not yet ascended, the esoteric meaning of the words and phrases which intervene between the human soul and the supreme Light had still to be revealed, although the disciples completely thought that they had already attained a perfect insight. Hence, after the ascension to the Prime Mystery (or Supreme God) on the 15th day of the month Tybi (cf. ERE iii. 93) at full moon, when the passage of Jesus through the firmaments into the higher world had produced confusion among the powers of heaven and earth, the Logos assumed the form of a great angel to show the extent of the period to the disciples. The period interval was shaped into fantastic revelations of heaven and earth.

The Pistis Sophia (i—6) starts also from the instructions given by the Risen Master to the disciples but to the inner circle. But the remarkable and unique feature is that the writer extends the period to ten years. Even this prolonged period did not enable the disciples to understand the profound mysteries, nor the knowledge of the mysterious Light-world. Since He had not yet ascended, the esoteric meaning of the words and phrases which intervene between the human soul and the supreme Light had still to be revealed, although the disciples completely thought that they had already attained a perfect insight. Hence, after the ascension to the Prime Mystery (or Supreme God) on the 15th day of the month Tybi (cf. ERE iii. 93) at full moon, when the passage of Jesus through the firmaments into the higher world had produced confusion among the powers of heaven and earth, the Logos assumed the form of a great angel to show the extent of the period to the disciples. The period interval was shaped into fantastic revelations of heaven and earth.

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Power in Mary which issued in the shape of Jesus, while 'Truth' in Elisabeth developed into John the Baptist, the herald of the Truth (62).

Jesus (77) by describing the origin of the twelve apostles not from the rulers of the sons (i.e. the zodiac), as in the Gospel, but from the twelve神圣者 of the Zodiac, grants to Jesus the pleasure of being called 'Ruler of the Arbërosh', that is to say, the body (σώμα) which I had borne in the height, and instead of the soul (ψυχή), the power I had received from the archons of the group composed of the 12 apostles, Mary his mother. He then describes His investiture with three robes of light and His ascension through the various compartments or palaces of the present realm, and how the powers of the twelve sons, who were organized to thwart the redemption of the light, and His discovery, behind the thirteen sons, of poor Pisistrasia (29) seated underneath that son and mourning over her exclusion. The story of this pathetic figure is not true; she was the last and lowest of the twenty-four emanations, and she had incurred the hatred of the twelve sons by desiring the light of the Highest; furthermore, Arrogant (αρσάκη), who sought control of the thirteenth son, did his best to keep her out by issuing a looking Power and other emanations in chaos (including ἀμαθέα τῆς ἀλοκάθαρτος) through the twelve sons until, harried and darkened by her foes, he was compelled to leave the realm of chaos itself. Then, coming to Jesus, she repents of having mistaken the deceptive light of ἀμαθέα τῆς ἀλοκάθαρτος for the True, and cries out with a voice of great length and eloquence, elaborately explained, she expiates the twelve sons, accosted at every stage by her turn (λεγειντα, see § 41) and his allies (κοινή), who having repented for abandoning the thirteenth son, is led from chaos by a Power of Light sent by Jesus to guide her; she then in a final movement, and by radiance and inspires him to praise the Power of Light in a song.

An interpolated paragraph of alphabetical gibberish1 has been inserted between these sections.

The following section (78-143) is entitled 'the second book of Pisistrasia,' but the division is artificial and the name of the original document evidently was not so. This chapter, (akin to § 77) is a portion of the books or texts (ῥήματα τοῦ Σωτήρος) which covers 26 sections of the next section (144) appears to be the conclusion of a different document altogether. Another portion of 'the books of the Saviour' follows (102-135), and the final section (136-143) appears to have been added later (note appended), which includes a section of Mk 10:28-30.

The so-called 'second book of Pisistrasia' continues the heroism of Jesus. She is driven down by a fresh attack of her foes, but Jesus orders Gabriel and Michael to assist her by means of a stream of light against the archons and emanations who still thwart her progress; finally she is set in the centre of the light itself, triumphing over the hostile sons of darkness by the direct aid of Jesus, who paralyzes Arrogant and her enemies. Her songs of praise and the revelations made to her are expounded at length; she accompanies Jesus into the third heaven, and is given to see twelve stars, one, hidden, and suddenly, singing, out of the story. No more is heard of her. The story concludes with a description of a Gnostic survey of hierarchies, sons, and spheres. The drama gives place to exposition, and the theme is the next world, with special reference to the cloudy sphere of fortune there. The literary method is the same as in the first book; Jesus invites His hearers from time to time to guess the meaning of the symbols of the drama, and paves the way for Himself to be questioned. But Mary does nearly all the talking in the second book, though she confesses (73) that

1 An indication of the Gnostic claim to apostolic authority and of the apostolic prestige in their theosophy.

2 This is held to explain Mt 17:11-111. The older Gnostic, dismissed by Irenæus, made John the Baptist and Jesus emanations of Adam and, through him, Paraclete. The view here is simpler. For a more detailed account of these ideas see § 44, and the article Tischendorf.

3 Even in the medley of celestial figures Christ is supreme over all. This is a common feature in the Gnostic thinking, and the only one which can be paralleled in the Pisistrasia, which tallies here with the Orphic system in general, the stars in their courses fight against the saints, and there is no time for them to shorten the times for the sake of the elect.

4 This is held to explain Ps 51:14.

5 After His ascension. Her fall and preliminary rise seem to be prior to the advent of Christ; the completion of her rescue and ascension occurs afterwards. For a more detailed account see § 47.

6 The jargon of foreign syllables and names is the Pisistrasia prompted this scribe to try such composition on his own account. The name of Jesus is corrupted to "a World in Despair" (cf. the effect of the Gnostic teaching in II Bar.)

7 He (Jesus) drew another Power from ἔλευθερον τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ—-who also is one of the three gods of triple power—and bound it to Hermes; and from the Name of Jesus Pisistrasia, son of Barbelo, and bound it to Aphrodite.' Cf. C. Bigg, The Church's Work under the Roman Empire, London, 1906, p. 651.

8 This may reflect a Gnostic claim for women in the prophetic ministry of the Church, as against an attempt on the part of the (Roman) authorities to put them down.

9 He gets the rebuke of Mt 17:17 for wondering how the disembodied soul can escape the archons and powers.

10 It is a free gospel. 'I have called and said to all men, sinners and just persons,' etc., etc. This is held to explain the idea of baptism, of the word, and of the ascension. The idea of baptism is common to Gnosticism and catholicism; the simple gospel of Jesus had to be expanded to meet the speculative problems of the age.

11 Among the grotesque semi-Egyptian colours of this sketch, it must be noticed, the symbol of the spheres, a three-footed animal (ἀστεροειδής) of the moon, which was like a ship steered by a male and a female dragon, and drawn by two white oxen. On the hiss of the serpent (ἀστεροειδής) the moon (ἑκτάριον) heaves the dragons that had seized the light from the archons. At the bow was the face of a cat.

12 At this point the Pisistrasia, instead of placing the women (tract 2) is giving us the story of the women (Mary and Salome) are putting too many questions, and Jesus bids them let the mouth of the woman be shut. It appears that the Gnostic sects are very much alike, and the Gnostics of the Gnostic sects.

13 These denunciations show how the Pisistrasia adopted the libertinism which was rampant in some of the ultra-spiritualistic Gnostic circles. It is noteworthy that the Gnostics of the Gnostic sects. See E. A. Wallis Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians, London, 1904, I. 269 ff.
The problem of *Pistis Sophia* is twofold—literary and religious. The literary problem is to analyze the structure of the miscellany. Even when the first three books are taken by themselves, their original titles cannot have been *Pistis Sophia*. This designation may be retained for the sake of convenience, but it is the addition of a later serio, and is just as appropriate as "The Book of Unas" would be for the *Faerie Queene*; the miscellany is much more complex than such a thing would suggest. Either "The Books of the Saviour" or "Questions of Mary and the Disciples Concerning Repentance and Forgiveness, with the Answers of the Lord" would cover the contents more accurately. Even the *Pistis Sophia* is only a portion of (or a collection of the fragments.) One theory (Schmidt) is that the fourth book, together with the allied books of *Jeh* in the Bruce MS, must reflect an earlier stage of this Gnostic theosophy, at which the "lower" mysteries were still a part of, and not a supplementation of, a baptismal sacramentality (ERE ii. 388). The rival hypothesis (Liechthenn) reconstructs an original document by omitting 64–80 as an interpolation. These theories are complicated by (a) the probability that the book as preserved is based on a now lost original; (b) the treatises of the 2nd cent. which are known to us, as far as they are known at all, mainly by their titles; and (c) by the obvious connexion between the miscellany and the "two books of Jeh," which happen to be preserved in the allied Sahidic MS of Bruce. The *Pistis Sophia* mentions these books (134) as containing the higher mysteries and as "written by Enoch when I spoke with him from the tree of knowledge and from the tree of life." But the books mentioned here can hardly be the same as those referred to in *Jeh* and the latter PROFESS to have been composed by Enoch. Nevertheless, there is a general similarity between the two MSS, which involves literary and religious questions that have not yet been answered definitively by experts. In the extant books of *Jeh* Jesus is also revealing the mysteries of the celestial spheres to His disciples, the sacramentalism is still more emphatic, the ascetic note is loudly strung, and the underlying aim is, as in the Syrian Book of the Dead, to provide a safe passage for the initiated soul through the hostile regions of the other world. The latter aim, more explicitly than in the *Pistis Sophia*, dominates the sacramental interest. It is, however, possible that the Gnostic scheme of both works presents a grotesque, weird elaboration of the sacramental mysteries, compared with which the later Catholic construction may be described as simple and sober (cf. ERE v. 548).

LITERATURE. The problem of the *Pistis Sophia* has successively occupied the attention of Carl Schmidt, von der Mist and others. In *Peyler*, III. 16, 17, 18. The book was recently reprinted and published, and the first ed. of the MS did not appear till 1851, when M. G. Schwartz's Lat. tr. was published posthumously by J. H. Petermann (*Pistis Sophia, opera gnostica Valentinio adiubicatum*, Berlin, 1851), who attributed the document to the Ophites, an opinion shared by K. R. Köstlin in his expository essay on the Gnostic system of the *Pistis Sophia* (Theologische Jahrbiicher, xii. [1854] 1–104, 157–166), and by R. A. Lipiana (OCB vi. 460–465). Portions were translated from Schwartz's version into Eng. by C. W. King, *Gnostics and their Remains*, London, 1857. A Fr. version by E. Amélineau followed (*La Pistis Sophia*; Ouvrage gnostique de Valentin, traduit du copte en français, avec une introduction, Paris, 1864). The first critical work, under the title *Gnostische Schriften, III*., was published by C. Schmidt (*GFA, 1864, p. 601, 1852, p. 201*). An Eng. version, based on Schwartz and Amélineau, was published by G. R. Driver under the title *A Gnostic Gospel…*; in the first time published, London, 1864, with a *Note on the MSS*. The work was translated into Italian by A. Harris (Turin, 1865, 1, 1-254) and may have been preceded by his ed. and study of the allied Gnostic documents in *TU* vii. 1–2 (1896) ("Gnosticisme, Storia, ricerca, spargimenti sul Gnostico"); some work as well as a R. Harnack's monograph, *Über das gnostische Buch Pseudo-Sophia*, in *TU* vii. 2 (1891). Harnack's views are summarized in his *Geschichte der christlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1911, Suppl. i. Leipzig, 1893) 171 f., ii. (1900) 1934. Schmidt's theory, that the two books of *Jeh* (in the Bruce MS) represent, along with the (so-called) fourth book of the *Pistis Sophia*, an earlier stage, is criticized adversely by E. Frencken (*THE* xiii. 1893 155 ff.) and E. Dussaud (*ET* x. 1894 155 ff.). Harnack tends to think that Schmidt has not proved his thesis at all, and a similar scepticism, accompanied by an individual reconstruction of the text, is rejected by R. Liechthenn in his "Untersuchungen zur kopitischn-gnostischen Literatur" (EWTlx. 1891 209 ff.) and in *PRE* vi. 404 ff. The discovery of the Odes of Solomon, five of which are already preserved in the *Pistis Sophia*, has reopened the problem of the latter book; cf. F. Rendel Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge, 1900, pp. 18–23, and W. H. Worrell, *The Odes of Solomon and the Pistis Sophia*, *JPST* viii. (1911) 185 ff.; and more recently, by a still different method, *Pistis Sophia* will be found in W. Bonnet, *Probleme der Gnostiker*, Göttingen, 1913, on which there is much independent illustration. Among the chief sources are *Lettres éternelles*; *E de Paye, Introd. à l'étude du gnosticisme*, Paris, 1905, pp. 199–139, and *Gnostiques et gnosticisme*, do. 1914, p. 128, the latter, however, highly critical of its religious value; P. D. Scott Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 148 ff., which also shows the curious character of some of the Pistis Sophia and *F. Legge, Forerunners and Ideals of Christianity*, Cambridge, 1915, iii. 180–181. JAMES MOFFATT.

**PITY.**—See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Indian). **PITRYANA.**—See DEVAVYNA.

**PITY.**—Pity is pre-eminent a human emotion; it is either not shared at all or shared in a very inferior degree by the brutes. As a human emotion it is very widely spread, but affects men at different times and in different races in different degrees. Women may show more of it than men, or the men may show more of it than women, but both sexes are moveable among men than savages, and probably the northern more than the southern races. Among the Greeks and Romans pity was less felt than among Christian nations, in the medieval life less than in the modern world, and from the fact that in modern times pity is on the increase of communication between one part of the world and another, and, as a consequence of this, to the growing solidarity of the human race. Hostility and anger are both apt to obliterate pity, or at least curtail it, by the same reason before him, but he is more important as a medium than as a weighty potentate.
quality which prevails to some extent and ought to prevail among both gods and men. Yet no great stress is laid upon it, nor does its absence excite much indignation. In one passage (of doubtful authenticity) of Cicero, it is implied that the object which gives rise to pity is described as a quality ‘which greatly injures and also greatly benefits men’ (II. xxiv. 45). In the tragedians the feeling of pity is more marked and occupies a more prominent place. Indeed, as Aristotle points out, tragedy could not exist and would have no point, did not human misfortune excite pity and were not people capable of being moved by the imaginary misfortunes of their fellow-men. He says that the object of tragedy is ‘by means of pity and terror to effect the purging of such emotions’ (Poetics, 1459o, ed. Bywater, Oxford, 1909). In some ways the most remarkable instance of pity exhibited in Attic tragedy is from Thucydides’s self-sacrifice for the good of mankind, brought about by the pity which he felt for their forlorn condition; with this is contrasted the pitiless inexorability of Zeus. This has in it some touch of the Christian doctrine of God’s pity for man, though in spirit it stands greatly opposed to it. Plato, in the normal treatment of the emotion of pity, though he recognizes it as a natural and proper human sentiment (e.g., Phaedo, 58 E), it is further characteristic of Plato that he thinks the condition of ignorance or mistake more to be pitied than the condition of those who fall into misfortune (Rep. 539 A). In Aristotle the emotion is treated more formally and at greater length. But in the Ethics he describes it along with desire, anger, and fear as a feeling (thauma) (Nic. Eth. ii. 1103)? In the Rhetoric he discusses at some length the different kinds of pity, and shows how it can be used for rhetorical purposes. Of course, as a simple emotion pity defies definition; no one could ever make the feeling of pity intelligible to a man who had never known it, but it is possible to analyze the circumstances in which it will arise and be felt, and this is what Aristotle attempts. He describes it as ‘a painful feeling arising on the sight of evil either destructive or painful, which happens to those who are unworthy of it, an evil of a kind which one might expect to suffer oneself or that one of one’s friends should do so, and this white feeling arising from pity is occasioned by it being necessary that he who should feel pity should be such as to think that he might suffer the evil either in his own person or in that of one of his friends, and that it would not be absurd or very much such, as has been described in the definition’ (Eth. ii. 8).

This definition gives at first sight a somewhat selfish complexion to the feeling of pity; yet there can be no doubt that it lays the conditions down under which pity is most readily felt, and, though there is a pity which transcends this account of it, the definition accurately describes the pity by which the great majority of ordinary men are moved.

2. Roman.—In Latin literature the sentiment of pity occupies no prominent place; the Romans were not a compassionate people, and their literature faithfully reproduces this trait of their character.

The passage where the feeling of pity is most finely touched upon in Latin literature is in Virgil:

1 ‘Hic ...
Sunt lacrymae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt’
(En. i. 462).

There is also a striking passage in which Tacitus contrasts the pity felt by some of the Roman officers against the Stoics, who asserted that God could not be moved by pity, that, while the claims of pity must always be subordinated to justice, it is yet an emotion which is not unworthy of God and should be exhibited by man to his fellow-men; in that case, became naturally called out by the sight of distress. The pity of God, of course, must depend on the repentance of man; yet, granted this condition, God’s pity can flow out towards man, and, it would seem, inevitably does so. In that follow-up of the Christian dispensation thus contrasted with the passionless God of the Stoics, just as the compassionate man under the Christian dispensation is opposed to the unfeeling man of the Stoical ideal.

Yet, in spite of what Augustine urges, the idea of a pitiful God is not altogether an easy one

3. Biblical.—In the Bible it is to be observed that the terms ‘pity,’ ‘compassion,’ and ‘mercy’ are used as practically synonymous (being all used in different places as translations of the same Hebrew and Greek words, the former being comparatively little employed, and the latter much more so). Indeed, as a conviction which grew upon the prophets of Israel and the religious leaders of Jewish thought till it culminated in the teaching of our Lord Himself. In the earlier books of the OT the pity and compassion of God, as the condition both of his dealings with the world at large, and of his dealings with his people, were in a comparatively little complexified. The most important passage occurs in the Decalogue in both of the forms in which it has come down to us:

‘Shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments’ (Ex. 34; Deut. 5: § (w303 πληκτο «χιλιας των άνθρωπων με και τοις φθάνουσιν τα πρόγονά μου»);

but in the Psalms and in certain of the prophets the thought is very prominent—e.g., Ps. 86: 105—

105, 13

Ps. 50: 13—Jer 3: 17

In the NT the belief in God’s pity or mercy follows as a direct consequence from the doctrine of God’s fatherhood and God’s love (e.g., 1K 6th).

To St. Paul God is a God of mercy. God is the Father of those that are brought (Rom. 8: 29); mercy and pity are inculcated through Jesus Christ (I Tim. 1: 1, 2 Ti 1: 2, 2 Ju 2)

Pity towards men is commended to us in the Bible as synonymous with God’s pity and pity of God, and particularly of His pity and mercy as expressed by and revealed in the sending of Jesus Christ. Pity and mercy towards aliens and strangers were in early days perhaps no more recognized as a duty by the Israelites than they were by the Greeks and Romans; indeed, there is a passage (Dt 1: 13) in which it is expressly forbidden that pity should be felt or shown towards those who try to pervert God’s people from the worship of Jehovah into the worship of any strange god; but throughout the OT mercy and pity is inculcated towards members of the house of Israel, and the failure to have pity on the widow, the fatherless, and the destitute is strongly reproved.

In the NT the command to be pitiful has no such restrictions; the pity of God towards the Samaritan implies that our acts of charity, pity, and mercy are by no means to be limited to those of our own nation, and, as a matter of fact, under the teaching of Christianity pity has been extended so as to embrace sufferers of the whole human race, and in our day embraces the animal world as well.

4. Augustine.—In Augustine’s de Civitate Dei there is an interesting chapter (ix. 5) devoted to the manifestation of pity as exhibited by God toward man. Augustine is against the Stoics, who asserted that God could not be moved by pity, that, while the claims of pity must always be subordinated to justice, it is yet an emotion which is not unworthy of God and should be exhibited by man to his fellow-men; in that case, became naturally called out by the sight of distress. The pity of God, of course, must depend on the repentance of man; yet, granted this condition, God’s pity can flow out towards man, and, it would seem, inevitably does so. In that follow-up of the Christian dispensation thus contrasted with the passionless God of the Stoics, just as the compassionate man under the Christian dispensation is opposed to the unfeeling man of the Stoical ideal.

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to embrace. It has to be taken in close connexion with the teaching of the NT on repentance. The good will, the love, the fatherhood of God to man, is a permanent attitude which remains, whatever man's conduct. Sin turns man's thoughts and his affections away from God; this possibility is the result of the relation between God and man, which has been there potentielly all the time, but has been interrupted. The changed attitude of God to man consequent on repentance expresses itself in pity. The bearing of this duty is a duty of the Christian, who is the author of the present article (cf. Expiation and Atonement [Christian]).

5. English moralists.—In the English moralists the phenomena of pity and the cognate emotions held a more prominent place. Hobbes started the investigation:

'Grife, for the Calamity of another,' he says, 'is Pity; and ariseth from the imagination that the like calamity may befall himself; and therefore is called also Compassion, and in the phrase of this present time a Fellow-feeling; And therefore for Calamity arising from great wickedness, the inquirers have the least Pity; and for the same Calamity, those have least Pity, that think themselves least obnoxious to the same' (Levita., p. 69).

This selfish doctrine of pity is vehemently opposed by Butler in his two sermons on compassion (Sermons, v. and vi.). Having stated Hobbes's definition of pity as given in his treatise on Human Nature as 'the inducement of future calamity to ourselves, proceeding from the sense (he means sight or knowledge) of another man's calamity,' he proceeds to criticize it in the following way (Sermon v. 'Upon Compassion').

'In this case it appears that there is no act of true pity or compassion at all. The sight of a friend's misfortune may in some minds give rise to the feeling of fear for ourselves which Hobbes would call Pity; but if it gave rise to such a feeling, the feeling would not be one of pity or compassion, but something quite different. Again, there are objects which give rise to a sense of our own danger,—e.g., a sudden sight or sound, or some association of ideas—but no one would say that we compassionated on such an object; it would be ridiculous to do so. Again, fear, pity, and compassion would be on Hobbes's showing the same sentiment and a fearful and compassionate man the same character—which every one immediately sees are totally different. Again, while compassion and pity exhibited towards others, and especially towards our friends, commend us to the favour of all good men, so our own pity on our own account is no doubt equally recommended us. Pity, then, and compassion, Butler concludes, proceed not from the sense of duty, of reason, being grieved at the distresses or misfortunes of others, are a primitive sentiment in human nature, a sentiment implanted in us, as it were, by God, as to relieve the sufferings of others, of which, in Butler's view, life is so full. The emotion does not supplant reason, but fortifies it, reason being often too weak to induce us to alleviate the distresses of others, having the sufferings of our fellow-men unless supported by those feelings, which, as a matter of fact, the better class of men are endowed.

One other question Butler touches upon in the course of these two sermons. Pity and compassion were regarded by many of the Stoics in earlier days and by some of Butler's own contemporaries as a weakness which the 'wise man' will seek to get rid of. To this Butler replies that the gratification of the affection may be, and often is, a source of pleasure to him who indulges it, and certainly makes compliance with the dictates of the sense of duty and reason easier and more possible than without such a sentiment they are likely to prove to the majority of mankind. It was this way of reasoning that produced the objections of Kant, who took up on this point a position even more extreme than most of the Stoics. Kant said: 'The passions that spring from the acting sources of will is so far from having an absolute worth for which they should be desired, that, on the contrary, it must be the universal with all rational being to be wholly free from them' (Grundleg. zur Metaphysik der Sitten [Stimmt, Werke, ed. E. Rosenkranz and F. K. 1835, pt. v. App., p. 252). Hume has a good deal to say about pity and compassion. Pity is defined by him as 'a concern for the misery of others' (Treatise of Human Nature, bk. ii. pt. ii. § 7). He does not accept Hobbes's view that pity springs from the sight of others suffering which makes it an unprejudiced on our own account. It has its source in the imagination, in the power which we have of putting ourselves in the place of others and gaining an impression of the ideas which they actually experience. It is a peculiarity of the passion, he continues, that the communicated passion of sympathy sometimes acquires strength from the weakness of its original feeling.

'A man who is not dejected by misfortunes is the more lamenter and the more Nếutured. This principle of sympathy is largely invoked by Adam Smith to explain some of the phenomena which pity and compassion exhibit. Why is it, he asks, as Hume had also asked, that we feel more compassion for the man who exhibits greater inhumanity in his sufferings than for one who allows himself to be overwhelmed by them? The reason is, he answers, that we can more easily enter into, or sympathize with, the actual feeling which he displays.

'It is with surprise and astonishment at that strength of mind which is capable of so noble and generous an effort.' (Theory of Moral Sentiments, Edinburgh, 1849, pt. 1. sect. iii. ch. 1).

6. Conclusion.—Pity, then, is a universal or almost universal human feeling, of the existence of which as a fact of human nature there can be no doubt, though the explanation of the feeling itself, and still more the phenomena which it exhibits, is far from being settled. We see a double presence of which in men, and still more in women, we approve, the absence of which we blame and deplore, but on condition that it leads to active interposition on behalf of those who are in distress; it is a feeling, moreover, which we readily attribute to God Himself, because we recognize that it is a form which love takes, a proof not of weakness but of strength.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited throughout the article.

W. A. SPOONER.

PLACES (Sacred).—In primitive religious conceptions the gods are not exempt from general limitations of space and time. Arguing by analogy, the savage ascribes to all material objects a life similar to that of which he himself is conscious, and he easily confounds the spiritual force with its visible embodiment. Hence in primitive myth we find animate and inanimate things equally capable of feeling and action, while transformations of men into animals or animals into men are perfectly natural. The gods have a physical environment, on and through which they act. Nowhere ubiquitously, they are conceived of as bounded by certain local limits; the god's land is the land of his worshippers, and his immediate sphere of influence is his residence. Among the Semites the sanctuary and temple, the place of divine attributes, came to be associated with the fertility of particular places, whether from rainfall or from springs and watercourses, the local gods, or b'dilim, being recognized and appeased by a tribute of firstfruits, and, by a natural extension of meaning, of firstlings of cattle and men. Thus the idea grew that the gods have their proper homes or haunts where the worshippers lay their gifts on sacred ground, hang them on a sacred tree, or, in the case of Egypt, deposit them in a sacred stone. Later the home or sanctuary of a god was a temple, which could be erected only in a place where a god had manifested his presence. A theophany was held to justify the act of sacrificing on the spot (Gn 12, Ex 17 etc.). Hence came the idea of the sanctity of such places as Bethel, Mamre, Shechem, Beersheba, etc. The theophany in Ex 3 took place on Sinai, because it is holy ground, Jahweh's habitual dwelling-place (W. M. Taylor, Jahweh's Life and Habitation, London, 1894, p. 118). Thus we see that holy places are older than temples, and that places become holy as the natural haunts of a god, these being in their earlier forms a cave, a rock, a fountain, or a tree. These places and things, as
the favourite haunts of divine beings, come naturally to be regarded as holy, as opposed to common, and are reserved for the use of the god and his ministers. In relation to man such sanctuaries were surrounded by prohibitions as to access, especially for such persons as are physically unclean or have shed blood. The right of asylum in the OT was limited to involuntary homicide, and confined to certain old sanctuaries — such as Shechem, Gilgal, and theLike — but not to all. In all parts of the world, as among the Ainus, the Brazilian tribes, the Samoans, etc. The ḥārāḥār develops into the wooden idol, the primitive unhewn monolith into the marble statue of the god, with which the altar still continues to be associated, and from these elements eventually the temple was built. The primitive altar grew out of totemistic ideas, and there is in the earlier stages no need to suppose that the stone or image in front of which the rites of worship are performed actually contained the god. The identification of the god and the abode in which he may be pleased to make his resting-place is, however, an easy transition. Thus among the American Indians the place of national worship was thought of as a mountain or peak from which they claimed descent. The Daktoras and Ojibwas had similar stones, which they called 'grandfather.' The shaping of a likeness to the human face was natural enough, but by no means universal. We may see in the unchanged idol of Astarte at Paphos. It must be clearly understood that the idea of the stone becoming the permanent rather than an occasional dwelling-place of the gods represents a later stage of development. The existence of sacrifice implies an earlier totemistic stage, in which the blood of the totem-animal, and the object is the renewal of the blood-covenant between the totem-clan and the totem-god (K. B. Jevons, Introd. to the Hist. of Religion, London, 1914, p. 141). This superstition lingered long. It was condemned by the Council of Nantes in 895, but it survives to this day in some corners of France and Norway.

In ancient Rome, in the earliest times, there was no temple or image representing a deity. Certain places were regarded as religio, affected by tabu, as distinguished from loca sacra, places made over to the deity by certain formulae, under the authority of the State, by the processes of consecratio. Such a place, in which a deity had taken up his abode, was a fanum, containing a sacrarium, or small room in which the god was served. But the lenia religiosa were the spots where thunderbolts had fallen and burial-grounds. This feeling or seruple (religio) as applied to places finds expression in Virgil's lines describing the visit of Æneas to the site of the future Rome:

"Hinc ad Tarpeianum sedem et Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olivum stellae horrida dulcis.
Jam loco salutis ternus ac tertius adegit.
Dira loci; jam lau saevum sacrarum trementem."
who together with Vesta represent the material vitality of the family (W. Warde Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, London, 1911, lect. iv.). The protecting door-spirit was Janus; and in the Janus bifrons in the symbolic gate of the Forum Fowler sees a developed form of the spirit of the house-door. The lar was origin-
ally the presiding spirit, not of the house, but of an allotment, or the whole of the land of a familia, including that on which the house stood. The totonimus was the boundary-mark of the land belonging to the familia, or the externalization of the resignation of farms and homesteads, and its care was marked by detailed religious ceremonies. The lustratio, or purification, of land, city, etc., was carried out by means of a solemn procession accompanied with sacrifices. And, as well as the city-state, its boundary made sacred by a lustratio, so the city had its pomerium, or boundary-line between the sacred and the profane, like that of the farm, within whose limits alone the auspiciis of the city could be taken. See, further, art. LANDMARKS AND BOUNDARIES.

The earliest Teutonic word for temple means also wood, and the primitive shrine of the deity was a holy place untouched by human hand, a grove. A god may inhabit a mountain-top, a cave, or a river, but the general rule was for each deity its own sacred seat, a sacred grove, or a forest sacred to the gods was dedicated to the divine spirit. The earliest prehistoric Germanic people were nature-worshippers, and their worship was descriptive of the nature of the country as one mass of wilderness, the various species of forest and the various branches of forest. The Germanic people were a forest people, and had a forest consecration. Among the Germanic people, the forest was the sacred grove, the sacred grove was a forest consecration, and the sacred grove was the seat of a god. The sacred grove was a place of worship, and the sacred grove was the seat of the god. The sacred grove was a place of worship, and the sacred grove was the seat of the god.

LITERATURE.—See, besides works already mentioned, C. Becker, Der Tempel der Dreiheit im alten Deutschland, Leipzig, 1879; W. Mannhardt, Antike Wald- und Feldpflete, id. 1875-77; J. Grimm, Teutonisch Mythologie, 1. 73 f. tells us of a holy oak near Wurzburg; The American antediluvian was among the hunting-peasants made a solemn procession every year. The earliest temples were built on the sites of the more ancient trees or groves, and, later, Christian churches were erected on the same sites, so that the old sacredness did not depart from the place, but merely passed into a higher relation.

PLAINS INDIANS. — 1. Distribution and history.—The region that gives a geographical name to this group of American Indians is of an irregular oblong shape, some 2500 miles from north to south and 1000 to 1500 miles from east to west. Roughly speaking, the Plains extend from the Rio Grande in S.W. United States to the Saskatchewan River in Canada, and from the base of the Rocky Mountains to Lake Winnipeg in Canada and the Missouri and the Mississippi in the United States.

In the middle of this broad stretch of land flow many streams that take their rise in the Western mountains. Trees border these numerous waterways, but the country is barren of forests. This was formerly the home of over twenty different tribes, belonging to six different linguistic stocks. They were as follows:

(1) Algonquian: Arapaho, Blackfeet (or Siksika), Cheyenne, and Arapaho; (2) Apache; (3) Apache; (4) Pawnee; (5) Kiowa; and (6) Shoshonean :

To and fro over the wide Plains formerly moved vast herds of buffalo, which gave abundant food and furnished the Indians with pelts for clothing as well as covering for their tents. The tribes regarded these animals as specially provided for the sustenance and welfare of the native people, and this gift was gratefully recognized in their religious rites.

The Indian of the Plains had been attracted thither by the buffalo herds. Some of the tribes had come from the woods on the north, east, and west, where the game, although plentiful, was more or less difficult to secure; others had come up from the south, for similar reasons. After the settlement of the white colonists on the Atlantic coast a new force was felt over the land. A gradual displacement of the native tribes formerly dwelling on the eastern littoral and its streams began and went on increasing, until it was felt as a westward pressure up to the eastern border of the Plains. This steady displacement, added to the influence of the white traders, the adventurers, and the ‘opening up of the country,’ brought to the Indians new diseases, intoxicants, and many other evils which greatly reduced their number.

The horse reached the Plains with the expedition of Coronado in 1541. Later, strays multiplied rapidly, and finally formed the herds of wild horses that became the principal source of the Indian warfare and the mainstay of the Plains economy. The Plains and used them for hunting is not known, but they were first met by tribes of the Siouan stock, among the Comanche, who were famous for their horsemanship, and from that tribe knowledge was obtained of the use and care of the horse. Not only did the horse modify hunting methods, but it introduced a new species of property, changed social customs, and led to foraging expeditions and to wars.

Although the Plains were never a peaceful country, the changing conditions increased its turbulence until it became a great battlefield as well as a hunting-ground. The greatest blow that the native life of the Indian ever received came during the first decades of the latter half of the 19th cent., when, in the interest of trade, the buffalo were slaughtered by the thousand, until within a few years they were practically extinct. What that catastrophe meant to the Indian it is difficult for one of our race fully to appreciate. The presence of this animal in its former numbers some thirty years ago, when its meaning was really borne in upon her.

The aged Omaha keeper of the sacred rites that inaugurated the annual buffalo-bust conducted the rite for historic preservation; he stood alone in his little cabin before the graphophone to voice for the last time the words that told of the birth of the buffalo-herds. When he came to the promise given by Waukonda, in answer to man’s appeal, that the herds should come to the people from all directions, the tears rolled down his withered cheeks as he sobbingly mur-

The old man did not long survive this recital.

2. Religious and social ideas.—The social organization and religious ceremonial of the Plains Indians varied in a number of particulars. Those tribes belonging to the Athapascan stock had formerly dwelt under sedentary and agricultural conditions, and many of the habits then formed were lost under the stress of hunting; the binding force of a close social organization also gave way, with tribes that relied on the buffalo, and customs were modified. With the affiliated Arapaho and Cheyenne tribes the ‘Sun-dance’ became the principal ceremony of the people. This composite rite spread to some tribes of the Siouan linguistic stock, and was associated with the worship of the sun, as its name might imply. It is true that the ‘dancer’ turned towards the sun, but it was viewed as a symbol of the unseen Power that had granted the prayer of
the dancer—usually a supplication for the recovery of a sick relative, the sincerity of the request to be proved by the supplicant going through the torture of the Sun-dance. The Sun-dance witnessed by the writer in 1882 was the fulfillment of a vow made that the life of a sister might be spared to her family. There was therefore an amicable teaching in this seemingly barbarous rite.  

Among the Cheyenne there is an ancient ceremonial connected with four sacred arrows that have been preserved time out of mind, which was related to the teaching of the sacred rites of life within the tribe. Little is known of this rite, as no one having any white blood has ever been allowed to witness it. See art. CHEYENNE.

The tribes of the Dakota linguistic stock had long been familiar with the cultivation of the maize which figured in their tribal rites. These were elaborate, and presented phases of anthropomorphism that were not met with elsewhere.

The tribes of the Siouan linguistic stock dwelt on the eastern border of the Plains, along the banks of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and some of the tributaries of the Mississippi. The people lived in villages and cultivated maize, beans, and a few other plants; they went out to hunt buffalo and other game, returning home with the food which supplied their wants. No doubt the life of these early Indians had been essentially the same as that of their more modern descendants.

During the latter half of the 19th cent. the life of the tribes became greatly modified and at its close hardly a tribe was practising its ancient vocations and rites, or was dependent for social order upon its tribal form of government. The entire country was under the control of the white race, railroads stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the mountains were no barriers, and peace and order yielded to modern methods of land cultivation, so that the old life passed for ever out of sight. The native race survived under the new conditions, nor were their ancient beliefs wholly obliterated; these had too long been vital to the race to yield to mere external pressure. Those beliefswere has assumed new importance to the student of the development of the mind and thought of man while under the direct and sole tutelage of nature. The American Indians belong to an observant, thoughtful, out-of-door people who for generations have lived upon intimate relations with an unmodified environment. All animals pursued their own unhampered mode of life, only the dog being domesticated. With few exceptions, the plants were not injured by disease or their roots; there were no highways to break the wide expanse of grass, or bridges to span the streams. There was nothing to suggest any break in the continuity of the natural relation between man and his surroundings, which is the source of the erroneous conception of that once unbroken stretch of country, giving no sign of the master-hand of man or of his permanent occupancy. It was amid such untouched, unforced conditions that the American Indian as a race must have developed his ideas of things, and even of himself and of his environment, and it was only when this environment was changed that he began to reflect upon himself and the world about him, and to ponder upon what he saw.

Everywhere he seemed to discern that dual forces were employed to reproduce and so to perpetuate the living forms. The fructifying power of the sun was needed to make the earth fruitful, and only on the union of the two, sky and earth, was life in its various forms made possible. Upon these two opposites he projected human relations and man made all degrees of social organization over the sky became masculine, the earth feminine. Finally, by thinking along these lines, as his rituals revealed, he was led to conceive of the cosmos as a unit, permeated with the same life force of which he was conscious in himself. This nature that gave to his environment its stable character, to every living thing on land and water the power of growth and of movement, to man not only his physical capacities but the ability to think, to will, to bring to pass. This unseen, undying, unifying force is called by the Omaha and cognate tribes Wakonda. Through Wakonda all things came into being, are ever related, and made more or less interdependent. Consequently, nature stood to the Indian as the manifestation of an order that had been instituted by Wakonda, of which man was an integral part. To this order he turned for guidance when establishing those means, religious and secular, that would ensure to him, individually and socially, safety and continuous life.

Finding himself to be one of a wide-reaching cosmic family, the Omaha (and his cognates) planned the tribal organization upon the type of that family. The people were divided into two great sections, one to the east of the sky, the other to the west. Each section was composed of a number of kinship groups, called by a general term meaning "village." (These are spoken of by our students as 'clans' or 'gentes.') Each village stood for some one of the forms of life seen in Wakonda's institution of order. The sky was the abode of the sun, the stars, the winds, and the storm-cloud with its thunder and lightning, and to each village of that section was committed something regarded as symbolic of one of these manifestations. The earth, with its land and water also, was the abode of the trees, grasses, and the various animals so closely allied to man and his needs, and to each village of that section was committed something typical or symbolic of one of these manifestations of life. This was done by means of a scheme at mirroring man's environment, as ordained by Wakonda, and was primarily religious in character, and secondarily political in its function. The tribal rites were instituted to emphasize that which the tribal organization portrayed, and to provide means by which the people should together acknowledge the order inaugurated by Wakonda, of which man was a part. In these rites all the villages of the two sections had a share, as well as the symbols committed to their keeping, so that the people, standing in the appointed order, with one voice appealed to the invisible Wakonda for help to secure food, safety, and long life.

A few words are necessary regarding the symbolic objects committed to the villages, as there has been a misconceptions of these and the Indian's use of them. Each village, according to the section to which it belonged, had charge of one of these symbols. The term by which it was designated in the Omaha language meant 'that by which the village is recognized.' It is to this object that the term 'totem' has been applied. The symbol, representing, as it did, one of the forms of life in the sky or on the earth, as created by Wakonda, had a sacred character to the people of the village and held the central place in their ceremonies. It bound the people together by a sacred tie, made them

1 For a description of the Sun-dance see art. PHAlLEN, p. 2.
distinctive among the other villages, and was a link between them and the invisible Wakonda. The symbol belonging to a village was always metaphorically referred to in the name of the village and the individual person, and in the given to every child born within the village. The symbol might be an animal (e.g., the buffalo) or a force (e.g., the wind), and the people might be spoken of by the name of the symbol of their village (e.g., a buffalo people, or the wind people). This form of speech never allowed that the people were descended from the buffalo or any other symbolic object. Certain articles were regarded as associated with the different symbols; thus, they were always treated with marked respect, and the people of a village never threw any of the articles associated with their own sacred symbol.

The tribal rites of the Omaha and cognates were composed of dramatic acts, the recitation of rituals, and the singing of ritualistic songs. In these are embodied the myths setting forth the genesis of man and his relation to nature. The stories, symbols, and metaphors are often highly imaginative and not infrequently touched with poetic feeling. These formed a nucleus about the rites that both old and young people looked on with veneration. In the tribal rites can be traced the gropings of the Indian's mind to find that power, greater than man, which was the source of visible nature, to discover a way for man to approach it and receive help from it; always treated with marked respect and the people of a village never throwing any of the activities that were everywhere apparent. The religious and social ideas developed through this search, extending through generations, as evidenced in the rituals, were gradually evolved and formulated in the myths, and the analysis clearly set forth the importance of the perpetuation of human life and the recognition that Wakonda is ever present in all things that surround man.

There were no specially designated persons in the tribe whose duty was to teach religion or ethics, nor were there any succinct, practical commandments as to the beliefs or actions. Religious and ethical teachings were embedded in the tribal and other rites. The duty of explanation and instruction to the various learning the meaning and the proper form of worship was undertaken by the elders of the tribe, who generally belonged to the office of keeper and who formed a kind of hereditary priesthood.

The term "wakonda" is not modern and does not lend itself to analysis, and it is distinct from the word meaning "spirit" and has nothing in common with it. "Wakonda" is not a synonym of "Great Spirit," of nature, or of an objective god, a being apart from nature. It is difficult to formulate the native idea expressed in this word. The European mind demands a kind of intellectual crystallization of conceptions which is not essential to the Indian and which, when attempted, is apt to modify the original meaning. "Wakonda" stands for the mutation of power permeating all natural forms and forces and all phases of man's conscious life. The idea of "wakonda" is therefore fundamental to the Indian's relation to nature and to all living forms, including man. While the conception of "wakonda" may appear vague, certain anthropomorphic attributes were ascribed to it, approximating to a kind of personality. Besides the insistence on truthfulness in word and deed, there were qualities involving pity and compassion, as shown in the examples. All experiences of life were directed by "wakonda"—a belief that led to a kind of fatalism.

to his judges; the Epistles, a collection of letters supposed to have been written by Plato to his friends, are not on philosophical subjects. There has been, and there still is, controversy over the epistles, some thinking that all are genuine, others that some, and in particular vii. and viii., are genuine, and others again (with whom we incline) that many, and perhaps all, are spurious. Doubts have been raised about certain of the 34 dialogues; but no serious critic of the present day questions any of the more considerable of them. It is easy to see why Plato gave to his teachings a conversational form. Socrates had held that the teacher should elicet, and suggest rather than inculcate and dogmatize, and had therefore preferred spoken to written discourse, question and answer to continuous exposition. Plato accepted his master's principle; and accordingly, though he deserts his example so far as to make use of writing, he was careful in so doing to imitate conversation. In most of the dialogues Socrates is the chief speaker; but Plato's Socrates is an idealized Socrates, who has an urbanity foreign to the Socrates of history, and he sometimes propounds physical and metaphysical doctrines which could not have found favour with a philosophical agnostic. In the Parmenides Socrates takes the second place; in the Theaetetus he retires into the background; and in the Laws he does not appear. The dialogues differ in structure, insomuch as the conversation is sometimes written down in the words of the supposed interlocutors; sometimes interlaced by X, who has been silent in the discussion or has been present at it; once is reported by X, who heard the story from Y; and once is reported by X, who heard it from Y, who heard it from Z. They differ also in literary character and treatment. Some are lively and dramatic; some are eloquent and poetical; some are severely dialectical. Though in general the conversational form is studiously maintained, there are upon occasion great stretches of continuous discourse; and in particular there are imaginative interludes called myths (muthos), which, making no pretension to exactitude of statement, claim notwithstanding to be substantially true, and, where experience fails, to fill a gap by provisional hypotheses (Phado, 114 D). Thus, the moral and social life of Greek society, the day of judgment, and the future state are mythically described. In a word, the myth is a profession of faith. The introductions prefixed to some of the last dialogues and the description of the last hours of Socrates in the Phado are the very perfection of continuous narrative. The style is always the best possible for the occasion; for Plato's harp has many strings.

4. The grouping of the dialogues.—Assuming that, when Plato began to write, the fundamentals of his system were already settled, and that accordingly the order of the principal writings was determined by the needs and the conveniences of exposition, Schleiermacher,1 the father of the modern system of philosophical history, grouped the dialogues into four main groups: elementary, transitional, and constructive. The Phaedrus, he thought, was the earliest of the dialogues; the Republic, the Timaeus, the Critias, and the Laws were the latest. Of the six dialogues called by Hermann the philosophical, that the system came into existence full-grown, saw in the several dialogues the results and the evidence of Plato's doctrinal development, and distinguished three periods of his literary activity: (1) the years immediately following the death of Socrates; (2) the residence at Megara; and (3) the years 357-347. Subsequent inquirers, however much they differ in detail from one another, from Bruckmann to Hermann, seem on the whole to agree in accepting his principle of interpretation. It will be convenient to note, first, the principal points in which the critics are agreed; secondly, the principal points in which they differ. The critics are for the most part agreed in recognizing a group of dialogues in which Plato, despite certain differences of nomenclature and method, has not yet advanced beyond the Socratic standpoint; and it is obvious to all that these dialogues are early. Again, tradition ascribes to the Laws the last place; and modern scholarship readily assents, adding that the Timaeus and the Critias come next before it. Further, on internal evidence it is obvious to suppose that certain dialogues which are critical of educational methods—Protagoras, Gorgias, Phaedrus, Euthydemus, Symposium, and Mentor—preceded the Republic, in which Plato propounds his own educational theory. Thus far the agreement is general. There is a much more eager controversy about certain dialogues which have been described as 'dialectical' or 'professorial,' namely, the Parmenides, the Philebus, the Theaetetus, the Sophist, and the Politicus, and about the order of the Timaeus and the Critias. There is a revised and reconstituted system. The present writer, who holds that the five dialogues called dialectical or professorial look back to the Phaedo and the Republic, forward to the Timaeus, and together with the Timaeus represent Plato's philosophical maturity, would arrange the principal dialogues in five groups corresponding to successive stages in Plato's intellectual development, namely: (1) Socratic dialogues, (2) educational dialogues, (3) Republic, Phaedo, Cratylus, (4) professorial dialogues, Parmenides, Philebus, Theaetetus, Sophist, Politicus, together with Timaeus, (5) Laws. An attempt must now be made to characterize these several stages of Plato's intellectual development, and to show how the principal dialogues correspond with them.

1 Platonische Werke, Berlin, 1855-62, t. i. p. 32-36; Geschichte und System der platonischen Philosophie, pt. 1. (do. 1839) p. 334, etc.
theory. He was then ready to receive and assimilate the positivism of Socrates; and for a time he found a refuge in dialectical theory and practice. But, whereas Socrates had seen in the strife of dialectics a means for the realization of his energies and had rested in it, Plato, taking his departure from the logic of consistency, proceeded to build upon it, first, a philosophy, secondly, a science, and, thirdly, a sociology. Moral error, Socrates had thought, is largely due to the misapplication of general terms which, once affixed to a person or an act—possibly in a moment of passion or prejudice—stand in the way of a sober and serious judgment. In order to guard against error of this sort, and to base the individual at any rate consistency of thought, and, in so far, consistency of speech and action, Socrates spent his life in seeking, and helping others to seek, 'the what,' or the definition, of the things which the mind's proper actions are described. This statement of the aim which Socrates had steadily pursued exactly describes the end which Plato proposed to himself in the Platonic dialogues of his first period. But Socrates had talked, and Plato wrote. Consequently, whereas Socrates had thought of himself as the στιχιστή, or cross-examination, had made the hearer aware of his ignorance, might, and did, point the way to a definition, Plato, who wrote, if he was not to sacrifice the advantage which the eclectic stimulus, was obliged to stop short of dogmatic reconstruction.

E.g., in the Euthyphro Socrates invites his interlocutor to define 'piet}' or 'holiness.' At first Euthyphro does not understand what Socrates means by definition. Socrates explains. Then Euthyphro propounds in succession several definitions, and Socrates shows their insufficiency. Again and again Euthyphro yields in most cases, in no wise abashed, and yet urges an engagement, and the dialogue ends. We may perhaps conceive of the definition to define that which, part of justice which is concerned with the service of the gods'; but, in order that the reader may be compelled to think for himself, Plato carefully refrains from formulating his result.

The Platonic dialogue of this period is, then, an exercise in Socratic dialectic; but, whereas the destructive process is set out at length, the constructive process is left to be supplied by the reader. Contrariwise, Xenophon, who, being apologist rather than educator, cares little for the στιχιστή, and is chiefly anxious to justify his master's morality, neglects the destructive process and makes his constructive process the Euthyphro (piety), the Charmides (temperance), the Laches (courage), the Lysis (friendship), and the Hippasus Major (beauty) are characteristic dialogues of the first or Socratic period. In this period Plato uses the terms 'form' (δίδα) and 'idea' (idea) to mean the characteristic or characteristic included in a Socratic definition, i.e. 'the one in the many,' the element common to a plurality of things which we propose to call by the same name. But, inasmuch as the Socratic definition of a term of morality or art rests on the individual, either in or out of nature, any objective unity corresponding to it, the 'form' or 'idea' has no separate existence, it is not καταρτική. In this stage, then, the forms or ideas are moral and aesthetic, accepted fixedly by the individual in the idea that he may be consistent in thought, word, and deed, and that he and his interlocutor may not misunderstand one another.

(2) The educational dialogues.—The dialogues of the second period abound in notable advance upon the dialogues of the first both in their style and in their doctrine: in their style, for they are more complex, more literary, and more dramatic; and in their doctrine, for Socrates, the protagonist, pronouncedly more conservative and immutables. Of Plato's Socratic writings. These dialogues are primarily concerned with the criticism of earlier and contemporaneous theories of education. Thus the Protagoras brings the educational methods of the Protagoras or the Sophists, the Phaedrus and the Socratic methods of Socrates; the Gorgias and the Phaedrus deal respectably with the moral and intellectual aspects of the forensic rhetoric of Gorgias and the political rhetoric of Isocrates; the Meno creates a purely hypothetical dialogue, in which Socrates, who, despising systematic teaching, regarded the practical politician as the true educator; the Euthydemus caricatures the contemporary aristocrat; and all these dialogues, together with the Symposium, in which they demonstrate the superiority of Socratic dialectic to the current sophistries, show a growing consciousness of its limitations and insufficiency. If education is to do what we expect of it, surely it should have for its basis, not personal consistency, but objective truth. Where, then, is truth to be found? Not in objects of sense, which are confessedly imperfect, but in the type or form with which we instinctively compare them. In the words of John Stuart Mill:

1 All the objects of sense are that which they are, in only an imperfect and incomplete manner. They suggest what they are, far more perfect than themselves; a 'something far more majestic than the eye can grasp' which has perished out of which that which can be seen or heard is an imperfect and often very distant resemblance. . . . What, then, could be more natural than that these ideas should become the type of things from sense, but cognizable directly by the mind? . . . The self-beautiful, the self-good, which not only were to all beautiful and good things as the idea is to the actual, but united in themselves the separate perfections of all the various kinds of beauty and goodness—must not be real, but real in a far higher sense than the particulars which are within sensible cognizance? particulars which indeed are not realities: for there is no particular good or beautiful thing, but just thing, which is, in some case that may be supposed, unjust, evil, and unbeautiful.

This paragraph is not indeed what Mill meant it to be, a complete and final summary of Plato's theory of ideas; but it cannot be bettered as a statement of the imaginative speculation out of which that theory was afterwards to grow; i.e. as a description of the process by which Plato arrived at the conception of a sole reality, eternal, immutably perfect, wherever penetrable, mutable, imperfect abstract or concrete, in the language of Goethe, no more than 'likenesses.'

For the exposition of this imaginative speculation in its primitive and poetical form the Phaedrus and the Symposium are all-important. There in the Phaedrus, we are told that the Phaedrus, in the Phaedrus, are the forms of all the different existences (foros forei), such as self-justice, self-temperance, self-knowledge, of whose transcendental perfection, revealed to us in a previous existence, we are reminded by their imperfect earthly counterparts. This rudimentary theory of being becomes a rudimentary theory of knowledge when we are further told in the Symposium (210 A ff.) that the lover of beauty rises from the sight of persons, souls, and institutions, which are imperfectly beautiful, through the corresponding universal or abstract definition, to the knowledge of the eternally existing self-beautiful (abn gr efori xalos). In a word, Plato postulates really existent unities, of which unities phenominal pluralities are imperfect likenesses, and supposes the really existent unities to be the conceptos, through Socratic definitions, by means of reminiscence (aparameis). But he makes no attempt to explain how the imperfectly beautiful particular is related to the perfect self-beautiful; nor does he define the content of the word 'beautiful.' In this book, the forms or ideas are moral and aesthetic unities, eternal, substantial, separately existent; but we are not told how their particulars participate in them, nor what the things which are have ideas corresponding to them.

1 Dissertations and Discussions London, 1907, iii. 345.
The earlier theory of ideas.—And now, in a third period, taking his departure from the rudiments of the Socratic and Parmenidean metaphysics, Plato proceeds to develop a systematic theory which shall afford answers to the three great questions, What is being?, What is knowledge?, What is predication? This systematic theory, the earlier theory of ideas, may be summed up in four propositions: (1) the fundamental proposition and three supplementary articles. The fundamental proposition is the proposition already indicated in the poetical speculation of the second period, and henceforward steadily maintained: beside plurality of phenomena there is a transcendent, mutable, imperfect, which become, and are objects of opinion, there are units, eternal, immutable, perfect, which really exist, and are objects of knowledge.

The supplementary articles which convert the poetry of the Phaedrus and the Symposium into the philosophy of the Republic, the Phaedo, and the Cratylus are: (a) wherever a plurality of particulars are called by the same name, there is a corresponding idea of form (Republic, 586 A; cf. Phaedo, 55 D); thus there can never be a mere idea of good, just, beautiful, but also of bad, unjust, unbeautiful; of chairs and tables; of fever; of hot and cold; in short, of every common term; (b) it is the presence, immanence, communion (συστηματικώς, συστηματική), that which is the idea in it, that which is depicted, in other words, it is the particular's participation (μετέχεις) in the idea—that makes particulars what they are (Phaedo, 100 D; cf. Republic, 476); (c) that to say, a thing is beautiful because the idea of beauty is in it; a thing is ugly because the idea of unbeautiful is present in it; (d) a thing is both beautiful and unbeautiful because both the ideas are present in it; (e) foremost of the ideas is the idea of good.

"For," says Socrates (Republic, 509 B), "just as the sun furnishes to the objects of sight not only their capacity for being seen, but also their generation, growth, and nutrition, even so the objects of knowledge derive from the good not only their capacity for being known, but also their existence and their reality, though the good is not reality, and is on the other side of it, transcending it in majesty and power."

With the help of these supplementary articles, the fundamental proposition becomes a theory of being, a theory of knowledge, and a theory of predication. It is a theory of being inasmuch as the ideas are eternal, immutable units. It is a theory of knowledge inasmuch as in the examination of things (αισθησις) Plato hopes to ascend from observed particulars through Socratic definitions to a definition of the self-good, and thus to convert provisional definitions of things into certified representations of ideas. It is a theory of predication inasmuch as at it affords or seems to afford an answer to certain logical paradoxes which had sorely perplexed Plato's contemporaries and for the moment himself. For, whereas the proposition "likes cannot be unlike, nor unlikes like," which Zeno had regarded as a truth, seemed to his successors to cut at the root of all predication, Plato in this stage conceived that, though the units like and unlike cannot be affirmed the one of the other, a particular can be simultaneously both unlike in the sense that the ideas of like and unlike exist in it, and present in it. That this was the origin of the hypothesis of the particular's participation (μετέχεις) in the idea is plainly affirmed in the Parmenides; and it could seem that, when Plato wrote the Philebus and the Republic, he was driven to this hypothesis by limitations and inconsistencies which were speedily to prove fatal to this, the earlier theory of ideas.

The later theory of ideas.—Plato's fourth period, in which his philosophy reached its culmination as a system, involved, but not limited to, the earlier dialogue, of which three—Parmenides, Philebus, and Timaeus—are chiefly ontologic, and three—Theaetetus, Sophist, and Politics, or Statement—are chiefly logical. In all of these, unmistakable references to the Republic and the Phaedo show that Plato has now finally renounced the earlier articles of the earlier theory of ideas; but the critical or destructive element is especially conspicuous in the Parmenides and the Philebus, which may be placed respectively first and second at the beginning of this period, and followed by the Sophist, and the Politics, which deal with the logical problems of the time and clear the way for the reconstruction of the system, naturally follow; cf. Aristotle's statement (Metaphysics, A, vi.) that Plato's theory of ideas, i.e., the account of the idea, was superimposed upon a logic which was all his own. The series ends with the Timaeus, which, if it does not formulate a dogmatic ontology, at any rate lays the foundations of what K. D. Archer Hind has well called "a thorough-going idealism." Of each of these dialogues something must now be said.

In the Parmenides Plato takes up again the proposition "Like cannot be unlike, nor unlikes like," Socrates, a mere stripping, disputes Zeno's supposed truth, and, by the same token, the being may be at once like and unlike by reason of the immanence in it of the ideas of like and unlike, or, in other words, by reason of the particular's participation in those ideas. That is to say, he attempts to dispel those of the Parmenidean—paradigm of predication by an appeal to the characteristic doctrine of the Republic and the Phaedo. Hereupon Parmenides—not the Parmenides of history, but an anachronistic Parmenides; in fact, Plato himself in the fullness of his powers—intervenes, and shows (a) that, whereas by assumption the idea is a unity (for otherwise the difficulties which beset the particular would beset the idea also), if two or more things are called by the name of the idea in virtue of their common participation in it, the unity of the immanent idea is sacrificed, either by multiplication or by division, in the world of sense (Parmenides, 130 E); (b) that, if without participation in the idea there is no predication, the unity of the idea is sacrificed in the world of ideas; for the particular man and the idea of man are both called man, and by assumption this common predication implies the existence of a secondary idea of man, and so on ad infinitum (131 E, 132 D); (c) that the theory of the Republic and the Phaedo does not destroy the unity of the idea, for the unity can, by assumption, the subject of predication; for by assumption the subject of predication is not a unity, or a complex or bundle of ideas (129 C, E); (d) that the dogma "Every common term has an idea corresponding to it" conflicts with the theory of the idea's perfection (130 C); (e) that, while without ideas there can be no knowledge, the unconditioned idea can no more be apprehended by man than the conditioned phenomenon can be apprehended by God (134 A f.).

That is to say, the theory of immanence, by which Plato in the earlier time had sought to explain the supposed paradox of the one thing and its many predicates, involves another paradox, the paradox of the one idea and its many particulars; and it will be necessary for us, if we are to attempt a reconstructed system of philosophy, to provide a new solution of the paradox of diverse attributions. For this new solution, so far as relations are concerned, we must look to the latter part of the dialogue. Here, at the instance of the other two, the Parmenidean and the Heraclitean, he shows the implications of the existence of the one; but he extends the scope of the inquiry so that it shall take account of the antithesis of the one and the many whether that one or that many is supposed to be or not to be the same, and he extends further this inquiry by himself and by Zeno, but also as it was interpreted by their successors, and in particular by
Plato himself both in his earlier theory and in his later. In the course of the inquiry the antithesis of the one and the others, i.e. of the one thing and its many attributions, is brought before us in eight hypotheses; and in each case we ask ourselves, How are these attributions to be grouped into paradoxa of likeness and unlikeness? Does it recognize that the same thing can be like and unlike, old and young, and so forth, in which case cognition of some sort is possible? Or does it deny these attributions, and the bringing philosophy to naught? The eight hypotheses and their results may be briefly stated as follows:

(i) If the One is, that is to say, in a strict sense a unity, this or that like and unlike, great and small, resting and moving, old and young, etc., cannot be predicated of the One, and there can be neither knowledge nor sensation nor opinion of it.

(ii) If the One participates in existence and, through a finite many (\(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\)), becomes an infinite many (\(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\)), diverse predicates such as like and unlike, etc., can be affirmed and denied of the One in its relations to itself and to the others; and the One can be known, opined, perceived.

(iii) If the One is, and, through a finite many, an infinite many can be conjoined in the One, diverse predicates such as like and unlike may be affirmed and denied of themselves and to one another.

(iv) If the One is, and there is no predicate of the One which is not applicable to itself or to another, and, inasmuch as there is no finite plurality to mediate between the others and the One, the others are wholly dissociated from the One, diverse predicates such as like and unlike cannot be affirmed of the One or of anything else, and so there cannot be knowledge or opinion of it.

(v) If the One is not, i.e. if the One is necessarily determined by its ownness from what is, diverse predicates such as like and unlike may be affirmed and denied about the One or about oneself or about one another.

(vi) If the One is not, and there is no semblance of grouping, the others being no more than disconnected particulars, diverse predicates cannot be affirmed of them.

Now of these eight hypotheses four, namely i., iv., vi., viii., give negative results only; that is to say, there can be neither predication nor knowledge, either of the One or of the others as here described. But (a) of the One and the others as conceived in ii. and iii., where the finite many mediates between the infinite and infinite plurality, and (b) of us, of which, negatively determined, there may be predication and knowledge, and (c) vii. permits qualified predication and opinion in the region of sense. Accordingly, we shall find in ii. and iii. and (b) and vii. that the Philebus denies the infinite to the One, and that v. and vii. find a place in the three logical dialogues, Theaetetus, Sophist, and Politicus. In a word, the Parmenides not only rejects the earlier theory of ideas, but also maps out the later. And this is not all. From the eight hypotheses Parmenides draws the enigmatical conclusion:

'Whether One exists or does not exist, both One and the others are, and are not, all things in all ways, and appear to be, and do not appear to be, all things in all ways, both in relation to themselves and in relation to one another."

This summary of the eight hypotheses is Plato's resolution of the paradox of likeness and unlikeness. We ask whether those of the particular instances that, whether we suppose the One to be existent or to be non-existent, and however we conceive it, we can affirm and deny, of it and of them, in its and their relations to itself and one another, diverse predicates such as like and unlike, resting and moving, small and great, etc. Thus, when we affirm diverse predicates of any thing, there is no inconsistency such as Antithenes had supposed; because what is affirmed or denied is always a relative, and predicated of predicates such as like and unlike in one relation and unlike in another. And this resolution of the contemporary difficulty carries with it an important corollary; it is now open to us to expunge relations from the list of the \(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\), and in this way to escape, so far as relations are concerned, from the paradox of the multiplication or the division of the idea. Or, if we prefer to recognize \(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\) of relations, distinguishing between \(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\) which are \(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\) \(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\) and \(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\) which are \(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\) \(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\), we may relegate \(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\) of relations to a class by itself.

But again, as has been said, the Parmenides affords hints for reconstruction: (1) the second and third hypotheses show that, if exact predication and knowledge are to be possible, a finite plurality of kinds must intervene between the unity of existence and the infinity of particulars; (2) from the fifth hypothesis we learn that what is known at length in the Sophist, that a member or members of the finite plurality can be negatively described; (3) the seventh hypothesis shows that, where there is no finite plurality, there may still be a finity of apparent, artificial groups, by which inexact predication, and opinion, but not knowledge, become possible. It would seem, then, that the Parmenides—which some have regarded as a dialectical exercise preparatory to the Republic, and must have deliberately neglected—not only dispenses of the earlier doctrine, and maps out the later, but also announces the withdrawal of ideas of relation which Aristotle plainly regarded as a notable characteristic of Plato's maturity (Met. A. ix. 990'16).

The work of reconstruction began in the Parmenides and continued in the Philebus. Here Socrates reverts to the question proposed in Republic, vi. 505 A ff. What is the summan bonum? Is it pleasure? Is it intelligence? This ethical question is quickly and summarily disposed of: the chief good of man in a mixed life of intelligence and pure pleasure. But a new question, wider in its scope, arises out of it and takes its place. Is it that which makes the mixed life, or anything else, good? In the Republic the Phaedo Plato had made answer: 'A thing is good because, sile by side with the constitutive idea, the idea of good, the \(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\)\(\alpha\), is present in it.' But in the interval the theory of the immanent idea has been discredited, and now in the Philebus we start anew from the old ground, and we may regard the third hypotheses of the Parmenides: 'All things which are or exist in our universe are combinations of fini\(\eta\)\(\eta\) (\(\tau\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)) and indefiniteness (\(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\)).' We must examine the Philebus, and to do so we may afford to pass from the old to the new, and to the constitutive ideas. Whence would it be safe to say (1) that, inasmuch as the particular is good by reason of its approximation to its formative idea, the intervention of the idea of good is no longer required to account for the particular's excellence, and (2) that, inasmuch as particulars approximate to, and diverge from, their respective ideas, the particular imitates (\(\mu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)) the idea and no longer participates in it (\(\mu\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)\(\iota\)). Incidentally it appears that we no longer need ideas of 'hot' and 'cold,' inasmuch as those of 'good' are survivals from an indifferency point which is neither the one nor the other.

The Theaetetus, the Sophist, and the Statesman are a trilogy, not only in the sense that the conjecture of exact relations between the One and the others is a sequel to this, but also in the other two, but also inasmuch as the Sophist and the Statesman, though ostensibly they discuss a new question, Are sothist, statesman, and philosopher one, two, or three?, assume and discussion of one of the most important, and left unanswered in the Theaetetus, What is knowledge?

According to Aristotle (Met. A. vi. 987-32), Plato, who in early years had been the pupil of the Heraclitean Cratylus, was true in later life to the Heraclitean principle, 'All sensibles are in
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flux and therefore cannot be known, whence he inferred the existence of things other than sensibles, and these he called Ideas. The Theaetetus is Plato's justification of the Heracleitan principle; and, if the corollary is not explicitly formulated, at any rate the way to it is made plain. Knowledge, we find, is not sensation, which has sensibles for its object; nor is it true opinion, opinion being justly called knowledge or true opinion supported by a definition, Socratic or otherwise. Hence, if there is to be any knowledge—and Plato does not despair—there must be things other than sensibles, and such are the ideas, which, in the account as well as in the view of the philosopher and, in the philosopher and, in the Socrates, mediate between the unity of being and the infinity of particulars.

In the Sophist and the Statesman the interlocutors of the Theaetetus together with an Eleatic stranger, who now appears for the first time, discuss the question, 'Are sophist, statesman, and philosopher one, two, or three?', and come to the conclusion that the true statesman is identical with the philosopher, and the mere politician identical with the sophist. The search for the sophist we stumble upon the philosopher (253 C); and it is therefore unnecessary either to suppose that a dialogue about 'the sophist' was planned but remained unwritten, or to find a 'plate of the sophists' of the dialogue Sophist. Incidentally, the definition of the philosopher carries with it a definition of knowledge, and in this way the Sophist, hereafter to be supplemented by the Statesman, resumes the discussion raised and dropped in the Theaetetus, and the unity of the trilogy is assured.

In the search for a definition of 'sophist' the Eleatic finds himself obliged 'in violation of the principle of our father Parmenides' to attribute existence to the non-existent or non-existent. An investigation of the non-existent (μὴ λέγον) thus becomes necessary; and, as in the Parmenides the investigation of the existent unity involves that of unity which is non-existent, so here the study of the non-existent involves that of the entailed. In the investigation of the two taken together the following discoveries are made: (1) beside αὐτὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐστὶ, which are incommunicable, incapable of being predicated of one another, there are ἐναὶ ὁμοιοί ἐστὶ, not αὐτὰ καὶ ἐναὶ ἐστὶ, which communicate, some within man and some generally and universally, such as 'rest' (πάστος) and motion (κίνομαι), and others, again, universally, namely ent (ὅς), same (ἴδεος), other (θέατος); (2) there is no αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ of sophist; (3) the function of dialectic is classification according to kinds (τὸ κατὰ γένος ἀναθείπτειν), whereby we are preserved from thinking that which is the same different or that which is different the same; and he who can thus classify is the philosopher whom we seek; (4) ent (ὅς) and non-existent (μὴ λέγον) are incommunicable, if by non-existent we mean, not that which is contrary (ἐναῖος) to ent, but that which is different (ἐχθέον) from it, and accordingly μὴ μέγα and μὴ καλὸν may be as truly existent as μέγα and καλὸν (cf. the fifth hypothesis of the Parmenides, and Republic, v. 405 a); (5) the definition of the non-existent is mainly, if not exclusively, employed as a means of expressing in terms of mind the materiality and the externality of things. And these results carry with them an important corollary. If particular men or particular dogs are their respective existences to eternal, immaterial, and supernatural, it is permissible for us—even if we cannot apprehend those ideas—to study by the method of division (διαίρεσις) announced in the Sophist and the Statesman the body resembling and differences of natural kinds. In a word, the entire function of the man of science is the study of the classification of zoology and botany, because in these subjects the use of debatable terms (ἀμφότερα φύσεως) such as just, unjust; in other words, in making artificial groups, we do not give us definite kinds. In the Sophist, when we are conscious of a σκοτεινή και φωτιστική, and even in the Statesman, when the stranger starts upon his inquiry, division has no more ambitious aim than ἀνθρωπολογία. But at 361 D ff., and especially at 366 A ff., we find ourselves engaged in a true discovery of incorporeal αὐτὰ καὶ ἀυτὰ ἐστὶ. That is to say, διαίρεσις is now used, not with a view to the creation of artificial groups in the region of ἀμφότερα φύσεως, but as a means of ascertaining the natural classification of the phenomena of nature's fixities, the αὐτὰ καὶ ἀυτὰ ἐστὶ. In other words, the natural types, or αὐτὰ καὶ ἀυτὰ ἐστὶ, are the proper objects of knowledge, and what can be known about them is their mutual resemblances and differences. And, when it is understood that the end of διαίρεσις is now the determination of the affinities of ἐστὶ, and not a mere definition (περὶ γένους διαίρεσις) of a single ἐστὶ, certain precepts here added and exemplified become for us the irrefragable foundation of the Statesman. The reason is, as such, the better, because we obtain by it fuller information about an ἀνθρωπολογία. We have then here the foundation of the classificatory science which was for a time to play so great a part in the history of our science. The latter part of the dialogue prepares the way for the reconstituted sociology of Plato's fifth period.

The Timaeus is the keystone of the later theory of ideas. Here, in a cosmogonical myth, Plato shows that the universe, as we know it under conditions of time and space, may be conceived as the thoughts of universal mind together with the thoughts of those thoughts. The ideas are the thoughts of God (θεοῦ), or, in other words, the laws of universal mind's thinking. But, whereas universal mind, the subject, thinks a plurality of thoughts, it thinks those thoughts its objects, in space; and, in so far as it thinks them under spatial conditions, it thinks them in terms of certain regular geometrical figures—pyramid, octahedron, icosahedron, cube—these regular geometrical figures are respectively the ideas of fire, air, water, earth, the elements which go to make (a) the body of the universe, (b) the bodies of the stars, which are the first-born thoughts of things, and (c) the plants and vegetables, which creative mind thinks, not directly as it thinks the stars, but indirectly through the minds of the stars, its first-born thoughts; and, whereas God, or mind, the creator, thinks humanity or caninity, as an eternal unity, the stars, His first-born thoughts, when they think humanity or caninity corporealized under spatial conditions, conceive it, not as an eternal unity, but as a transient plurality. Thus particular men or particular dogs are, as it were, reflections of the idea of man or dog, invested with bodily form under conditions of time and space; and in this way, in virtue of the hypothesis that 'that which superior mind conceives as a subjective thought is perceived by inferior mind, however imperfectly, as an objective thing,' Plato is able to show how the mind's thoughts are reconstituted. But this affords an important corollary. If particular men or particular dogs are their respective existences to eternal, immaterial, and supernatural, it is permissible for us—even if we cannot apprehend those ideas—to study by the method of division (διαίρεσις) announced in the Sophist and the Statesman the body resembling and differences of natural kinds. In a word, the concept of the man of science is the study of the classification of zoology and botany, because in these subjects the
ideas of the respective animals and vegetables assure us of the existence of natural kinds. On the other hand, where there are no ideas, and therefore no determinate natural kinds, though we may 'study the subjects as a recreational pastime,' derive from their sensible appearance (69C), there can be no exact science. E.g., mineralogy, inasmuch as the several minerals are irregular, indeterminate, combinations of the four simple bodies, combinations which are not definitely marked off from one another by nature, is not a true science. Nevertheless it would seem that Plato by no means confined his attention to the exact sciences, the sciences founded upon ideas; for in the latter part of the Timæus he has much to say both about exact sciences, such as mineralogy, and about the parts and organs of the body and their several functions. His pronouncements on these subjects are highly speculative; but, as indications of his scientific aims, they are by no means unimportant.

We may now formulate the later theory of ideas with a view to a comparison of its supplementary articles with those of the earlier theory. The fundamental proposition is still—as it has been ever since Plato freed himself from Socratic influences—that mind is the efficient cause of the phenomena, but the reflection or the idea of the mind becomes the efficient cause of the phenomena, and are objects of knowledge.

The ideas are as follows: (a) there are substantive self-existing ideas (abrà et abrà ēty) of the universe; of fire, air, water, earth; of the several stars; and of the several animal and vegetable species; but of nothing else. (b) They are not immediately derived from his the imitation or reflection of the idea in matter—i.e. in space—that brings particulars into existence and makes them what they are. (c) Unity=mind is the cause, the sole cause, of all things; it is the cause of the ideas, of particulars, and even of its own correlative—plurality=space is equal=necessity. (d) The ideas are the thoughts of the soul, namely, unity or mind. (e) Infinite mind develops within itself a complete universe of thoughts, primary and secondary; and the universe of thoughts, as seen from within, is a finite intelligence included in it, is our universe of things. In this stage, then, the forms or ideas are unities from which nature's fixities—the universe, the stars, the animals, and vegetable kinds—are respectively derived; they are substantial and eternal; they are the thoughts of universal mind; they are not immanent in particulars, but are imitated or reflected as particulars in space.

(5) The Laws. We now come to the fifth period of Plato's philosophical and literary activity. Having given to his metaphysics its final shape, and having shown how, through the doctrine of natural kinds, it affords a foundation for the scientific knowledge of animal and vegetable species, Plato leaves to his nephew Speusippus the direction of the biological studies of the school, and himself, reverting to ethics and sociology, revises his earlier conclusions about these subjects from the standpoint of his later metaphysics, and, having written the Republic, he had hoped to attain through the self-good to the knowledge of the ideas, and thus to establish a philosophical morality. If man could know the self-good and the ideal virtues which, if imitated, he would develop, his wisdom, in early years when he had not yet completed his education—require that 'popular and civic virtue' which society artificially builds up by means of rewards and punishments; the knowledge of the self-good would be his one and only end and his exceeding great reward. Such had been Plato's aspiration when in a burst of enthusiasm he wrote the Republic. But since that time he had become aware of the limitations of human nature. Man cannot know as Plato's self-good; and, what is more, inasmuch as man has a bodily nature, the self-good and the human good are not identical. This being so, we cannot dispense with 'popular and civic morality,' and it becomes necessary to do what we can to strengthen and improve it. Hence, when, in the Republic he plans a constitution and provides for its maintenance, but commits to his trained magistrates all the responsibilities of administration, in the Laws recognizing that under existing conditions there is individual liberty, but providing for the guidance of his countrymen a complete code of enactments. In this remarkable treatise Plato leaves metaphysics and science behind him; but there is one metaphysical pronouncement, and at first sight it flagrantly conflicts with the teaching of the Timæus. Whereas in this dialogue Plato claims to have found in universal mind the one and only cause of the infinite variety of things, here, in the Laws (896 E), he confidently affirms that there are two world-souls, the one for moral universals, the other for physical. The truth is that, writing popularly, he steps short of his final analysis. The good world-soul and the bad world-soul of the Laws are the providence (προδύναμα) and the necessity (dævynyn) of the Timæus; and the fact that in the metaphysics which occupy the Laws Plato rests in the penultimate dualism of the great metaphysical dialogue is no reason for supposing that he had abandoned his ultimate hemism.

Never perhaps was any other philosopher as progressively as Plato. In his earlier years, he had studied the two philosophies which were afterwards to be the foundations of his own system—the Heracleitean theory of flux and the Socratic doctrine of ethical universals. In the first period of his independent thought he attempted no more than to carry on by written discourse the oral teaching of his master and thus to secure a greater consistency in the use of those terms of morality which have so great an influence upon actions. In the second, noting that, in moral and aesthetic practice, we act upon our intuitions and the products of a finite intelligence included in it, is our universe of things.

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the Republic for a positive morality, we find our- selves disappointed; for while the golden age of Plato is the world of the well-being of the state and the well-being of the individual, mergers ethically in education, and makes the educated man a law to himself and to his inferiors. In the fourth period the Philebus and the Statesman do something to reconcile the earlier morality with the later theory of ideas. Finally, the Laws is written, not from the standpoint of the professional moralist, but from that of the legislator, who, recognizing the importance of political institutions and the value of moral and religious, endeavors to improve the contemporary methods. See, further, art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Greek), § 12.

6. The school of Plato.—It has been seen that Plato in his maturity was not only philosopher but man of science. That is to say, the metaphysical theory of ideas carried with it the physical theory of natural kinds and thus provided a basis for the classificatory sciences of zoology and botany. But the two theories were not inseparable. B.J. narrows, Spesinippus, who in 344 succeeded him as head of the school, rested his biological researches upon the theory of ideas, while he rejected the theory of ideas as a superfluous hypothesis. Aristotle, while he impatiently and peremptorily rejected the whole of Plato's system, was careful to reconstitute the theory of ideas, taking his departure from the two principles αὐτὸν ἀδιάβροχον ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι. Xeno- crates, indeed, who succeeded Spesinippus in 339— a moralist rather than a metaphysician—attempted to make a compromise with the idealist tradition; but his arithmetical interpretation of the phrase 'ideal number' shows a strange misconception of his master's teaching. Polemo, who followed Xenoocrates in 314, took definitely the ethical direction. With Goodwin, who succeeded Polemo in 270, the so-called Old Academy ended. Platonism, t.e. the idealism upon which Plato rested the theory of kinds, ceased to be a living force when Polemo died. For the subsequent history of the school see art. ACADEMY.


For Plato's philosophy see E. Zeller, Die Philosophie der Griechen, Leipzig, 1858-61, ii. 1, tr. S. F. Alcott and A. Gomme, Plato and the Later Academy, London, 1876 (not always to be trusted); F. Ueberweg, Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, Berlin, 1894-97 (Eng. tr., II. F. Smith and P. Schaff, London, 1899), contains, together with a useful summary of Plato's teaching, a very valuable bibliography.

The writer of the present article has occasionally used in his sentences and phrases borrowed from a sketch of the history of Greek philosophy down to Aristotle which he contributed to Cambridge Compendium of Modern Philosophy, Cambridge, 1863-68. His present statement of the later Platonism set forth in 'the six dialogues' is largely based upon papers published in J. P. X. (1881-82) 252-258, xl. [1882] 1-25, 257-331, xlii. 1884-85 1-40, 492-972, xiv. (1886) 735-330, xv. (1887) 200-306, xxv. (1897) 40-25, but the views there indicated, while they have in some respect modified themselves, have for the most part become more definite with the lapse of time. For certain recent speculations about Platonism the relation of his teaching to that of Socrates and, again, he recognizes an indefinite number of qualitatively distinct affective elements. This tri-dimensional theory of feeling involves the concept of pleasure mainly so far as it concerns the recognition of these distinct affective states. Each of these, he says, has pleasure, although undoubtedly much of what popular consciousness includes in pleasure would, under this theory, be assignable to excitement or relaxation. In his main contention for the greater number of complex affections, arguments, Wundt agrees with Wundt, though seeing his way as yet to the recognition of only two antagonistic lines of difference—pleasure and unpleasantness, restless-

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PLAY.—See Drama, Games, Development (Mental).

PLEASURE.—Both pleasure and pain are too well known to require description and too elemental to admit of analysis. They are experiences which are co-extensive with all other forms of mental life—sensations, images, memories, reasonings, willings, emotions, all being capable of taking on these pleasant or unpleasant character. But it is apparent, except perhaps the last, are able to exist in a neutral phase. Yet in spite of the familiarity and prominence of these states, both in daily life and in ethical controversy, the more distinct and exact characterization of their nature and of the most confused problems in modern psychology. As a problem it was seriously considered by Plato and by Aristotle, but it was not until the intellectual tradition had been questioned by Rousseau, and interest in the more individual phases of mental life had been awakened by evolutionary biology, that the feelings were made objects of exact investigation. Within the last twenty years, however, much has been done, and, while it is impossible to say that conclusions have been established, it is at least true that many facts have been determined and alternative theories defined.

1. The term 'pleasure' itself has been recognized as too ambiguous for technical use, and there has developed a tendency to substitute for it 'agree- ablness' or 'pleasanterness,' and to include both it and its opposite, pain or unpleasantness, under the common term 'affection' as denoting the non-cognitive aspect of mental life. Pleasurability and pain-seekability are recognized as affec- tive phases of mental complexes into which only one of the other elements or phases might enter. For those complexes in which the affective phase is most prominent or characteristic the term 'feeling' has been suggested, as the feelings of sadness or depression. Pleasure, in popular usage, is generally identified with one of these complex processes of feeling and not with the abstract affective phase of pleasantness. It is the whole process of eating a good dinner or of enjoying a reunion that is called a 'pleasure.' Much of the confusion in ethical discussions of the good has arisen from failure to make this distinction between pleasure as affective tone and as complex feeling, the value recognized by common sense in the latter being identified by hedonistic theory with the former.

2. The historic problem of quality of pleasure also has light thrown upon it by this distinction. John Stuart Mill's revival of the Platonist doctrine of differences of kind in pleasures involves the failure to differentiate pleasantness and unpleasantness. An unpleasant object, with the consequent apparent ascription to the one of the moral worth found in the other, the differences in the pleasures of the fool and Socrates lying not in the affective element but in the total feeling. So, too, the common popular classification into higher and lower forms of pleasure is really a distinction between higher and lower forms of experience as a complex whole rather than between kinds of pleasantness as such.

Yet, even on the basis of this analysis, modern psychology is not a unit as to the quality of affection. Wundt insists upon a threefold distinction within affection itself—upon three pairs of opposites: pleasantness and unpleasantness, excitement and depression, and intellectual and emotional relations. Against each of these pairs, again, he recognizes an indefinite number of qualitatively distinct affective elements. This tri-dimensional theory of feeling involves the concept of pleasure mainly so far as it concerns the recognition of these distinct affective states. Each of these, he says, has pleasure, although undoubtedly much of what popular consciousness includes in pleasure would, under this theory, be assignable to excitement or relaxation. In his main contention for the greater number of complex affections, arguments, Wundt agrees with Wundt, though seeing his way as yet to the recognition of only two antagonistic lines of difference—pleasure and unpleasantness, restless-

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ness and quiescence, with their included minor distinctions.

On the other side are those who recognize only two antagonistic aspects of affection—pleasurableness and unpleasurableness, of which sensations are the other two dimensions into organic and muscular sensations. Certainly, when we have eliminated our sensations of muscular strain, the feeling of tension vanishes, and, equally, excitement seems to have little meaning and to have become something beyond our understanding and consciousness of rapidity in the flow of ideas. On the whole, the dual theory seems to have the weight of testimony, both lay and expert, in its favour.

Consequently, it may be remarked that the unpleasantness recognized in this analysis is not to be identified with the sensation of organic pain, which, while usually existing in an extremely unpleasant complex, may yet, when of slight intensity, have the pleasantness of interest.

The question as to whether pleasantness itself admits of qualitative differences is not to be answered with any positiveness. Introspection gives varying testimony on the point, and whereas, if we assume that the phases of affection correspond to a central process, we are inclined to expect only differences of degree, when we also assume that every element in a complex varies with the changes in the total complex, we tend to look for qualitative differences in unpleasantness according as the total process varies. Certainly the burden of proof seems to rest heavily on those who affirm such differences in quality.

3. As to the psychological status of pleasure—its place among other mental processes—three theories hold the field.

(1) The qualitative theory (Stout, Marshall).—Pleasure and pain are general qualities or attributes of mental process, either of which may be attached to any mental element. The term 'quality' is here explained as used in the same sense as when applied to intensity as a quality of sensation. Pleasantness thus has no substantive standing, but is always pleasantness of something, just as intensity never exists by itself but always as an essential attribute of a feeling and duration. Certainly the problem of proof seems to rest heavily on those who affirm such differences in quality.

(2) The sensational theory (Stumpf).—Pleasure and pain are sensations of the organic type. Pleasure is a diffused sensation of tickling or a weak sensation of lust. If pleasure were a mere attribute of sensation, it would not itself have the same intensity and duration, nor would a sensation persist in the absence of its attributes as is the case relative to pleasure and pain.

(3) The affective element theory (Titchener).—Pleasure and pain are the two phases of a simple affective process which forms one of the two elementary constituents of mental life, if we group sensation and image together as the second. Affection is similar to sensation in possessing quality, intensity, duration, but it lacks clearness, and shows a relation of a different quality. It is not possible to separate its qualities which mark it off from sensation. Tickling has its own sensory quality, which may be either pleasant or unpleasant, but which is not synonymous with pleasantness.

While the no qualitative concept is invoked on the questions involved in these theories, it may be remarked that the point at issue between (1) and (2) and (3) seems to resolve itself into the somewhat profitless logical distinction between subjective and objective concepts, while one may not be satisfied with the form in which the latter theory is usually stated, one cannot but feel that, in its recognition of the distinctness of pleasantness as an elementary aspect of mental life, it has in its favour the almost unanimous testimony of introspection.

4. As to the conditions of pleasure, our knowledge is still more incomplete. From the genetic point of view, it has been suggested that affection is undeveloped sensation or a mode of experience of the fundamental mental act of the organism, and that the free sensory nerve-endings may be its organ (Titchener). We have also the biological generalization that pleasure is the accompaniment of actions useful to the organism (Spencer), but such a generalization needs qualifying in the condition that it is beyond our present power to supply. A widely applicable psychological formula is that pleasure is the accompaniment of uninterrupted activity, of progress towards an end, whatever the end may be (Stout, Andrasik). Pleasure and unpleasantness seem to be life as a whole, and hence the activity may not have survival value, but in so far as it is an actual end the progressive realization of it gives pleasure. Such a formula seems more adequate for the more active type of pleasures than it is for pleasure in its whole extent. From the physiological point of view, there is a general tendency to consider the conditions for affection as central rather than peripheral, but guesses differ as to whether it is a matter of general nutritive condition or of motor preparedness as to which the certain cortical region is involved or the whole cortex.

5. For the place of pleasure in ethical systems see art. Hedonism.


NORMAN WILDE.

Pleroma.—This term has acquired a certain celebrity from its use in the later NT books, in relation to deity and in the making of the later developed systems of Gnosticism, as a designation of what may be called the Gnostic heaven—that supersensible spiritual sphere in which the Godhead was thought to exist and manifest itself above and apart from the material world. There were, of course, many remote and fantastic elements in the Gnostic idea, but every careful student who follows the course of Christian thought in the 2nd cent., at the time when Christianity came face to face with the advanced conclusions of speculative religions philosophy, will see how significant a phenomenon the Gnostic heaven is. This article will deal exclusively with the conception embodied in the term 'Pleroma,' and will endeavour to follow its use from the NT up to the form in which it finally appears in the system of the mystery of Elusus. The various elements of thought which are there united, and which form a fairly well rounded system of God and the world, had grown up out of, and had been gathered from, the great systems of the ancient philosophers, but these appear here fused and blended with the new ideas that Christianity had introduced. It was the first great attempt to exhibit Christianity as a part of the system of the world—and no mean effort either, as we shall readily see, if we are able to trace our way through the tangled maze of grotesque and mystical phraseology in which the Gnostic teachers indulged. In its most fantastic shapes, however, there are usually visible some gleams of rational thought.

1. NT use.—See NT use of the term 'Pleroma,'
in relation to deity, is given in Col 1:19, Eph 1:22, 3:10, 4:1. The word is found in other parts of the NT in the ordinary sense of ‘fulness’ variously applied, but in these passages it stands in a context which seems to require a special theological connotation with which the reader is supposed to be already familiar. The fullness of Godhead and the fullness of deity are conceived as great conceptions are affirmed or implied: (1) that the whole fulness of deity, the entire plenitude of divine excellences, energies, and powers resides in Christ; and (2) that, through union with Him, the believer is united to Christ in all his divine energies and the fulness which dwells in Him. Both these conceptions appear in the subsequent phases of Gnostic thought, but they are placed in new connexions and relations, and in the handling of them the kind of Scripture and the limits within which they are viewed in Scripture are soon lost sight of. In the views which St. Paul combatst Colossse: we recognize some incipient forms of Gnosticism which are easily identified with well-known features of popular Jewish beliefs characteristic of the age. There is given form to the notion that God and the world, and the false authority ascribed to various ascetic practices. The revelation of God which was given in the incarnation and mission of the Son, had been taken for granted by the Gnostics. They were mediators, whether angels or men; and the Father’s contention is that all the energies and powers of deity, all divine functions in the order and government of the world, reside in Him, all things visible and invisible, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers being subject to Him. The Jewish teachers at Colossse: had doubtless taken their stand upon the common belief that there were many mediators through whom God communicates His will to men, and that the study of the divine dispensations of life or worship might be due. They had not yet discovered that in Christianity was given the final and absolute revelation of God to the world.

The idea that the entire fulness of the Godhead is manifested in Christ is fundamental to Christianity, and is, indeed, a wide-reaching conception, difficult to grasp by the intellect—a mystery profoundly significant and precious to faith. The Christian recognizes in Him the embodiment of all divine fulness, revealed in the later books of the NT we note an important advance upon the Christology of the Acts and earlier Epistles. In the latter the chief aspects of His Messianic dignity and glory are set forth as the ground for faith in Him as the Mediator of the Messianic salvation. The full content of the Messianic idea was not laid open, and was probably not called for in the earlier preaching. But at a later stage, with the advance of thought and a growing faith, the doctrine of the person of the Son became richer and fuller. It was seen that He is the full and complete expression of the Father’s nature and glory, the image of the invisible God, the effulgence of His glory, the very impress of His being. The Fourth Gospel, the book of Christology, embodies this conception in relation to the earthly life of the Redeemer, showing that the Son is the entire and complete manifestation of the Father. It is doubtless the spiritual and ethical perfections of deity that the Gnostics are aiming at when they speak of the Pleroma of the Godhead as ascribed to the Son, since these chiefly will be thought of as constituting the great essentials of the eternal life, which was with the Father, and which the Redeemer has brought to light. The difficulty in believing that all the recesses of deity are open to the knowledge of men, it is manifest that in the NT conception of the Incarnation there is given, besides the ethical perfections of the Godhead, a universal cosmic principle—the energies and powers which produce and sustain the course of the world. It is not easy to separate in thought the cosmic and ethical elements in the idea; in reality the two must meet and blend to form a complete whole. The ethical perfections of the Deity are displayed in the complex life of the material world, in which they must be sustained and vindicated by physical energies and powers. The Pleroma of the Godhead, therefore, contains not merely the totality of all the ethical and religious perfections, but the cosmic energies which the cosmos displays; and, all these being ascribed without limitation to the Son, there arises the necessary inference that He is the final and absolute manifestation of deity to men.

2. The Valentinian system.—From the various contexts in which the term ‘Pleroma’ is used in the NT it is to be gathered that the idea was new in the sphere of religion, and that towards the close of the Apostolic Age it was denied or opposed by many other and contrary hypotheses, viz. that there were many mediating agencies between God and men, and that the whole fulness of deity could not be communicated to any one being or person, however eminent.

The conception that appears in various shapes in all the forms of Gnosticism, and it is usually implied that no entire or perfect revelation of deity is possible in material things, that all perfect manifestations of God are confined to the sphere within which deity is to be found—the sphere to which they apply the term ‘Pleroma’ in a local or topographical sense. In some passages where the word occurs incidentally we see that the idea is of capital importance, and we are prepared for the bold effort which is made in the Valentinian system to maintain a single horizon of divine presence in regard to it. Among the earlier Gnostics the attempt was made to obviate the difficulty involved in the incarnation and passion of the Son, either by assuming that our Lord’s body was not real flesh and blood, but a form assumed for a time, or by saying that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary by ordinary generation, and that the Christ who descended upon Him at His baptism, being a spiritual being and, as such, impassible, departed from the human form of His mother. Irenæus describes this party as maintaining that Jesus was ‘merely a receptacle of Christ upon whom the Christ, as a real person, descended and rested, and that when He had declared the unnameable Father He entered into the Pleroma in an incomprehensible and invisible manner’ (Hær. iii. xvi. 1). The same passage as a new approach to the passage, ‘the Father of Christ from above . . . continued Impassible,’ and that, though He had descended upon Jesus the Son of the Demiourgos, He ‘rewent back again into His own Pleroma’ (Hær. iii. xvi. 1).

These two examples serve to show the point at which the Gnostic view diverges from St. Paul and the NT. He teaches that all divine powers and energies reside in Christ in permanent form, while they maintained that only a single power—the Christ from above—had dwelt in Jesus for a time, and afterwards returned to the Pleroma, from which thought it is clear that the Pleroma is viewed as the special sphere or abode of deity, separate from the rest of the world and not homogeneous with it.

Turning now to the system of Valentinus as it is expounded by Irenæus and Hippolytus, we find that the common centre of the elaborate theory of the world—of divine emanations, of creation, and redemption. It is the exclusive sphere of deity within which the evolution of the Aeons is accomplished. It has over against it the horizon of the Pleroma, which includes all that is outward, corporeal, physical, sensible. These two spheres include the totality of being real or conceivable, and there is an absolute difference and antithesis between them,
such that the one is the home of all that is perfect, godlike, eternal, imperishable; while in the other things are corrupt, perishable, shadowy, unreal. The \textit{Eons} which are begotten from the unfathomable abyss of deity are the divine energies, the functions of infinite life which manifest themselves in a definite order and succession; but towards the end of the ages the strength and purity have diminished, the last being far from the centre and source of life, one of them, Sophia, somehow passes out into the void beyond, and out of her tears, sorrows, and distaste the supreme and all-embracing energies of the Pleroma into the lower sphere where, divine seeds being already sown from the tears and labours of Sophia, all that is kindred with the Pleroma, after being redeemed and purified, returns to it at last as its ultimate home.

3. \textit{The Gnostic reconstruction}.—From this outline we are in a position to see how far the Gnostic conception has parted from the NT standpoint, and where it passes over into a region unknown and unapproachable by the soul. It is at the same time an exaltation of the spiritual and ethical quality of the concept of God, characteristic of Scripture, in which omniscience and omnipresence are implied, and sets about establishing bounds between the sphere appropriate to deity and an outer world. In this respect it still keeps to the old contrast of God and the world which dominated all the ancient systems. A parallel to this drift of thought is seen in the strong tendency towards the unknown and the unapproachable in Christian literature which was contemporaneous with the great Gnostic movement. Yet the speculative effort to reach an adequate idea of God, in harmony with the new data which Christianity had established, has much interest and significance. It was really the first great attempt to construct a philosophy of religion with Christianity taken into account. In the 'Valentinian Pleroma' there appear the chief conceptions regarding the nature of deity which speculative thought had then reached, but they are blended with the new view of the world which Christianity had established. In the doctrine of God taught in the Palestinian school the action of God in the material world was thought to be effected by various mediating agencies and angels, while in the Alexandrian school God was an independent, unqualified character, personal and impersonal. God Himself was too highly exalted in majesty and glory to come into immediate contact with man's world. Hence it was thought that the purposes of His will were carried out in the world by various orders of ministering angels. This view had grown out of the earlier OT doctrine of the holiness and exaltation of Jehovah, which at first was preached mainly with reference to sin and the imperfections of man's nature, but when the Pleroma had been received as the actual world, which had practically separated the Godhead from all contact with the world, leaving only the abstract idea of a Being exalted above all human thought, inscrutable and unapproachable.

With Philip, who taught the Alexandrian Pleroma, the result was reached by much the same process, partly also by the help of Platonic conceptions. Here also God in Himself is defined in terms of absolute being, mostly negative, without attributes or qualities. The \textit{Pleroma} is identified and sustained by His \textit{Logos}, or reason, and the vast multitude of inferior \textit{Eios} which determine all particular things. Among the Greeks, since Plato and Aristotle, God was defined as the highest good, or the supreme cause of everything from the actual world, who leaves the care of it to inferior agencies or powers. With Plato (\textit{Timaeus}) the demiourgos, or creator of the world, acts the part of an inferior deity, since he must build the world on the patterns furnished by the eternal ideas and from material already existent.

Now, having such an idea of deity to start from, and with the conviction that Christianity had brought something new in the sphere of religion—that in fact it was revelation from the highest God, as was held in all the Platonists—Christian speculation—Gnosticism set itself to a reconstruction along the whole line of the theistic conception, to provide for the passing of deity from the primal silence of a past eternity into a process of self-manifestation, from the \textit{Pleroma} of God to the spirit-sphere, to constitute an ideal world, from and after which the existing system of material things arose, in such wise that the creative and redeeming agencies which Christianity reveals are found to be solely in accordance with the laws of the higher sphere, but also the immediate revelation of them. The Gnostics all seem to have been greatly troubled with the imperfections of all earlier conceptions of God, Jewish as well as heathen, and, by assigning the various defects of the world and of earthly religions to inferior agencies or beings, they doubtless thought to secure a clear field for the new world which they saw in the new revelation. To be thorough, they began their reconstruction from the beginning, and assumed a movement from within the depths of the Godhead outwards, towards a world different from itself, to arise out of itself, and destined in its purer parts to return to it again, by the process of redemption which Christianity reveals and accomplishes.

4. \textit{The Gnostic reconstruction}.—A fairly clear account of the Pleroma in the system of Valentinus is given by Irenaeus and Hippolytus. Their eagerness to expose the absurdities of the system has often led them off the points of greatest interest for those who want to understand, and are outside the sphere of danger.

First of all, there exists in 'the invisible and inscrutable heights above' a certain perfect pre-existing \textit{Eios} on whom they call \textit{Proarche}. \textit{Propator}, \textit{Bythos}, invisible, incomprehensible, eternal, and unbegotten, remaining throughout innumerable cycles of ages in profound serenity and quiescence. Along with Him there existed \textit{Enmos} ('thought'), called also \textit{Chrus} or \textit{Sigis} ('grace,' 'silence'). At last this \textit{Bythos} determined to produce from Himself the beginning of all things. From the \textit{Chrus} was produced \textit{Zoe} ('life'), from \textit{Sigis} \textit{Elgon} ('wisdom,' 'intelligence'), and from these produced \textit{Nous} ('mind,' 'intelligence'), father and the beginning of all things. Along with \textit{Elgon} was produced \textit{Aletheia} ('truth,' 'knowledge'). These four constitute the first tetrad, and are called the root of things. From \textit{Nos} \textit{Aletheia} arises \textit{Logos} and \textit{Zoe} ('reason,' 'life'), out from this again \textit{Anthropos} and \textit{Eclesia} ('man' and 'church'), ideally conceived. Here, then, we have the first\,—the original, or \textit{first}, or \textit{primal}, or \textit{ultimate}, or \textit{immanent}, or \textit{underlying}, or \textit{efficient}, or \textit{essential}, or \textit{inherent}, or \textit{fundamental}, or \textit{primary}, or \textit{essential}, or \textit{organic}, or \textit{indispensable}—conception of \textit{God} which from the others proceed according to the same principle. The first movements of life within the \textit{Eios} give birth to the \textit{second} forms of all rational life—mind or intelligence, truth or reality, reason, life, man, church. These movements must first evolve into \textit{true} forms and become \textit{real}, \textit{concrete}, \textit{conceived}, \textit{conceived}, \textit{intrinsic}, \textit{inherent}, \textit{essential}, \textit{primary}, or \textit{organizational} consciousness as the essential and primary functions in the inner life of deity, the patterns or models of life also in man's world.

The first godhead, then, must be primary, since all the \textit{Eios}
which follow are contained or given in them by implication. From Logos and Zoé the third ten, from Anthrópoς and Ecclesián twelve. Reckoning Bythos and Sigé as the first in the series of the numberless the composition of the 3. 

numbers as injections sent probable as thei' the Spirit seem, through But, which which arise from Logos and Zoé, represent chiefly cosmical principles or powers which are necessary as a basis of ethical life. The last twelve, produced from Anthrópoς and Ecclesián, are mostly the qualities of the perfected humanity which Christiänity is destined to produce. A scheme for a Pleroma was contained in the earliest system of Basilides, but the term does not seem to have been applied to it. Basilides confimed the evolution of the divine life within deity to the seven powers—mind, reason, thought, wisdom, might, righteousness, and peace. But from this point the evolution continued through numberless grades of excellence in a descending series—a system which abandons the problem raised by Christianity.

5. The Pleroma and the world.—Returning, then, to the Valentine Pleroma, how did the system account for the origin of the world, and what is the relation of the world to the world? The passage from spirit to matter, from the absolute and the perfect to the finite and the imperfect, is the great problem that confronts all philosophies which attempt to explain the origin of the world. The Gnostics attempts on this problem show great constructive spirit and profound conception of what Christianity was expected to effect in the transformation of the world. Considerable difference of view appears, however, as to the manner in which the life of the Pleroma passes over into the region beyond. The myth of Sophia, which generally covers the origin of the world from the Pleroma, is put in various shapes, and it is not easy to gain a definite picture of the process as the Gnostics conceived it, if that was possible even to them. There was an extensive development of the very i.e. the wisdom, or constructive skill, which had laboured to bring about the world—had taken various shapes before speculative thought had attempted the bolier task of picturing the life of deity in itself. We have seen that schools of opposite tendencies were agreed in placing supreme deity at the farthest possible distance from the world. But Jewish thought, while agreeing with the results of Greek speculation on this point, sought to explain the action of God in and upon the world by assuming the agency of various semi-divine mediating beings. Among these high prominence was assigned to wisdom (Sophia) as a world-building and world-ruling power. Closely allied to this conception was that of a demiurgoς, or world-builder, which was intro- 

duced by Plato in his account of creation in the Timaeus, and which became a favorite figure with the Gnostics. These personifications represented agencies more or less inferior to the highest deity, and, by their actions, excused all the defects to these or similar beings; Gnosticism maintained a direct antithesis between God in Himself and all inferior agents who might have sway in the world. Deeply penetrated with the thought of the definite limit of the world, it is not at all surprising that the Jewish dispensation which preceded it was mainly the work of inferior beings, that the mission and work of Christ were a revela-
tion from the highest God, the Gnostics sought for a conception of the Godhead which should stand in closer harmony with Christianity and explain the present anomalies of the world. To some extent, therefore, their speculative construction was the work of the philosophers who had preceded their attempt at the heaven of the Æons, and the myth of Sophia had probably grown into some of its forms before the Æons of the Pleroma were fully established. The problem was, not to bring the world of spirit into a new and familiar world by a process of emanation from the Pleroma, but to form a bridge between two systems of thought which had grown up apart and from the opposite ends of existence. Already in Christianity Christ and the Holy Spirit had been set up as spiritual and cosmic powers. They had come from the great unknown, and place must be found for them in the Pleroma of the Æons. The conception of the Pleroma would not be complete till it was shown how the life of the Godhead, already perfect in itself in the higher sphere, is reproduced in the lower, and draws up into itself all that is susceptible of redemption.

The passage of creative life from the Pleroma over the Æons, ‘limit,’ into the region beyond is represented somewhat thus:

The life of the Æons was not one of perfect rest and quiescence, but a perpetual motion eternal and endless in the beginning; for the desire arose among the Æons to search into the nature of the Father, and of that which was separated from and comprehensible to all except Nous alone. He alone exulted in the greatness of the Father and he sought how he might reveal to the rest of the world what he had discovered. That the Æons also had a wish to behold the author of their being. However, this was not the will of the Father, and Nous was restrained in his desire. Yet the last of the Æons (Sophia), conceiving this passion by contagion from the others, desired to comprehend the Father and his will. But, seeing that it was impossible, she became involved in great agony of mind, and was with difficulty restored to herself, by the power of Æon. By an act of self-sacrifice and larger genial love, she passed through the excess of her desire, gave birth to an amorphous spiritual substance which, being separated by Æon from the circle of the Æons, constituted the beginning of the material world. Thus arose three distinct kinds of existence, the spiritual, the psychical, and the material—distinctions which play an important part in Gnostic teaching.

Now these movements of desire within the circle of the Æons showed how disturbance might arise even in this higher sphere. Accordingly, by the forethought of the Father, Nous or Monogenes gave origin to another pair of Æons—Christ and the Holy Spirit—lost any similar calmness should happen again, and to forfify and strengthen the Pleroma, and to complete the circle by the coming of the Holy Christ. The Æons were instructed as to the knowledge of the Father, since such knowledge was given to Monogenes alone. Being thereby restored to peace and quiet of mind, the Æons grouped together the best of what each possessed of beauty and preciousness, and, uniting the whole, they produced a being of the most beautiful and perfect of all beings. The Being thus produced, they named Nostos, from whom they name Saviour Christ, and everything, because he was framed from the contributions of all.

Returning now to the offspring of Sophia, which was separated from the Pleroma and constituted the beginnings of the world, the myth represents the world as a growth from seed which has fallen from the Pleroma. It describes the effects produced upon it by the action of Christ as one of the heavenly Æons and Jesus the Saviour. The lower world, therefore, is to be of a kind intermediate between the higher. Spiritual men, who are the seed of the Pleroma in greatest perfection, yet share in the benefits secured by the heavenly Logos and the Saviour, and rise to the Pleroma, chiefly in virtue of their spiritual gifts. The material men and a majority of ordinary Christians, stand in special need of the redemption which Christianity provides, while those who yield themselves to the seductions of the material world are subject to the destruction which is to come.

6. Conclusion.—In this brief outline the reader will see much that is fantastic and strange to the Western mind. Yet there are many gleams of profound thinking. The nearest parallels in modern systems may be found in those of Boehme and Schelling. For fuller details see art.

Gnosticism, and the literature mentioned below. A few general remarks may still be added.

The underlying conception of the Valentinian Pleroma implies a modified or weakened form of Dualism—rather a dualism of an ethical and cosmic powers. It is not a world of dead matter which resists and opposes the creative action of spirit. It is rather one of emptiness or defect which is waiting to be filled with the overflowings of divine life, and the process of filling which is the creative act. The future life, as revealed by the Logos, is in the heavens of the Æons, and the Spirit, are in need of redemptive help and ethical trial, while those who are buried in the life of sense are left to destruction.

It should also be noted that the life of deity within the Pleroma was liable to disturbance and had to be restored by the heavenly Logos and the Holy Spirit. The perfect felicity of the Æons lies in each keeping within the assigned limits. The fullness of deity does not belong to them as individuals, but to the whole. Disturbance arises when they desire to pass the limits assigned to each. Individually, therefore, they are beset with limitations, and exhibit the life of the absolute only in their totality. They present the manifold life and energies of the Godhead in a process of self-manifestation. This self-manifestation results in a life of growth in which the life of each is perfected, not in itself, but in the whole. The original part of the conception does not lie in the view of an inscrutable fountain of unknown deity, for that was common to all other speculative systems of the time. The life of growth, in which the life of each is perfected, is not in itself, but in the whole. The original part of the conception does not lie in the view of an inscrutable fountain of unknown deity, for that was common to all other speculative systems of the time. The life of growth, in which the life of each is perfected, is not in itself, but in the whole. The original part of the conception does not lie in the view of an inscrutable fountain of unknown deity, for that was common to all other speculative systems of the time.


PLOTINUS.—See NEO-PLATONISM.

PLURALISM.—Pluralism is currently defined as the metaphysical doctrine that all existence is ultimately reducible to a multiplicity of distinct and independent beings or elements. So defined, it is the obvious antithesis to monism (q.v.), and differs from dualism not only in emphasizing many as distinct from two realities, but also in providing for greater diversity among these distinct attributes. Dualism (q.v.) is primarily a doctrine of two substances, one material and the other spiritual, and

1 See, e.g., Baldwin’s DPP, a.v.; Bull. de la societe francaises de philosophe, xiii. (1901-06) 182; and R. Reitl, Welterkehr der philosophie der dualisten, Berlin, 1917. J. H. Poynting, in Phil. Mag., however, recognizes in a remanique another form of pluralism which will be considered in the last section of this article.
PLURALISM

is commonly stated in terms of the contrast between body and mind. It is apparent, however, that the material and the spiritual substance may each contain conceivable ingredients of two separate elements which, in spite of their likeness in kind, are really independent and self-existent. There may be many independent atoms of matter, and there may be many independent spirits or minds. In one sense, therefore, materialism and spiritualism are identical. Even monism may be similarly pluralistic if it is conceived as only a doctrine of one substance, either material or spiritual, as opposed to more than one. For it is evident that the one substance may be split into two or more indeterminate parts independently existing at length, qualitatively alike. The possible forms which pluralism may take are, therefore, many. It is not important, however, either to attempt to classify them or to discuss them, because only materialistic pluralism and spiritualistic pluralism have had any significant presentation in the history of thought.

1. Materialistic pluralism.—Materialistic pluralism has been represented by the consistent atomists from Democritus to Sir William Ramsay. The atomism and the medium in which the atoms move have, however, been variously conceived. The view usually ascribed to Democritus, and held by many subsequent thinkers, is apparently the simplest statement of the theory. The atoms are very small particles of matter, so small that they resist neither motion nor change. They are qualitatively alike, but differ in size and shape, i.e., in their geometrical properties. They have always existed and are indestructible. They move freely in space by their own natural motion. Space is mere emptiness, the void, and consequently offers no resistance to the movement of the atoms. The motion of each atom, if left to itself, would be rectilinear, but, since the atoms differ in size and shape, they collide with one another, and the motion of the whole mass is, consequently, turbulent. As a result the geometrically similar atoms tend to congregate and form selected and ordered systems, first the 'worlds' in space and then the particular things of each world. But the general instability of the whole mass keeps any particular combination of atoms from persisting indefinitely. There is, consequently, perpetual combining and recombing among the atoms; and, on account of the many geometrical differences between the atoms, the number of such kinds of combinations is practically limitless. With Democritus, as with most of his followers, this view of the atomic structure of all things seems to have resulted from the attempt to generalize, solely in terms of the geometrical properties involved, the empirical fact of the divisibility of concrete masses of matter.

The qualitative diversity which the world obviously presents is usually either disregarded or viewed as a consequence of our way of perceiving. Democritus is reported to have said that, while we commonly speak of colours, sounds, etc., in reality there is nothing but atoms and the void.

The atomic theory (q.v.) admits of many variations, but its pluralistic character is not affected so long as it may be split into two or more indeterminate parts in the medium in which they move is equivalent to empty space. The atoms may be qualitatively different or the ultimate elements of a limited number of different material substances; they may expand or contract, they may move with natural affinities and repugnances; they may be acted on by forces exterior to them or be impelled by forces resident in them; they may be so closely packed as virtually to exclude the necessity of a medium, and yet be conceived in themselves permanent and undeniable. When, however, the medium in which the atoms operate is not conceived as empty space or its equivalent, the pluralistic character of the system is affected. For it is evident that the new medium—the other, e.g.—cannot be atomic in structure, but must be continuous, and cannot break the continuity. The medium must, therefore, penetrate them, but this penetration robs the atoms of their original simple character, and tends to make them appear as modes, rites, involution, aflection, comprehensions, &c., in a medium itself. Such a direction as this recent chemistry and physics have taken, impelled thereto not only by speculative considerations, but also by experiments, like those of Sir William Ramsay, which have at least taught the notion that material substances are convertible. The doctrine of relativity in physics moves in the same direction. Judged, therefore, by contemporaneous tendencies, materialistic pluralism as above defined does not represent any progressive ideas of the sciences which deal with matter. The tendency is rather towards a monistic conception or a complete relativism.

2. Spiritualistic pluralism.—The leading historical representative of spiritualistic pluralism is Democritus' fellowcountryman, Thales. Although thinkers in later times have believed in the existence of many independent minds, few of them have, like him, made this belief the dominant and controlling factor in metaphysics. His philosophy, although among those who to a degree divided the world of being into spiritual and material, was not the result of the generalization of empirical fact such as marked the theory of atoms. It was the result rather of his attempt to avoid the monism of Spinoza, on the one hand, and atomism, on the other. In place of the atom he puts the monad—an ultimate, simple, and self-existent spiritual being. The monads do not have geometrical properties, nor do they exist in space as in a void. Their independence and metaphysical exteriority to one another constitute a kind of quasi-space in which they may be said to exist. Their properties are spiritual or psychical, such as appetite, desire, perception. Each is self-contained, 'windowless,' and neither influenced nor influencing anything else. Their influence, as a result of the generalization of the substance, is the whole range of possible development from its own peculiar position in the series. All things are made up of monads. The highest monad in the body is the soul, and the highest monad in the system is God. But God's relation to the other monads is not always clear. At times He is one of the monads, at times their creator, at times the unity in the system. Among the monads there is no spatial motion, for their life is not that of physical movement, but that of purposeful development. It is their externality to one another combined with their concerted life that gives us the phenomenon of physical movement in physical space.

This doctrine of monads may be taken as representative of spiritualistic pluralism generally. It has never had the influence on scientific procedure which the doctrine to which it is opposed has had. For the atomic theory is an attempt to generalize the empirical fact of the divisible, and to employ the language of mathematics to make this generalization workable. As a result it has been embraced by many who are not materialists, but who have found it a potent instrument in scientific investigation. This is particularly true of the attempts to construct a pluralistic system of spiritual entities—is, as already noticed,
fundamentally a protest against materialism. When it addresses itself to the concrete facts of nature, it amounts to little more than the attempt to make the atoms spiritual—to substitute psy-
cial and personal, and a useful development for external physical motion. That is why it appears to be more an ingenious speculation than a fruitful hypothesis.

3. The new pluralism.—Although philosophical unities has recognized in the theories just considered the two classical forms of pluralism, it should be observed that neither of them denies the funda-
mental unity and wholeness of the universe. There may be many atoms or many nimbles, but in either case there is only one universe, and this universe is a coherent and self-contained whole. The resulting speculative opposition between the one and the many has probably done more to keep philosophical interest in these systems alive than any genuine illumination which they afford. For this opposition has proved itself repeatedly to be a potent stimulus to philosophical reflection. In terms of it a different form of pluralism may be defined which has many supporters among con-
temporaries. This is the doctrine of the 'plurality of worlds' in the sense of Schiller, John Dewey, and a few others. This new pluralism is not a doctrine of many substances opposed to monism conceived as a doctrine of one. It is rather the doctrine that there is no absolute unity in the universe, and it is opposed to the monistic systems of the 19th century. Absolutism in some form had as its supporters nearly all the leading thinkers of the world, and had become almost a settled dogma in philosophy. In the face of evident logical and moral weakness of the philosophy of emergentism, a few philosophers had the courage to deny that the universe is a thoroughly coherent system in which, by virtue of its unity, a place and time and cause are, at any moment, implied for every event that has taken place or can take place. Thinking was constrained by the principle so eloquently set forth, e.g., in Emil du Bois-Reymond's famous essay, *Ueber die Grenzen des Naturwissens* (Leipzig, 1872), that, did we know completely the state of the world at any one moment, we should be unable to calculate its state at any other moment. Oppo-
tion to this dogma was not very effective until towards the close of the century, when the writings principally of William James, John Dewey, F. C. S. Schiller, and others effectively challenged it and put it on the defensive.

James was, doubtless, the protagonist in the movement. He named his philosophy 'radical empiricism,' and occasionally 'pluralism.' In the preface to *The Will to Believe* (1897) he gives this general statement of his position:

"The crudity of experience remains an eternal element there of. There is no possible point of view from which the world can appear an absolutely single fact. Real possibility, indeterminations, real beginnings, real ends, real evil, real crises, catastrophes, and escapes, a real God, and a real moral life, just as complex at any one moment, we should be unable to calculate in empiricism as conceptions which that philosophy gives up the attempt either to "overcome" or to reinterpret in nonistic form." (p. 15)

Dewey's insistence that thinking is a real instru-
ment which brings situations essentially inde-
terminate into determinate form, Schiller's rather individual and peculiar type of pragmatism, and Bergson's insistence that evolution is essentially creative and discontinuous, all point to this new philosophically, while changing the framework, to the same end.

There has not yet, however, so far as the writer is aware, appeared any systematic presentation of the metaphysics underlying this new movement in philosophy. What is here called pluralism represents a reassertion of a belief in the multiplicity of personal and mental states, and it is probable that the general direction of this tendency in various departments of human interest is indicated below, but here an attempt may be made to suggest the basa

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ceeds. Such appears to be the general metaphysical groundwork of the new pluralism.

In psychology the tendencies have been more initiative, and here they have been most effective. During the past thirty years the attempt to construe the mind or consciousness as a substance or as a complex of elementary sensations united by fixed laws of excitation has progressively yielded to the attempt to conceptualize mental life as a system of activity and response. Although many psychologists have independently contributed to this progress, the publication in 1890 of James’s Principles of Psychology may justly be cited as critical. Here was the first effective and growing appreciation of the idea of the humanly characteristic, rather than as a matter beginning with the gods. There is, too, as in the ethical tendencies, the denial of absolutistic ideas. Consequently there is recognized no one religion which can be judged valid as well as against all others. In estimating the worth of any religious moral instead of logical or metaphysical standards are employed.

It is mainly as a new and potent stimulus to fresh philosophy, implying that certain pluralistic tendencies are to be estimated. Under the absolutistic systems of the last century, philosophy had largely lost its vitality. It had become almost exclusively historical, a comparative study of systems, and was not a means of organizing or systematizing experience. This newer conception of the mind has spread beyond psychology and markedly affected anthropology and sociology. Primitive peoples and society are studied more in terms of what they do and less in terms of the supposed ‘consciousness’ that they once credited with possessing.

In logic the new movement has been more equivocal in its success. It has illuminated in a brilliant way the concrete procedure of thinking, especially how distinctions like object or thing and idea arise in its course and are not the constituent elements of thinking itself. It has given us the logic of ‘how we think.’ But the opposition to formal logic which has too frequently accompanied this service has obscured many logical issues and problems. The structure of accomplished thought has been too much neglected. The older logic, especially in the form set forth by Bertrand Russell, is still an active and constructive opponent of the new.

In morals and religion it is premature to attempt to state with conclusiveness the effects which the new movement is likely to produce. Yet, so far as morals are concerned, the general direction is fairly clear, as may be seen from the Ethics of Dewey and Tufts (1908). The tendency is away from fixed, a priori principles, and towards the concrete exigencies of life. Morality is conceived, not as a system of rules which should be obeyed, but as the type of life which characterizes beings who desire and wish, hope and fear. Responsibility is conceived, not in terms of an obligation imposed upon living, but in terms of an increasing sensibility of the value of human relationships. There are no absolutes. Justice, e.g., is not such. It is rather the situation as it progresses, not the ideal, which is progressively effective manner. In brief, morality is not an absolute ideal which, being somehow imposed on man, orders him to be moral. It is the kind of life that man conceives to be most adequate to him with the most expressive of his natural impulses and his ideal hopes.

There is in these considerations a close resemblance to the more refined forms of utilitarianism, but the doctrine is not utilitarian as commonly understood. It is a simple but elaborate computation of pleasures and pains is implied. No attempt is made first to estimate the greatest good of the greatest number, and then to act accordingly. There is rather the attempt to take human relations seriously as they are given—the family, friends, the State, love, property, marriage—to see towards what they point, what desires and hopes they engender, and then to bring the resources of knowledge to bear upon the perfecting of these or the elimination from them of that which makes communal living difficult and unlovely.

In religion the tendencies are not as yet well defined. It is possible, however, to recognize among religious writers influenced by the new movement a growing appreciation of the idea of the humanly characteristic, rather than as a matter beginning with the gods. There is, too, as in the ethical tendencies, the denial of absolutistic ideas. Consequently there is recognized no one religion which can be judged valid as well as against all others. In estimating the worth of any religious moral instead of logical or metaphysical standards are employed.

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PLUTARCH

PLUTARCH—1. Life.—Plutarch was born about A.D. 46, as may be inferred from the statement that in 65, the year of Nero's visit to Greece, he was a pupil of the Academic philosopher Ammonius in Athens (de EL apud Delphos, 1, p. 385 B). He was a native of Chaeronea in Boeotia, and showed a constant affection for his birth-place, which he ultimately made his home. Belonging to a wealthy and influential family, he was able to secure his education open to a young man of his time. He was instructed in medicine and natural science by the physician Onesicrates (de Mus. 2, p. 1131 C) and, though there is no direct evidence of his pupilship, it is by the art of whose rhetorical training is manifest in such of his early writings as the de Fortunis Romanorum (pp. 317–336) and the Aqzane an Agnis sit utior (pp. 955–965).

When still a young man, he was sent as an envoy representing his native town on a mission to the proconsul (Proc. ger. Reip. 16, p. 816 D). It seems that political business was also at any rate the ostensible cause of his visits to Rome (Demosth. 2), the earliest of which must have taken place in the reign of Vespasian (de Sollert. Anim. 19, p. 974 A). It is a legitimate assumption that he made several visits (cf. Quest. Conv. viii. 7.1, p. 727 B), and that they occupied a considerable time; for he shows an intimate acquaintance with Roman topography (e.g., Popp. Cat. 1), and the end which was so well known there that he was accustomed to deliver lectures in public (de Curios. 15, p. 522 E). Among the chief of his Roman friends may be reckoned C. Soinius Senecio, who was four times consul, and to whose family Plutarch was still attached when he, with the other masters of Parallel Lives were dedicated, and Mestrius Florus, another consular, in whose company he visited the historical sites of Gallia Cisalpina (Oth. 14). During his residence in Italy he acquired a high reputation as a teacher of moral philosophy, and was rewarded with the devotion of a large band of pupils. It seems evident that in this intercourse the medium of communication was the Greek language; for Plutarch makes the interesting confession that he was well advanced in years before he commenced to study Latin dialectics (p. 464 C), and the end which he makes in his incidental references to the language (e.g., εἰνε πάρμα, οὐκ οὖν πάρμος [Quest. Rom. 103, p. 285 F]) are such as to prove that his acquaintance with it was never more than superficial.

Of the works of Plutarch the only authentic are of Suidas (s.v. Πλούταρχος), he enjoyed the favour of the emperor Trajan, by whom he was elevated to consular rank, while the governor of the province was enjoined to take his advice upon all matters of importance. Plutarch himself may have witnessed the early part of the reign of Hadrian, but died not long after 120; for he speaks of the Olympicium in Athens as unfinished (Solon, 32), whereas we know that it was completed by Hadrian between the years 125 and 130.

In the latter part of his life Plutarch seems to have settled permanently at Chaeronea, where he was interruptedly engaged in literary labour, except during the performance of the duties attached to his municipal offices. As Chaeronea he filled the post of overseer of buildings (Proc. ger. Reip. 15, p. 811 B), as well as that of archon tov kórmavon (Quest. Conv. ii. 10, p. 645 F). He was also an associate of the college of priests to Apollo at Delphi (ib. v. 2, p. 674 D). Notwithstanding these activities, he gave lectures from time to time both on philosophical subjects and on matters of wider interest (cf. de Rect. Rat. Aud. 1, p. 37 C). In his domestic life his relations with his wife and children were strikingly tender and affectionate, and are charmingly illustrated in the letter of consolation addressed to his wife Timoxena on the death of their infant daughter, who was named after her mother. From this letter a single sentence may be quoted:

"As she was herself the dearest object for her parents to fondle, gaze upon, or listen to, so should her memory remain to us as a joy for exceeding its pain" (Counsel ad Uxor. 3, p. 658 E).

From the same source (5, p. 609 D) we learn that two of the four sons born to Plutarch and his wife died at the age of eight months. The maternal aunts of them, who survived, Autobulus and Plutarcho, are recorded in the dedication to them of the treatise de Animae Procreatione in Timno (p. 1030 D); and they are mentioned as taking part in the various discussions which arose around the table (cf. Quest. Conv. viii. 3, p. 735 C). We have also of the marriage of Autobulus (ib. iv. 3, p. 668 D), who appears again as the narrator of the Ama
torius, and as a character in the dialogue de Sollert. Animatum. But it was not merely within the family circle that the kindred interest of Plutarch's character were displayed. There is abundant evidence from his Table Talk (Questiones Convivales) and the other dialogues that to his friends he was an object of affectionate regard no less than of respect for his moderation and sense. His writings have made a similar impression upon posterity. Among many testimonies to his worth we may instance the judgment of Mahaffy, who happily remarks:

"We feel inclined to say Sir Walter Scott, not only the originator of an insensibly instructive form of historiography, but also essentially a gentleman—a man of honour and of kindli

des, the best of the race for the man of his day" (Greek World under Roman sway, p. 393).

2. Works.—The most celebrated of Plutarch's works is his Parallel Lives, intended to exhibit a comparison of the greatest men whom Greece and Rome had produced, by the publication of their biographies side by side in pairs. Forty-six of these lives have come down to modern times, and their world-wide celebrity makes it the less necessary to describe their characteristics, especially as we are more nearly concerned with the other branch of his writings, which is conveniently but inaccurately labelled the Moralia. It is enough to say that the Lives were not so much the fruit of historical research as an endeavour to illustrate the moral writings of their author by depicting the characteristics and dispositions of men who have actually lived.

The collection of the Moralia (Πρακτικά) is so described because most of the treatises which it comprises deal with what may be called 'moral' imprints, although not with the principles of ethics. The writings are actually a miscellany, containing discussions on religion, literature, politics, education, philology, folk-lore, archaeology, and natural history, as well as some of a severely philosophical type. Plutarch is less a philosopher than an essayist, and the most characteristic of
his writings are those which, in dealing with such subjects as garrulosity, false shame, restraint of anger, or flattery and friendship, display, together with a profusion of illustration and anecdote, the good taste, common sense, and genuine humanity of their author. Not the least of their merits for the modern world is that, apart from a wealth of information on literary history, the *Moralia* are a pleasant and instructive record of the lost writings of early poets and philosophers.

3. Leading ideas.— (a) Philosophical and religious.—By his adoption of the dialogue form for most of these treatises Plutarch acknowledged his predecessors. He adopted the literary methods as he was formally an adherent of his teaching (*cf. de Def. Or. 37, p. 431 A*). The latest tendency of the Academy had been in the direction of eclecticism. Philo and Antonius had abandoned the extreme scepticism of Arcesilaus and Carneades, and while laying greater stress upon ethical doctrines, had made an approach towards the positions of the Stoics and Peripatetics by advocating life according to nature, and the plurality of virtue as well as its self-sufficiency. In *De Inconstitutio Chriosttia* he undertook the analysis of a new movement, of which Plutarch was the most distinguished representative, gradually become apparent. Its leading features are two—a closer application to the study of the Platonic writings and of the *Stoics*; of the latter, of mysticism, which ultimately issued in Neo-Platonism. Not that the accretion of alien doctrine was entirely repudiated; for it has even been said of Plutarch that *it would be hard to say whether the number of Stoics and Platonists which he regards exceeds that which he quotes with approval* (Mahaffy, p. 301). At the same time the most important of Pintarch’s strictly philosophical writings are those directed from an Academic standpoint against the Stoics (*de Stoicorum Rerumnantis, de Commnnibus Notitiis*) and against the Epicureans (*adversus Coloten, Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*). His positive contributions towards the elucidation of the Platonic text are contained in the *de Animo Procrorations in Timo*, the *Contra Apionem*, the *Ingenium Logi*n, and his *Summation of Philosophy* than the controversial writings previously mentioned. Plutarch adopted Plato as his two ultimate first principles the One and the Indeterminate Dyad (boeis dépejrois). The second is the nature of the One, which Plutarch calls a disorder, is called *Intuity* (*aireia*), whereas the nature of the One, by defining and occupying the Infinity, which is empty, irrational, and indeterminate, endows it with form, and so makes it capable of supporting and containing the determination which is a necessary accomplishment of sensible objects (*de Def. Or 35, p. 428 F ff*.). The combination of these two principles, unity and duality, is seen most clearly in the production from them of numbers (*ib.*). The creation of the world was the result of the concatenation of three factors.—God, matter, and form. Matter is the shapeless underlying substratum; form is the fairest model; and God is the best of causes. God, in His desire to leave nothing indeterminate, but to organize nature with precision, at once took away the chaos, which was the cause of evil, which proceeds from a foul and malignant necessity struggling with and rebelling against God (*de Anim Procr. 6, p. 1016 A, de Is. et Osir. 45, p. 370 F*). The war of these opposing principles is especially to be detected in a man’s chequered existence, and in the region of inequality and change which lies between the earth and the moon (*de Is. et Osir. 45, p. 369 D*). God exists not in time, but in eternity, which for His unity is an everlasting present, without beginning or end, past or future. As being absolute unity, He is incapable of differentiation (*etéygría* [de *Et apud Delph. 20, p. 393 A, B*]). God sees, but cannot be seen (de *Def. Or. 12, p. 385 D). Not only pure and undefined by any form of existence liable to destruction and death; hence our souls, which are encompassed by the body and its attributes, cannot reach God, save only in so far as, by the exercise of the mental powers, which is the true spirit of philosophy, they may attain to an indistinct vision of His image (*ib. 78, p. 382 F*). Life in the body upon earth is an exile of the soul (*de Kzid. 17, p. 607 D*). It has come from the gods and will return thither, so soon as it is discharged from the trammels of the body. It is like a flame which shoots upwards in spite of the misty vapours that cling round it and seek to bind it to the earth. Hence it is not the bodies of good men that go to heaven; but their souls pass into heroes, from heroes into immortal gods. Their bodies however have been mysteriously cleansed and sanctified, so that they are free from any mortal affection, then in no merely conventional sense, but in very truth and by a blessed consummation, they are caught up to the divine nature. When the body is dissolved, the soul lives on. Some souls are not entirely imprisoned within the body, but, by keeping the purest portion in external association with the topmost surface of their owners’ heads, who are thus lifted upwards and saved from all suffering, they purify their immortality free from bodily taints. This part, called the intelligence (*nous*), and generally supposed to be innate, is actually external, and would more properly be known as ‘demon’ (*de Gen. Soc. 22, p. 591 D*). It is unreasonable to disbelieve in the inspiration of certain individuals, if we retain our belief that God is a lover of mankind. The ordinary man learns the commands of God by signs, which the prophetic art interprets, but there are a few who on mysterious occasions are able to divest the body and see the divinity. Further, when souls freed from the body have at length become demons, they still retain their interest in the world which they have left, as Hesiod was aware (*Op. 129*), and are allowed by God to assist men, and make their lives interesting in the most direct way. There are yet in the last period of their incarnation (*de Gen. Soc. 24, p. 593 A F*). There are, however, bad demons as well as the good; and they are elsewhere described as belonging to the borderland which separates gods and men, and as subject to mortal affections and the changes wrought by necessity (*de Def. Or. 12, p. 416 C; *cf. 17, p. 419 A, de Is. et Osir. 28, p. 360 E*). These passages are typical of much in Plutarch, and their Platonic character is unmistakable. At the same time, it should be observed that, in emphasizing his belief in demons, he was echoing the teaching of the Stoics (see art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Greek]). The same remark applies to his treatment of mysteries. Divination is the gift of God to man (*de Def. Or. 12, p. 413 C*), but the decay of oracles is not on that account to be attributed to Him, but rather to the failure of matter (*ib. 9, p. 414 D, E*). In a curious passage (*ib. 40, p. 432 D*) he speaks of the loss of the prophetic capacity as resembling a sheet of paper torn away from the warnings of sensation, when the seer is withdrawn (*exetaygría*) from the influences of the present and is filled with the spirit of prophecy (*dehnavmon- pōs*). This inspiration may be exerted, even by the intercession of voices, to either see or hear through water at particular
places in the form of flowing water or breath. Elsewhere (de Pyth. Or. 7, p. 397 D) he says more simply that God does not inspire the voice of the prophetess or the words which she uses, but merely provides the sense-impressions which gods wish to impart, enabling it to look upon the future. Thus, though agreeing with the Stoics in upholding the truth ofjwtvó, Plutarch refused altogether to countenance the Stoic doctrine that the divine spirit permeated the material world of metal in the world (ib. 8, p. 398 C). His whole attitude towards religion is guided by a spirit of conservatism, seeking to uphold each venerable institution, while finding elements of truth in the various devices by which philosophers sought to remove traditional difficulties (ib. 18, p. 402 E. Amat. 13, p. 756 B). Thus he would steer a middle course between superstition and atheism, recognizing that there is not so much difference in the nature of the gods as the various conceptions of them by Greeks and barbarians, and the names given to them, might seem to imply, but that there is only one Reason that sets in order and one Providence that controls the world (de Is. et Osir. 67, p. 377 F F). The elaborate discussion of EGYPT (p. 473 A-B) is a testimony to the money to the progress of these foreign cults in the estimation of his fellow-countrymen, and is so constructed as to show that the ideas which underlay them are essentially the same as those which are recognized by the theologians of Greece. The leading motive of the short essay de Superstitione, which is, however, regarded by some merely as a rhetorical exercise undertaken in defence of a paradox, and not therefore characteristic of its author's real view (Mahaffy, p. 448, E.), shows that a perverted and ignorant belief of respecting the nature of the gods and their attitude to mankind is more harmful to the peace of the soul than an obstinate refusal to believe in their existence. While he had no sympathy with Epicurean rationalism, which destroyed the value of piety (ead. Colot. 37, p. 1123 A), he was not less disinclined to accept the reckless allegorizing of the Stoics, which, by making Ares a mere synonym for combativeness, Aphrodite for desire, and Athena for intelligence, rejected the moral divinity of the Greek gods and plunged their worshippers into a gulf of atheism (Amat. 13, p. 787 B). It was therefore quite consistent with his general attitude towards religion that Plutarch, as we have seen, himself exemplifies the Stoic position with his own wife to take part in the sacrifice offered on the occasion of the festival of Eros at Thebes (ib. 2, p. 749 B). The same moderation may be detected in his attitude towards Orphism. While he wholeheartedly condemns the follies of excess attendant upon the popular celebration of its rites, the modes of cleansing and purifications which were themselves filthy, the wearing of ragged garments, the wallowing in the mud, the ridiculous importance attached to the eating or drinking of peculiar foods (ib. 12, p. 171 B), he was himself the advocate of a reasonable abstention and asceticism (de Tuend. Sant. 19, p. 132 E, de Is. et Osir. 2, p. 352 A), and, by his abstention from eggs for a season in consequence of a disease, led himself on to the adoption of asceticism having adopted Orphic tenets (Querat. Conv. ii. 3, p. 635 A).

We have seen that Plutarch regarded the existence of evil as an outcome of necessity, but he has much more to say that on the one hand the gods permit the existence of moral evil without exacting appropriate punishment. To this subject he has devoted the important dialogue de Sera Numinum Vindicta. The occasion is provided by a supposed lecture of Epicurus, and various answers are given to the objection raised against what is assumed to be the ordinary dealing of Providence, namely, that the delay in punishment encourages the sinner and disappoints the injured. Thus it is said (1) that the gods are not averse to repentance, and thus set an example to others, teaching them to beware of hasty resentment, and (2) that by this delay they are able to distinguish those who are incurable and require extirpation from those who have fallen into ignorance than of deliberate choice, are deserving of remedial treatment (5, p. 550 C F). Again, since it is always possible that a wicked parent may beget a virtuous offspring, it is natural that God should not commit a first-born to stock, without waiting to see whether it will not produce a good fruit (7, p. 553 B). But the best answer of all is that the delay is only apparent, since sin, by the misery which it causes to the sinner, brings its own punishment with it, so that length of life becomes an aggravated unappreciation (9, p. 554 A F). We are then introduced to the topic of punishment in the next world, and the dialogue concludes with a myth concerning the experiences of one Theseus, who, during a trance, was believed to have been seen in the Tartarus of Hades and to have been permitted to return in the appearance of a pauper to the land of the dead (ib. 13, p. 689 B). This is the story of the deceased, who is seen among the dead in Hades, to whom an old man tells him that he, Theseus, is a youth of the time of the Trojan War, and that he must seek for his former wife among the souls of women who had died in the war (ib. 13, p. 690 A). As his is the only name that is presentable in the presence of the judge of souls, he is permitted to return to the land of the living.

(b) Ethical.—The strictly ethical treatises are in the nature of short essays on moral subjects, based upon psychological observation, and designed to effect the moral improvement of their readers. Here we find Plutarch in the character of a physician of the soul, a public preacher who, so far from being inspired with the fervour of a new revelation, sought, by means of copious illustration and apt quotations from the poets, to instil a reasonable exercise of the human virtues. The practical application of his advice is shown in his three treatises belonging to the consolatory type (παντοκοπωνικόν), acknowledged by the schools as a special branch of casuistry (παντοκοπωνικός τότε; see the present writer's notes on Cunct. frag. 92 f. [Proem.] consolatorius, p. 1431 b. Cambridge, 1891). These are the de Exilio and the Consolatio ad Uxorinem, which have already been mentioned, and the more elaborate Consolatio ad Apollonium, which was largely indebted to Crantor's παντοκοπωνικόν. In fact, a considerable number of these writings are open to the suspicion that they are dependent upon an acknowledged, principally Stoic, source.

As an example we may instance the short treatise de Virtute Morti, which contains comparatively little of Plutarch's characteristic manner, but, while designed to support the Platonic psychology by advocating the submission of the emotions to reason rather than their entire eradication, is constricted to serve as a compendium of moral doctrine with material drawn from the severer texts-books of the Peripatetics and Stoics.1

1 M. Polhez, in Hermes, xxxi. [1896] 328, 329, finds the original source of the treatise in a work of Hierocles of Rhodes.
POINTS OF THE COMPASS

after mentioning the advantages of various forms of abstemiousness, he continues:

"I put aside them a distinctly no less acceptable to the gods: I regard as that which is the abstinence a voluntary omission of milk and
honey, to keep myself free from passion first of all for a few days. But I was not afraid to break it, to which I was accustomed to one or two
months, so that I continually made progress in the
tolerance of evil, exercising an unceasing control upon my
temper. I succeeded by constant and repeated endeavors to
restrained consistently from base talk and extravagant action,
and repressed any emotion which provoked violent agitation.
shaming myself of my actions, I was satisfied with my
trifling pleasures. By these means I was contented, and, by the favor
of heaven, time has confirmed the experiment, so that
the spirit of cheerfulness, gentleness, and kindness is to
none of his associates so gracious, welcome, and comforting as to
the mother of men, my father, and myself."

In another passage he deduces a similar moral from the contemplation of the glories of the physical world, which, following ultimately a Peripatetic model (I. Bywater, in J.P.h. vii. [1876] 80), he compares with an august temple, where the most exalted mysteries are being continually celebrated:

"Yet men debate this festival which God has provided for
them by unceasing lamentation and dejection, permitting themselves
ever to be harrowed by weariness and anxiety." (De Trans. An. 26. p. 477 E.)

Just as in religion he endeavoured by compromise to
adjust extreme views, so in ethics he sought to reconcile extremes of the human spirit, by
refusing to accept in their entirety the tendencies
with which he partly sympathized.

"He will not adopt with Plato the equality of the sexes, or
with the Stoics the justice of slavery, or with the Pythagoreans
the rights of the lower animals to justice at the hands of men,
yet he goes a long way with all three—magnifying the position
and the dignity of the householder both by example and
precept, inculcating everywhere kindness and consideration to
slaves, adopting even vegetarian doctrines in some of his earlier
texts, in which he had nothing to hide and with the
superior insight and Intelligence of the animals we patronize or
oppress" (Mahaney, p. 203).

(c) Political.—In regard to politics, Plutarch
reproduced the Epicurean advocacy of abstention (Pyrrh. 20) as expressed in the formula 'Live in retirement' (άδητος ἑορτάσας), against which he directed a short treatise (de Latenter Vivendo, pp. 1125—
1130). But he lived in an age in which the limits of political activity were severely limited, and he was the last man to waste himself in chancing against a restriction which it was neither wise
nor possible to break down. Thus he sincerely believed that monarchy was the most perfect of all forms of government (De Signis et Epp. p. 14), that it is wise to
choose a chief who can be and is careful to
observe a mean between latitude and severity, so
that he may not incur either the hatred or the contempt of his subjects by aiming at despotism or
making concessions in favour of popular government
(Thes. et Bum. Comp. 2). He recognized that
it was idle to rebel against the imperial dominion or
to cast wistful eyes upon the historic battlefields of Marathon and Plataea (Proc. ger. Reip. 17, p. 814 C). The chief political virtues are not pride and
stubbornness, but patience and tolerance,
which are the fruits of a well-trained reason
(Coriol. 15). He has even a good word to say for
Thermenes and his proverbial 'boot which fitted either leg' (Proc. ger. Reip. 32, p. 824 B), and holds that the politician should make it his chief
aim to avoid a crisis. Thus, if the greatest blessings which communities can enjoy are taken into
account, it will be found that, in regard to peace, the Greeks have nothing left to desire, since every
form of warfare, domestic or foreign, has come to an
end. The measure of freedom, to enjoy it as much as their masters allow them, which is
perhaps as much as is good for them (ib. p. 824 C).

What sort of politics other than the petty activities
of municipal government was it possible for
Plutarch to recommend? His own life is now
seen to furnish a near approach to the only ideal
which he regarded as attainable. A public law-
suit or a depiction to the emperor is the chief
opportunity for a courageous and prudent man to
seek his own happiness (ib. p. 823). We
should not always be striving after the highest
offices, such as that of strateugos in Athens, prytanias in
Rhodes, or Bouleutor in Boeotia; but rather we
should endeavour to impart lustre to those of
less account, and preserve a more suitable
sphere of authority assigned to us by the responsible
powers (ib. 17, p. 813 D, E). Such was the temper of the man whose chief title to fame is as
the biographer of the heroes of the ancient world.
Nothing was ever his way, except that of a time
server, or one who would put his private interests
before his country's good (ib. 18, p. 814 D). His
quietism was founded on the reasoned conviction that, as resistance is impossible, a cheerful sub-
mission is wiser than an insupportable struggle
against overwhelming odds (cf. Philop. 17). But,
whereas the folly of ill-judged patriotism may at least
claim the sympathy of a generous heart, the conduct of those who make the welfare of Greece
the no less important as compared with their own comfort
and enjoyment, deserves our profound contempt
(Non posse suavit, 19, p. 1100 D).

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A. C. PEARSON.

PLYMOUTH BRETHREN.—See BRETHREN (Plymouth).

POETRY.—See HYMNS, LITERATURE.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS.—I. INTRO-
DUCTORY AND GENERAL.—Owing to the marked
way in which, in several lands, notably in ancient
Greece and in Christendom, sacred buildings have
been placed with their most important front
towards the east, this subject is generally known as
the "Oriental" and is treated in that context in the
present article. As a title it might, however, in some
cases be open to the charge of begging the question,
and the one here chosen is non-committal and
more comprehensive.

The religions of many peoples—perhaps of most
have taken account of the cardinal points of the compass, though the importance attached to them
may have varied. The feelings aroused by sunrise
and sunset must always have been very much the
same all the world over, and they are in some
degree expressed by the terms used for the cardinal
points. Skeat (Etymological Dictionary, Oxford,
1884) traces the word 'east' to the Aryan root "u," 'shine,' 'burn.' Bradley (OED) gives the root
"aus," 'dawn.' Skeat derives west' from the
Aryan root ‘rt,' 'run.' Now, although by ancient
eyes this is to the apparent resting-place or abiding-place of
the sun at night, 'south' seems to mean simply the
'sunned' quarter; the derivation of the word 'north' is unknown (Skeat).

Herodotus imagines himself to be facing east
and describes the west, north, south by the
expressions 'before,' 'behind,' 'left,' 'right.'
This nomenclature, even more than the Aryan
 tongues, suggests ideas about the four quarters of
the horizon that were definite, but not constant, and
it is therefore not surprising to find that the point
of the compass is stated with precision in the story
of the fall and elsewhere. This precision is not really inconsistent with the inaccuracies in Gn 11:12 and other passages. The Indo-European peoples placed themselves, as facing the rising sun, all by hand towards the rising sun the better hand, the dexterous one, and the other (although the Greek veiled it by euphemisms) the sinister. The Etruscans, on the contrary, thought of themselves as facing the setting sun, and their dead were laid on their left hand. Thus it will be seen that the Indo-European peoples really had the same notions about the east as the Semite. Walter Johnson gives useful examples of this habit (Byzantium of British Archaeology).

The subject may be said to have been neglected if not ignored till within the last decade or two. Most books on architecture, even those dealing with countries in which orientation is a marked characteristic of the buildings, make no reference to it; the most comprehensive general encyclopedias have short and perfunctory articles or none at all; works on folklore, which are of necessity much concerned with ritual, seldom record or observe or offer any explanations, while very often neither the word 'orientation' nor the names of the cardinal points are to be found in the index. This neglect, at least, is not the fault of the few who have been reading the Bible and have felt that the custom of orientation has no historical significance, that its significance is in the earliest history of man. It has for a long past been and had comparatively little relation to the beliefs of the age that practised it. Hence many published plans of buildings use compass directions only because they have but a rough indication with nothing to show whether true north or magnetic north is intended. It is still more rare to find in any record of the time or of the nature of the rites that the decrease was constant—which it is not—the variation would be reduced by a degree in about nine years. In works of the highest antiquity, as we find in the Bible, or as the plan of St. Peter's at Rome turned round so as to bring the altar to the east, the variation shows that east instead of west; while a third goes to the opposite extreme, for instance, to London, so far as to give not only the date of the observation but the hour also. Descriptions are often loose; to say that a church 'faces east' may mean either an east door or an east altar; 'burial 'to the east' is equally vague; when Guidorius says, 'Nay, ritual, we must by his head to th' East,' it is the word mean 'to the west' (Shakespeare, Cymbeline, act iv. sc. 2). The only unambiguous descriptions are 'altar to east (or west), face to east (or west).

Lately the architectural side of the subject has been approached in a scholarly book by G. W. B. hitchcock, in England, and some records of the customs of savage races have been made.

In this article we shall deal with the following questions: (1) ritual acts: the direction in which the building is placed while being prayed over, or when entered during baptism, or while performing other ritual acts; (2) the aspect of buildings: the direction of the main axis, or the aspect of the door, altar, or other feature of the temple, using that word in its widest sense; (3) burial: the direction in which the grave is made, or the body of the dead is placed in the tomb, and consequently the planning of the tomb itself; (4) beliefs unclassified (called for brevity 'superstition'): points of the compass from which attacks of evil spirits are most to be feared, and the like.

It is clear that all these, especially the three first, are in a great degree interdependent. They should therefore be discussed together wherever possible. They are, in any case, so interwoven, and so convenient, and it will be necessary to consider separately the orientation of the more important classes of temples.

1. Ritual acts.—The practice of orientation has been generally observed in ritual acts, although from the nature of the case it is not to be supposed that in the past left such a clear record as have temples and burials.

The direction in which the suppliant looks when at prayer or performing ritual acts has had, in all times, a relation to the sun, his beliefs about it and the emotions which it arouses. Those beliefs and those emotions range through every shade from sun-worship and totemism to perhaps mere wonder and the never-fading impressiveness of the phenomenon of sunrise. In the relatively few cases in which ritual is independent of the position or course of the sun it is governed by simple and easily ascertainable facts, such as the Muhammadan's Mecca or the Jew's Jerusalem.

It is probable that some peoples who did not orientate their buildings did face a particular direction when in the act of adoration; some savage races who have not reached or have scarcely reached it have a fixed point in the temple and direct their orientation in their ritual; the Jew and the Muhammadan observe what may be called a 'local' orientation in prayer; the Christian still retains a considerable amount of traditional orientation in his ritual.

2. Temples.—The aspect of buildings must almost inevitably have a close relationship with the direction in which the prayer is uttered or the rite performed, for it is governed by the same ideas as the temple is always to be approached with the same angle of view, and the degree in which the building, in different religions, can be regarded as a house of prayer or as the home of a god. But, whereas a more or less correct general position suffices or suffices for the private person at prayer, the temple is the work and the expression of the religious idea of the people, and for the most part of somewhat elaborate religions, each acknowledging and dedicating its buildings to many different gods, as the ancient Greeks, or in honour of special patron saints, as in the Christian Church. This conception complicates, or has been thought to complicate, the inquiry into this part of the subject. We shall also have to bear in mind that in the case of the building, to a greater extent than in the attitude of prayer, tradition counts for much, as in the Christian Church at the present day, long after the matter has ceased to be thought important or indeed to have any meaning at all.

3. Burial.—The position of the body in relation to the points of the compass varies much, but the underlying idea which dictated it is in the main fairly general. Expressed briefly, it is that a dead person is laid in the grave in that position which will make the journey of the spirit as easy as possible.

The journey is usually to a home of the departed. Commonly the position varies according to the conception of that home.

This idea of facilitating the journey of the dead is, however, sometimes found acting in an opposite direction: it may be desirable to keep the spirit in the grave. Thus the soul of the chief should continue to reside among and to protect the tribe; that of the wicked man should be prevented from returning to the village and disturbing the peace of the surviving relatives. J. G. Frazer sees a survival of the latter feeling in the custom in this country, not long since given up, of burying a suicide with a stake through his body (The Belief in Immortality, London, 1913, i. 164). The further opinion may perhaps be hazarded that the selection of an orientated cross-road for the place was suggested by the thought that, if the spirit did make its escape, it might be puzzled as to which road led home; in the same way it is still believed that the sick are cured by being taken to cross-roads, the original idea probably having been that, when the evil spirit will not be expelled from the patient, it was liable to lose its way.

The journey of the spirit may be made (a) to the land of the forefathers, (b) to an under world, (c) to the isles of the bliss, (d) to the place where the totem of the dead spirit lives. True burial is found in all cases except where to a rule, namely burial towards one
of the cardinal points or in the path of the sun—
don'tful because they may after all prove to be consid-
erable. We shall have to con-
cider these classes more at large. Meanwhile we
must bear in mind Frazer's warning not to expect
uniformity even among people of one tribe; modes
in the disposal of the dead vary according to sex,
rank, moral character, and manner of death.
(a) The land of the forefathers.—The journey
to the land of the forefathers is the hypothesis
of Herbert Spencer. The land of the dead is the
land from which the tribe migrated. The idea
may be summed up in the words, 'I lead many
bodies and pass with the feet in that direction. It is this hypothesis that now
finds favour as the one which best fits the facts,
rather than that of Tylor, to which further refer-
ence is made below. But it will none the more
bear too general an application. It appears to
express the most common conception among savage
tribes at the present time.
(b) The under world.—The most familiar
instance of this conception is that of medieval
Christianity. The belief approached to that
by some primitive peoples of to-day. A. C. Krujij,
whose observations are used by Porr, maintains
(see art. INDONESIANS, vol. vii. p. 245) that an
idea common to all conceptions of the hereafter is
that the road to a crossing of the sun crossed
the sea every day on its way to the land of
souls under the earth; he points out that the
word meaning 'setting of the sun' is used for
dying, and many other signs make it plain
that the land of souls is under the earth.
(c) The isles of the blest.—There are two remark-
able examples of belief in the happy islands. They
are from opposite ends of Europe. The first is
that of the Greeks. Of the second W. Ridgeway
says:
'There is some evidence that the northern cremationists, like
the Acheans, believed that the Spirit-land lay in the West.
Perhaps the ordinance of Odin that the ashes of the dead
should be sent out to sea points in this direction, but it is clear
from Procopius [de Bel. Goth. iv. 20] that in the sixth century
of our era, the peoples of north-west Europe held that the soul
of the departed journeyed westward... into the western part of
Britain. A peninsula opposite Britain was inhabited by a
folk who worshipped the god ofArmorica (Brittany), who
were subject to the Franks, but paid no tribute by virtue of
the island which lay in the way of their journeying to the
Ocean to Britain' (The Early Age of Greece, Cambridge, 1901, i. 517).
The expression 'to go west' for 'to die' is still
in use and has been extended to include anything
that is lost.
(d) Totemism.—Two instances will be noted
below in which a man is buried with his head to
the point of the compass appropriate to his totem;
but these may prove to be cases of class (a), the
journey of the spirit to the land of the forefathers.
Each of the above classes presupposes a journey
to be made by the soul. It remains to notice the
apparent exceptions referred to above. Burials,
chiefly pre-historic, occur which seem to have a
direct relation to the course of the sun and do not
suggest a reference to a journey. Thus the graves
of Teutonic peoples on the Continent and in Eng-
land often, if not generally, have the foot towards
the N. but occasionally to the S.; sometimes they
are E. and W., with the foot sometimes E. and
sometimes W., but with the body laid on its side
and facing S. The idea for this is easy to explain;
and it appears to take the form of a wish to
lie in the path of the sun. It lends some weight
to Tylor's hypothesis, applied by him no doubt too
generally, viz.:
Orientation originates in 'the association in man's minds of the
direction of heat and warmth, life and happiness and glory, of
the west with darkness and chill, death and decay, which
has from remote ages rooted itself in religious belief and
has affected the position alike of temple and of grave (P.C.S. li. 421).

To the ancient Egyptian the west was the land of souls; he complains:
'The west is the land of inflamed and of heavy shadows... Let me be placed by the edge of the water with my face to the

The legend that Christ was buried with His head to the W. is attributed by Tylor to wide-spread solar ideas. We have an instance of Australian tribalism in which 'it is written to His (Joseph's) tomb, to the sun' (Johnson, p. 274). The Tingits, a people of
Alaska, bury with the head to the sunrise (Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, London, 1910, iii. 274); the reason given, namely, to allow the spirit to return, makes it clear that it is but a secondary point to the general rule that posi-
tion is determined by desire to facilitate a journey. As a doubtful case we may perhaps class with it the instance mentioned below of the Egyptian
tomb in a cramped position in the hope, it is suggested, of facilitating the re-birth of the body.

4. Superstition.—No generalizations can at
present be made on this branch of the subject. Most of the beliefs may presumably have some
connexion, now lost, with ritual and ideas of death. A few cases will be noted elsewhere (table at end of art.). Probably a good deal of
material still remains to be collected.

II. EGYPT.—1. Temples.—The Egyptians
appear to have been indifferent as to the direction in
which their temples should face; a temple was just like any other system, it is by most people considered to be
unknown to us. J. Ferguson expressly states
(Hist. of Architecture, London, 1891-93, ii. 119)
that they did not orientate their buildings; but in his day the best had been claimed for it he accepted the obvious reading of the
evidence. The evidence is that the temples face in all direc-
tions. The silence of other writers on Egyptian
architecture may be assumed to mean that they
take the same view as Ferguson, and students of
the elaborate religion of the Egyptians give us
little help.

Attempts have recently been made, however, to
reduce the apparent confusion to a system. Two
of these attempts—those of Nissen and Lockyer—are
likely to advance us more or less independently
of one another, but they may be considered
together. Nissen discusses eleven examples.
Every temple is directed towards the point on the horizon at which
at a particular time of day a particular star, is dedicated rose or set on the feast-day at the time when the temple was
founded. When the axis of a temple lies nearly E. and W., it necessarily points towards the point on the horizon 12
of the day, or a day later, of the day on which the sun rose or set the other day, and the temple is then called a sun-temple. If,
however, the axis points to a spot on the horizon inside the
limits of sunrise and sunset it is known that the temple is
considered to be a star-temple. The point on the horizon at which
the sun or star rises or sets on any particular day of the year is con-
stantly changing, owing to the movement of the pole of the
earth round the pole of the heavens, and it is pointed out by
Lockyer that in 13,000 years this point for a star may shift 47.
Some star is then looked for which rose or set at that particular
spot at some time during the epoch in which the temple
must be supposed, on archaeological grounds, to have been founded.
A likely star having been found, the exact date, to within a day or two perhaps, is proved if it rose or set at the point in question
is easily calculated. This date is the date of the building. A
likely star is one which can be shown to have some possible
connexion with the temple and great ingenuity is shown in
finding such connexions; e.g., the temple of Seh-ha Ra at Ombos
seems to point towards the setting of Amon, which was
something like the Egyptian crocodile, and the
god Seh-ha Ra was also represented as crocodile-headed (Nissen,
Histoire de l'Astronomie, p. 76). The original inscriptions from anywhere else are quoted by both Nissen and Lockyer
descrying the foundation of temples, a ceremony of the greatest impor-
tance; they describe how the priest observes the position of the sun at
Denderah, and he gives the correct date. But it is admitted that the Denderah inscription is very late; it refers
to the emperor Augustus, who, it is said, was never at Denderah; nor do the inscriptions at Denderah
therefore reproduce an earlier inscription (Lockyer, The Down of
Astronomy, p. 175). An exact orientation of the greatest importance, and Lockyer suggests that the long series of halls
and courts which formed an Egyptian temple would make an
excellent telescope of a sort; the halls, especially those at the face of the pyramid and the directors, were crossed by a central corridor; a priest standing in the dark at the farther end, looking through this long series of doorways, can see little but the light arising a little before sunrise, and would thus be warned that it was time to prepare sacrifice; the airway to the horizon was accidentally kept unobstructed and uninterrupted, and those who lived in the temple were sometimes built right across the fairway, but that was done only with the consent of the priests. Later priests, despite those of the old temple. The sun-temples make admirable observatories for ascertaining the exact time of the summer solstice; the measurement of time was at one time of most importance to the ancient agricultural country; it was a duty monopolised by the priests. The orientation of star-temples is often what we may call incorrect, and yet correct for parallel, and so we look to the rising of the star, as at Denderah and Edfu (Nissen, pp. 30–42). But he thinks that ancient theologians had the habit of building temples at right angles to one another (Lockyer, pp. 168, 316; Niss. p. 86).

These views have been accepted by R. Phéné Spiers (Ebers, p. v, 'Orientation'), E. A. Wallis Budge, and F. C. Penrose. They are strongly controverted by a writer in the Edinburgh Review (cxxx. [1894] 418 ff.). The weak points of the theory, besides those indicated above, are that, owing to the movement of the earth's axis, the same star would not serve for more than 200 or 300 years; Budge argues that there was a short space of time in Egyptian history, so that the fact must have been observed comparatively soon; that the very late inscriptions describing the setting out of the temple with a cord by the king, inscribed in the modern wall, the devices of the mind should not be accepted as plain statements of fact, devoid of poetic or religious fervour. The writer in the Edinburgh Review, indeed, points out that the older inscriptions say nothing about the star, while in the later inscriptions 'The Great Bear simply means 'the north.' Lockyer does not support his views of Egyptian sacerdotal history by reference to authorities. Nissen is less fanciful, but scarcely more convincing.

The sun and stars entered so largely into Egyptian religion and the observation of their movements was so important for making the calendar that the case can at most be said to be not proven. This would seem to be the view of W. N. Flinders Petrie (art. Architecture [Egyptian], vol. i. p. 729 ff.)., who, however, appears to avoid a definite statement of opinion. He does, indeed, give interesting facts about the temple of Abydos (p. 723 ff.), but no explanation of them or even a hint as to whether he thinks an east-west scheme. Only the views of Flinders Petrie and Penrose and Nissen, and holds that these pyramids are oriented to the sun or, according to their respective names the sun; for some to 'Horus on the horizon' or the sun in the act of rising. The sun-god Horus takes several forms, one of which was 'Horus of the two [i.e. E. and W.] horizons.' Horus in one of his qualities is primarily the god of the sunrise, and as such is the counterpart of Hathor, the god of the west, who received the dead. It is this eastward gaze of his that has made the Sphinx so impressive to all who beheld him on the desert. He is almost always called by the name of 'the Watcher.' The work is usually attributed to the XVIIIth dynasty (c. 16th and 17th centuries B.C.), by which time the origin of all forms of religion was sought in sun-worship, and nearly every principal building was associated with the sun-god (A. Wiedemann, Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, Eng. tr., London, 1897, p. 12).

But, though theology may have changed during the course of ancient Egyptian history, we may safely guess that, with which we are here concerned, remained very much the same in that
most conservative land. Egypt was a land of sun-worship in one form or another from the earliest pre-historic times till the dawn of the present era. This was the case even in the time of the Pharaohs (the house of Râ), the Greek Heliopolis. Thither a Pharaoh of the XIIth dynasty went in procession, and on the sandhill sacrificed before the god Râ at his rising and returning, to the great temple of the sun, where he paid the sacred tribute of 200 Oxen to see the god, his father, Râ himself (ib. p. 21).

The mastabas, or private tombs of dynasties III. to X., have generally the entrance to the E., sometimes to the N. or S., never to the W. There was also a sort of blocked-up door facing E.; this was for the use of the dead; the spirit could enter or leave by it. An inscription is recorded inviting the dead 'that burial might be granted to him in Amentit the land of the West' (Maspero, p. 250). At the far end of the building, set back in a recess in the W., is a niche.

Wielemann thus describes a funeral: 'When the tomb had been reached, the coffin was set up on end near the south side of the temple and the sandhill intended to represent the Mountain of the West—the realm of the dead' (p. 236).

III. ASSYRIA, CHALD.EA, PERSIA: TEMPLES AND DETAILS—Our knowledge of these regions in ancient times is still marred by serious lacunae. The old Chaldeans had their theory of a world of the dead—either an under world or one lying E. or N. Of burial places other than those of royal persons nothing seems to be known, and even of those the authorities do not tell us much.

The temple, a succession of terraces about three in number, forming a sort of irregular stepped pyramid, was placed with its corners to the cardinal points—the altar was in the platform of Uru of Chaldea (Maspero, p. 629) and Nimrud at Babylon (T. G. Pinches, art. ARCHITECTURE [Assyro-Babylonian], vol. i. p. 689). This may be chance, but, in describing the precinct of the temple-tower of Belus at Babylon, Pinches says:

'In accordance with the usual Babylonian custom, the angles indicated the cardinal points, and each side had an entrance. Inside the enclosure stood some kind of erection: 300 ft. square, connected with the zigurat, or tower, and having round its base the chapels or temples of the various gods, on all four sides. It was connected to the cardinal points.

The principal buildings, with the couch of the god and the throne, were to the W. (p. 691). Sippappa and Larsa, cities where the sun-god was worshiped, have not been thoroughly investigated. Persepolis was dedicated to the cardinal points. The palace of Sargon in Mesopotamia has its diagonals pointing to them.

IV. GREECE.—1. Temples.—The normal position of a Greek temple is approximately E. and W., and it was an E. aspect that was aimed at. But an E. aspect meant the opposite of what we now mean. A religion like Christianity which has developed an indoor congregational worship considers the position of the altar within the temple, and the altitudes of the worshipper as the essential points; the position of the door is a corollary. But in a religion such as that of the ancient Greeks, where the temple is a mysterious home of the god entered by the few while the people remain outside to see the sacrifice, it is the entrance front and the altar before it that are the first considerations. Greek temples therefore generally have the entrance to the E.; the altar [see art. ALTAR (Greek), vol. i. p. 343] is, if possible, placed in front of it on the axis of E. and so that the person sacrificing faced E. with his back to the temple—e.g., temples of Aphaea at Ágina, of Apollo at Delphi. If this was difficult or impossible, the altar was elsewhere, as that of Zeus at Olympia and of Athené on the Acropolis at Athens.

By far the greater number of temples face towards the E. Nissen's useful list of 113 Greek temples (pt. ii. p. 294) shows that 75 per cent are within an arc of 50', or 25° on either side of true E., while more than half are within an arc of 28° or 10° on either side of E. Of the remainder there are four principal groups with the entrance facing approximately N.E., N., W., and S. There are several large gaps: no temples have the entrance to S.S.W. or N.S.W. Nor is it possible, with the exception of B., that there is a gap of less than 5° from about W.S.W. to nearly due S. containing only two temples. This distribution is partly geographical and partly according to cult, but never directly chronologically.

Geographically all temples on the mainland, with but few exceptions, face between N.E. and S.E., the bulk of them either just N. of E. or about E.S.E.; those in Sicily and Italy are for the most part just S. of E.; the islands and Asia Minor form three nearly equal groups facing E., and W., fairly accurately.

Grouped under cults, the temples of Zeus, Athené, Asklepios, and Hera face fairly uniformly E., except when in some Asia Minor examples the door is in W. or S. The temples of Artemis, Dionysos, and Demeter show rather greater variation. Temples to Apollo point in many directions. Among the temples of unknown dedication there is singular uniformity; they all face nearly due E., except one, which is nearly due S.

Although no general classification according to period can be combined with a classification according to direction, yet dates of buildings cannot be ignored, and these Minor temples of Zeus and Athené facing W. and S. are late, those of Artemis early; we shall have occasion to notice the Delos temples in this connexion. Still less can we neglect the period of the cult in examining the direction, as we shall see in considering the temples of Isis and Serapis. Most important of all will be the original seat of the cult, as in the cases of Apollo and the Ephesian Artemis.

The normal aspect of the entrance to a Greek temple is E., but the E. deviations from it are abnormal and are of varying degrees of importance. The reason of the E. aspect must be sought in sun-worship of some sort; the time and perhaps the place of its origin are obscured by distance. Statues of gods before images of 'deities facing the sun.' In Homer's poems, says L. R. Farnell (art. GREEK RELIGION, vol. vi. p. 401), the sun was anthropomorphized, but it is doubtful if it was so for the average Greek, who merely kissed his hand to it every morning or bowed to it on coming out of his house. The same author points out that the earliest temples—Homeric and pre-Homeric of the Minoan-Mycenaean culture—are, with one exception, domestic chapels in royal palaces and mark the sacred character of the king (p. 397). Of the palaces themselves those that are known to us do not face E.; Tityrus and Phylakopi face due S.; Mycena about W.N.W.; Troy S.E.; Knossos seems to have had several fronts, one about S. by W. and others to the corresponding points. Some of these sites are too cramped to have afforded a choice of aspect.

Some light is obtained from literature, but it is not conclusive.

In the Odyssey the great tent set up by Ion, the son of Apollo, is scrupulously oriented—for it is a leporis, a sacred or tabu place—so that it should not face the mid-shafts of the heavens. The hero's tent is 'the dwelling of the sun,' where embroidered pictures of the sun, moon, and certain stars. There is nothing to connect the tent with sun-worship and the orientation is not so much as facing N. and E. as at avoiding S. and W. Homer (c. 800 B.C.) has some passages in Works and Days referring to the movements of the stars and the time for reap-
POLETS OF THE COMPASS

...ing and other agricultural work, and other ancient authors refer to the means of measuring time by the heavenly bodies.

Deviations from true E., where these are slight, and in the case of one temple, may be explained in two ways: they may be due to indifference as to exactness, or we may, with Nissen and Penrose, see in them deliberate intention in conformity with an elaborate system.

These authors suggest that the axis is directed to the point of sunrise on the feast-day; that the variations among temples having the same dedication are due to the varying customs in different parts of Greece, and that the varying positions of the rising sun, caused by the movements of the earth's axis, that the latter cause incidentally gives us an indication of the date of the temple. Indeed we have the case of a temple being dedicated on the rising of sunrise so that he might prepare the sacrifice; and that this was given to him by the appearance of a star which was known to rise a little before the sun. Both Penrose and Nissen, by calculating from the known motion of the earth's axis (the precession of the equinoxes), have arrived at dates at which the axes of most of the extant temples would point to a heliacal star. They have thus fixed the dates of the foundations of the temples. Penrose points out that the dates thus deduced are in most cases clearly earlier than the existing records to one another, E.E. and S.E.W., and on an old site, and the direction of the old axis has been followed. Lockyer agrees in the general theory, and it is based on many directions that the old axis was directed to the rising "east," which rises a little before the sun; it is the north of the equinoctial March, April, and early May (from the opening of navigation to the beginning of harvest [May]), and August, September, and the beginning of October, interrupted by vintage and ended by the closing of navigation.

Certainly the importance of accurate observation of the movements of the stars for the regulation of the calendar and for timing agricultural operations was fully realized. The terms 'heliacal,' 'acronychal,' and 'cosmical' rising and setting were used for these periods.

After this general indication we may take a closer view. The temples of Zeus and Athene show, as stated above, a general agreement, but there is considerable difference between the two limits—some 30° in the case of Zeus and 21° in the case of Athene, not including the early temple at Miletus, Asia Minor. In Asia Minor Zeus has a temple at Magnesia with the door due W., [220 B.C. (Nissen)]; Athene has two at Miletus at right angles to one another, E.E. and S.W., and at Pergamon due S. With these exceptions, there is no connexion between direction of axis and geographical position. There is a difference of nearly 6° between the early temple of Athene on the Acropolis, Athens, and Poseidon, Delphi, and respectively 260° 55' and 257° 7', given S. 0° and going sunrise (Nissen, Penrose).

Athene, Asklepios, and Demeter keep their E. door at Priene, Asia Minor. The two temples of Apollo have the door approximately to W., and one at Pergamon due S. With these exceptions, there is no connexion between direction of axis and geographical position. There is a difference of nearly 4° between the early temple of Athene on the Acropolis, Athens, and Poseidon, Delphi, and respectively 260° 55' and 257° 7', given S. 0° and going sunrise (Nissen, Penrose).

The temples of Zeus and Athene present a parallel with the Parthenon. The Theosophy is 13° S. of E.; Nissen holds with the view that it has nothing to do with Thesen, but connects it with Iacchus, son of Demeter, and the Eleusinian mysteries (p. 177).

This custom is extended to Demeter. Her temples are mostly not far from parallel with one another and with one of the two Persephone temples, which are only 12° removed from the Theisoun on one side, and 13° from the second Persephone temple on the other side, which was the fire temple; or about E.E. These Demeter temples are widely scattered—Elesius and Sicily. But in Asia Minor there is one temple of Demeter at Priene, and in Arcadia a temple of Despeona, the Arcadian name of Persephone, both facing due E. In Sicily at Selinus there is a temple said to be of Demeter facing almost N.E.; this is remarkable because all the eight other temples at Selinus are exactly parallel with one another and face somewhat S. of E., or not far from the direction of the other Demeter temples.

The temples of Apollo present perhaps the greatest problem in Greek orientation. Even Nissen, who has an explanation for most things, admits that they are difficult. They point in different directions: in Asia Minor is a temple facing due E., which admits of foreign extraction of the god: he has been thought to have come from Asia, from Egypt, from the north. Farnell says (art. GREEK RELIGION, vol. vi, p. 395*) that he was no doubt a cult figure of tribes other than Dorians, and Thessalians, and possibly a borean ritual, which reflects at points the earliest days of Hellenism, we can follow the track of Apollo's invasion from the north. Nissen ingeniously suggests that the simple mountain shepherds of Arcadia and Aetolia accepted with the foreign god his foreign ritual and gave to his temples at Basse, near Phigaleia, and at Thernmone the N.S. axis with the door at the N. end (that at Basse has also a door in the E. side); but advanced city communities, with a popular theology and trusted the axis to suit their own views; thus the temples at Selinus and Syracuse face due E., and that at Corinth nearly so. But on this hypothesis the temple at Delphi facing N.E. and that at Didyma in Argolis & a little S. of N.E. are difficult to place. The temple at Metapontum at the mouth of Italy, with the entrance to the S.E., may be said to conform with the custom of the country; that in the Aegean island of Thera is parallel with it; that at Letoon has its door to the S.S.W. There remain two temples facing due E. and the other due W.; these must be purely political, faced according to the dictates of the times to which they belong, as Athens or Asia Minor was in the ascendent. Besides these there are in Delos two old temples facing W., which, Nissen says, Wilhelm Dörpfeld is inclined to dedicate to Apollo; finally there is the nameless temple at Mycenae with the doorway to the S., which is perhaps more likely to have been dedicated to Apollo than to any other god.

The Delos temples were first built facing W.—the rock-cut, the Leto, which are nameless, and one dedicated to Apollo. The aspect is perhaps due to the influence of Asia Minor—except of course the rock-cut. Then, under the influence of Athens in the 4th cent., the temples of Zeus and Apollo were built with the door to the E., and finally, according to Nissen, when the island passed away from Athens, the temple of the E. was built at Paphos.

A foreign god, as Nissen points out, may retain or may yield his native ritual. We have seen that Apollo illustrates both processes. At Alexandria the parent temple of Serapis faces S.; the daughter at Taormina is turned E., while in Delos she keeps the door to the S. In Greece, Apollo is turned W., at Delos, but keeps its S. door at Priene.
It is probably a mistake to suppose that the aspect of temples was much more than fashion, that it expresses any definite idea in theology. We have an exactly parallel case in the Christian Church; most of our buildings have the door to the W., but in some of the most famous it is to the E. The Etruscans are altogether the latter fact, even when they are attending service, although it sometimes requires a slightly different ritual. Perhaps to the Greek the matter was a little more important, but not much.

The temple with the door to the W. did not face W. to the east. Peter's in Rome faces W.; it only faced E. in a different manner. Nissen thinks that it did face W., and that this aspect symbolizes 'world empire.' So it does, but the symbolism is of the 29th cent. and Teutonic. It is generally thought that on the feast-day the rays of the rising sun were to fall through the open door and light up the statue of the god, and the northward-facing temple at Bassae has indeed the famous side door to the E., opposite the spot where the sun stood. But how could this have been arranged in a westward-facing temple? A hypothetical opening would throw only a reflected light on the figure. Vitruvius has some remarks on the subject which we shall presently notice.

Burials. — The Greek idea of death is complicated by many cross-currents, but the notion of a voyage or a journey of some sort enters largely into it. S. Baring-Gould says (A Book of Folklore, London, n.d., p. 160) that the ancient Greek inscriptions use the word σκέπασμα, 'favourable voyage,' on a gravestone and that his descendant carves a pair of oats.

In five shaft graves on the Acropolis at Mycenae two bodies lie N. and S., with feet to S., and all the others, eleven or more, lie E. and W. with feet to W. At Mycenae the chief is laid E. and W. with feet to E.; possibly this is only in order that he should face the door of the tomb, which is to E.

Ridgeway (i. 490) thinks that we may infer that burial with feet to W. was the characteristic orientation of the autochthonous race. He points out (i. 516) that Odysses did not descend into Hades as did Æneas and Dante; he sailed west; and in post-Homeric belief there was no under world for Greeks at all. The best of the west, which is the best, was the west of Asia. At Phylakopi in Melos the orientation of the tombs depended wholly on the conformation of the ground (Hellenic Society, suppl. paper no. 4 [1904], p. 234).

In later times the position of the body varied. Thus Solon proved the justice of the claim of Athens to Salamis as against the Megarians by pointing out that the tombs which he opened faced E., and that the corpses in them were turned to the E. in the Athenian fashion. We have therefore the tradition at least that in the days of Solon (c. 600 B.C.) there were in different parts of Greece two well recognized positions for the body. Such customs 'probably . . . depend on the ideas which each people has formed of the direction in which lies the land of the dead' (Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, iv. 214).

V. ROME.—I. Temples. — It is generally agreed among modern writers that the Romans, whatever their theories, did not orientate their buildings (W. A. Simpson, in W. A. Gardner, art. ALTAR [Johannine], vol. i. p. 349) says that, the orientation of the temples being the same,

have stood with his side to the temple, and in some cases even to the N. J. Dürck lays it down that the Etruscan rule required that the temple axis should be N. and S.; that the Roman turned to the E. during prayer; therefore either the temple statue had to face W. or the axis of the temple had to lie E. and W. (Handbuch der Architektur, III. II. 1905.)

Of the Etruscan practice we know almost nothing. The Roman augurs inherited as the basis of their ritual the Etruscan idea of the natural or normal attitude; i.e., they imagined themselves facing E. and W., so that they could face that towards the E.—was the left, and the unlucky side the right. But with the Roman populace the opposite was the rule; they faced N., and the right was the lucky side. Both these notions show that, whatever was the practice with regard to buildings, there was in early times a special veneration for the east.

Vitruvius, who lived and wrote in the 1st cent. B.C., is a useful link between Greece and Rome. He was an architect with a practical knowledge of work in Rome in his own day and with some outside book-knowledge of Greek lands. He has a chapter on 'The Position of Temples according to the Regions':

The temples of the immortal gods should be so disposed, that, if there is no impediment and the use of the temple permits, the statue which is placed in the cell may seem to look over the region of the building. If this cannot be done, those who approach the altar, to make their offerings, or perform sacrifices, may look towards the eastern sky and to the image which is in the temple. By this means the temple, the eastern sky, the supplicants and sacrificers making their vows, and the image seeming to rise to behold them will all be seen in one view, for it is proper that the altars of the god should be disposed to the east.

But, if the position of the place prevents that position, then the temple is to be turned to the view of the greater part of the city walls and temples of the gods; or should sacred places be built towards the river, as those near the Nile in Egypt, they should look towards the banks of the river; so likewise, if near a public way they should be so situated that the passengers may behold it, and pay their salutations (de Architectura, tr. W. Newton, London, 1794, bk. iv. ch. v.). Such temples are appropriated to the use of sacrifices, for the same kinds of temples are not erected indiscriminately to all gods, because the sacred rites performed to each are different (bk. iv. ch. vii.). "Altars should regard the east" (bk. iv. ch. viii.).

In these passages, it appears, Vitruvius combines unconsciously what he had learned from books with the theory of the position of buildings, which is a Roman custom in his own day. He had not travelled, and clearly the Greek architecture about which he had read was, as we might perhaps expect, chiefly that of Asia Minor. As to Roman work, he seems to consider the W. orientation to be a counsel of perfection, which was to give way before considerations of architecture and convenience.

In practice temples face in every direction; a glance at a plan of Rome or at a table of orientations will make this clear, and an attempt to work the data into a system would indeed be bold. But it has been made by Nissen; his lists contain 33 Roman temples and 34 temples in Italy outside Rome.

That the Romans and the Etruscans before them were very susceptible to outside influences—Greece, Egypt, and Asia—is a commonplace of history. It would be remarkable, then, if in the placing of their buildings even in Rome itself they had ever been subject to a narrow and artificial orientation; general—countries within whose borders they themselves were building temples carefully orientated in accordance with native custom.

But if we would look for truly orientated buildings, it must be on open sites or among the early buildings of a town before the place had become congested, or at least among those which, if not
early, might be expected to preserve early traditions. In Rome the circular temple of Vesta in the Palatine district has its plan close to the Urbs Roma (Milan, 1893-1901, pt. iv, pl. xxix.) or due E. (O. Richter, Topographie der Stadt Rom, Munich, 1901, pt. x.). The old Domus Publica (Middleton) and the Regia, neighbouring buildings associated with the Regia, have their plan as a trapezoidal—direction contrasting strongly with all the buildings round them. The temple of Vesta was one of the most sacred of buildings, and it owed both its form and its sanctity to its extreme anti-quity. But the use of the trapezoid on the site of the temple, which had been occupied as a sacred spot of the community was probably the earliest building which primitive man attempted, earlier even than the shelter for his own head. The actual building in the Forum was destroyed and rebuilt more than once, and even its position had been slightly moved, but the old round form was preserved. The plan came to receive a symbolic meaning, but there can be no doubt that it was simply the natural form in which primitive man built, and that it was perpetuated in a specially sacred building by a well-known tendency just because it was primitive. It is suggested that the E. direction also is that of the primitive building, and that it points to a true orientation having been observed in early times. The well-known round temple of the Ptolemies in Egypt, for instance, and the opposite S. Maria in Cosmedin has its door almost due E. (Lanciani, pt. vii. pl. xxviii.). The door of the Tullianum also looks due E. This building has, like the Regia, the trapezoidal plan which is believed to be the mark of a very primitive tradition. The Lapis Niger across the grave of Romulus is trapezoidal, but its axes run N.W. to S.E. and N.E. to S.W. The early quadruple temple on the Capitol faced about S.S.E. (ib.), and the early temple of Jupiter Capitolinum also ran this way, but the old temple of S.W. outside Rome: the temple of Vesta at Tivoli has the door facing S.W. by S. (G. L. Taylor and E. Cresy, Architectural Antiquities of Rome, London, 1821-22, pl. lvxi. [vol. ii.] probably) for local reasons. The Artemisium at Nemi runs N. and S. with the door to the S. Thus it is difficult to detect a system even among the early buildings, unless it is perhaps a tendency to make buildings face approximately either E. or S. But much could not be expected from so few remains.

In the earliest town the Forum Boarium may have been truly orientated, either from ritual tradition or because of its position at the cross-roads and opposite the river and the river. The Palatine, on the other hand, is laid out on a line running N.E. and S.W.; this was probably determined by the limits of the hill and by the valley which formerly crossed it. To one side of the Forum was the Via Sacra running from N.W. to S.E. Some early buildings in these parts and on the Capitol have been referred to above. The buildings of later times, such as the temples of the Forum Magnum, face in all directions, seemingly without system. Outside Rome, the temples within the wall of Servius Tullius, the planning generally is determined by the run of the hills and valleys. But the greater part of the flat Campus Martius between the wall and the river, as well as the Vatican district beyond the river, is methodically laid out on lines due N.S. and E.W. The Mausoleum of Hadrian facing S., four circuses, and most of the other important buildings have this orientation. Included among these are the Pantheon, which opposite N. and S.E., and the Basilica of Agrippa, and the Porticus Argonautum, containing the Neptunum with door to E., and the Basilica Matildis with door to E. But the buildings in the north part of the Campus Martius, north of the Via Flaminia, are orientated to the N.W. (locally the Corso). The important group of buildings forming the imperial Fora (of Trajan, etc.), with their temples, are symmetrically arranged on an axis running N.W. and S.E. Three of the four remaining great baths—those of Diocletian, Titus and Caracalla—are on an axis running N.E. and S.W., perhaps partly to fit the hill-tops and to suit the principal streets, and partly from considerations of sun and weather. The baths of Constantine face N.S. and E.W., and appear to conform intentionally with the Campus Martius scheme. Although this planning is chiefly secular, it is in different quarters so distinctly orientated that it can scarcely be neglected. Temples seem to be invariably built to suit the road, as, for instance, the temple of Apollo S.W., another career of N., a group of three just south of the theatre of Marcellus facing E., and those west of the Capitol which face S.W.

Outside Rome the same probably holds good: that orientation was observed to some extent, and often gave way to practical considerations. Nissen finds a system at Naples and Pompeii. The Forum at Pompeii runs N. and S., and its two temples of Jupiter and of Apollo face S. The temple of the Esquiline and the sanctuary of the city Lares face W.

But, if Rome herself was influenced more by architectural effect and considerations of convenience than by religious or ritual motive, we find in the countries which she conquered a very different result, produced perhaps by the same causes. The Roman buildings in other lands are definitely orientated, though not always to the E. The determining influence may have been a desire to conform to the custom of the country or to the surround of the site, though in some cases the axis seems to have been fixed by religious influences, for the temple is at an angle with the street. The temple of Zeus Olympia in Athens is fairly true E. and W., with the door to E. The temples of the sun and of Zeus at Baalbek have the door to E., while that of Venus faces N.; the temple of the sun at Palmyra has a N. and S. axis, with the door in the long W. side.

At Silchester there are two square buildings near the present church which are believed by the discoverers to be temples, and are compared by them with similar buildings in Gaul. These temples do not conform with the general lines of the Roman city, but they are nearly parallel with one another and with the river by which some case, the axis, is suggested, may itself stand on the site of another pagan temple. The axes of the church and temples seem to be a little S. of E., but the point is somewhat obscure because the magnetic variation in this latitude is great. If this plan were true, and if it is given at all as E. instead of W., which has not been the case since the year 1656 (Archeologia, lii. [1890] pl. xxi.).

2. Buriails.—The Romans for the greater part of their history cremated their dead, so that the orientation of their monuments had not to be considered.

VI. CHRISTENDOM.—1. Early ritual. —Orienta-
tion in some form was probably practised, if not in the earliest centuries, at least in the 3rd. In the following, for we learn from Tertullian that it was observed at prayer in his days (A.D. c. 160-234).

He says that the Christians were thought to be sun-worshippers because they prayed towards the E. (Apol. 16). If this attitude was general and its objections real and its abandonment considered possible at such an early time, and if, as was the case, the temples of both Jew and Gentile had from time immemorial faced E., the inference is that the practice was continuous. But Tylor says that the custom was unknown in primitive Christianity and was developed in the first four centuries (PG ii. 427).

The Apostolical Constitutions are very clear both as to ritual and as to buildings:

"After this, let all rise up with one consent, and looking towards the east, after the catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastward, who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east; remember also the present situation of paradise in the east; and, as to the church, 'let the building be long, with its head to the east' (Apost. Const., ed. J. Donaldson, Edinburgh, n.d., ii. 67)."

Cyril of Jerusalem in the 4th cent. not only explains that turning to the E. in prayer was symbolical of the situation of paradise (Cath. Lect. xix. 24), but that the churches then were built with the doors towards E.

We are to remember that at baptism we entered the outer hall [porch] of the baptistery and there, facing W., heard the conversation that took place before the hand and, as in the presence of Satan, renounced [th. xiv. 3].

The rite is said to be still retained in the Greek Church.

Peter and Leo in the 5th cent. complains that people turned to salute the rising sun as it shone through the E. door of St. Peter's, and it has been suggested that this was one of the causes of the reversal of churches to their present aspect with the door to the W., though at St. Peter's itself no alteration was made.

It appears, then, from the evidence of the earliest writers and of the earliest buildings (1) that orientation was strictly followed—i.e., a symbolical meaning was attached to the attitude of the individual, and the E.W. direction of the main axis of churches was preserved; (2) that the ritual was not without its inconvenience (as Leo complained); and (3) that the E.W. axis sometimes means that the door faced E. and sometimes that it faced W.

This result is scarcely surprising when we consider the various facets from which the light of the gospel was reflected. There were customs both Hebrew and pagan to be utterly reversed, on the one hand, or, on the other, to be retained and infused with new meaning. Of buildings there were the Temple at Jerusalem and most of the Greek and Asiatic-Roman temples with the door to the E., while there were notable exceptions at Magnesia, Ephesus, and Delos.

2. Early buildings.—It may be that there was always variety in the buildings owing to the various influences at work: Greek proper, Greek work in Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Rome. On the one hand, there is (1) the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, of which the earliest work begins in A.D. 336 (though here the site hardly left a free choice); (2) a statement by Paulinus of Nola († 432) that the façade to the E. was more usual (though this is ambiguous); (3) the tradition of early basilicas, at least in the E. door at Antioch, not later than the first half of the 5th cent.; (4) important churches in Rome, many of which still exist, while records remain of others, including the old basilicas of St. Peter, first built early in the 4th cent.; and (5) a considerable number of early churches in Northern, Central, and Western Europe.

On the other hand, there is (1) the undoubted fact that, if churches were originally built with the E. altar facing the door, they were reversed in the Eastern Church at least at a very early date (4th cent., at Rome). Socrates the historian, writing in the first half of the 5th cent., says that the door was generally to the W.; (3) the church at Antioch is described as being exceptional; (4) the churches of Constantine at Byzantium either were all built with the E. altar or were all reversed by about the time of Justinian; (5) moreover, there is the obvious inconvenience of prayers towards the E. and the altar to the W.

The churches of Southern, Northern, and Western Europe retained the W. altar long after the E., while some still retain it. That the conservative East should have changed—as it probably did—while the progressive West kept to the old plan is perhaps an index of the theological activity of the Eastern Church in early times. It may have been due, to some extent, to a dread of the influence of Asiatic sun-worship.

The turning round of churches from what seems to have been the normal aspect with the W. altar to the present direction of altar to the E. is somewhat obscure. It seems that all the churches built by Constantine (272?-337) himself had the W. altar and E. door. Besides the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Fig. 100), the church at Antioch [Tyre 'restored' by him and several churches in Rome: St. Peter's (Vatican), W. altar; St. Peter in Montorrio, N.N.W. (since rebuilt); St. Chrysogonus in Trastevere, W.N.W.; St. Sebastian on the Appian Way (Scott, The Story of English Church Architecture, p. 18). It must be remembered that in addition to these other churches in Rome built under the direct influence of Constantine, though not nominally founded by him, such as St. John Lateran, also have the E. door.

3. Eastern Church.—No work of Constantine remains above ground in Constantinople, and the orientation which he there adopted must remain a secret until some foundations of his churches are exposed. All the present buildings have the door to the W. A. van Millingen (Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, London, 1912) gives the plans of 22 churches; two of these have the door to N.N.W.; all the rest lie between W.N.W. and W.S.W., and about six of them are practically due W. Some of the observations are probably of a magnetic, though they are not always stated to be so.

The churches of Syria, Armenia, and Cyprus, with scarcely an exception, have the door to the W. Many of these are very early. All the Jerusalem churches, with the exception of the church with a S. door, have the door to the W. The churches of Salonica, some of them of the 5th and 6th centuries, and of Mount Athos have the W. door, except the early church at Salonica, probably late 4th cent., now the mosque Eski Juma, which had the altar at the W. end. The church of St. Felix at Nola and a church at Trieste have the W. altar.

Probably many Greek temples became Christian churches. The Parthenon was converted into a church and an apse was built at the E. end.

In like manner the churches of Greece which were built for Christian worship all have an E. altar and a W. door, thus a reversal of what is found in Athens (8th or 9th cent.), the Kapnikarea (9th cent.) in the middle of Rue d'Hermès, the church at Daphne (12th or 13th cent.), and the coupled 10th cent. churches of the monastery of St. Luke in the district of Stiris near Trikala, and the church of St. Nicholas near Skripou in Boiotia (N.W.).

The Coptic churches in Egypt, whatever their age, may be taken to represent very ancient practice. They all have the altar to the E., and the door to the W., and the church is opened directly into the main body of the church. The priests sit in a semi-circular apse behind the altar, thus facing W.
4. Western Church.—The orientation of the churches of Rome forms a strong contrast with the rectangular layout of S. Paul outside the Walls. The old buildings have the altar to the W., and the door to the E. In this connexion we must remember that, from the circumstances of early Christianity, the church plan of every type must have been developed originally in the E. of the city.

In early times, when Christians worshipped where they would attract least attention, the orientation of buildings cannot have been observed, though it would often be possible to preserve it in sacred places. Important howdies, which were indeed built before the time of Constantine, but thenceforth were held in all sorts of buildings, and, large as was the increase in the number of Christians, the buildings available for worship would be adequate from the time when the removal of the government to Byzantium left, as it must have done, many buildings deserted. The early Christians did not object to making use of any sort of building. The smaller buildings, such as temples, were converted boldly into churches; of the larger buildings, such as thermae, theatres, and the like, a part only was used. Lanciani (Pagan and Christian Rome, London, 1899, p. 160) states that he has hardly found an ancient pagan building in Rome that has not evidence of having been used as a priest-house in some part.

The Christian adapters of most of these buildings must have ignored orientation. But they probably regarded most of them as temporary, and few pagan buildings are still used as churches; the best known are the round temple of Romulus with the adjoining templum sacre urbis, since the 6th cent., the church of SS. Cosmo and Damian, in which the altar is to the E.N.E., and the Pantheon, the door of which is to the N.

The churches actually built by Constantine or under his auspices almost all have the W. altar and the E. narthex. When this is not the case, there is generally some obvious explanation. Scott (Essay on Eng. Ch. Arch., p. 18) gives very useful lists of the old churches of Rome showing approximately their direction. Of the 53 churches recorded only 11 have the E. altar, the aspects lying for the most part between E.N.E. and E.S.E. Of these three may have been reversed and two, the important churches of S. Lorenzo without the walls and S. Petro in Vincolo without the walls, have a door on the W. Some of these owe their foundation to Constantine. But the churches which (in Scott's list) have the W. altar number 42. These include St. Peter's and the small church of St. Stephen near the apsidal end, now removed, each with its altar to the W.; the great basilicas of St. John Lateran with altar to the W.; Sta. Maria Maggiore, N.W.; S. Lorenzo without the walls, in its original state, W.; and to them must be added S. Paolo without the walls, before it was rebuilt by Valentinian II., W.; all these except Sta. Maria Maggiore are attributed to Constantine. Three other Constantinian buildings are included in the list as well as the important churches of S. Clemente (the lower basilica, see a note on the S.) and Sta. Maria in Trastevere, W. Many of these, like the first and last, have been rebuilt or remodelled in late times, but preserve the old orientation. Half of them point approximately due E. and W.; amongst those with altar to the W. lead the door to the S.E.; one has the altar facing S. W.

The turning round of the two great churches outside the walls happened in different ways. The W. are of S. Lorenzo, as built by Constantine and partly rebuilt by Pope Pelagius II., was faced to the N. The nave was intended to be a large nave to the west of it. Honorius then made a raised floor, in what had been the nave, to form an elevated presbytery; this account of the nave which was not the case above is a little inartistic. The nave was divided into three parts, and its entrance was approached by two pilasters.
6. Double-apse churches. — There is a remarkable type of early church which it remains to notice. It has an apse and an altar at either end. It is found over a very wide area, and the place and manner of its invention have not been conclusively explained. W. R. Lethaby (Medieval Art, London, 1904, p. 29), quoting Strzygowski, derives it from Egypt and Syria. The importance of the N. African churches lies in the fact that they were planned from the first. Another well-known example is the collegiate church of St. Gall in Switzerland, near Lake Constance.

A 9th cent. plan of the whole monastery of St. Gall has been published. It is seen that what was already in existence is a scheme in contemplation, and it was not exactly adhered to in execution. It is therefore valueless as a guide to the origin of the form. (Archaeological Journal, v. (1845) 85.) There is an apse at either end, and a central corridor, and a chancel, and an altar of St. Peter. In front of it is the monks’ choir. The W. apse contains another altar of St. Peter, and before it is another choir for novices, two of which are shown.

There is no bishop’s throne. The side altars are so placed that the officiating priest faces E. The chapels of the infirm and of the dead are placed back of the nave, not on either side at the E. end and that of the other at the W. end.

There are not a few double-apsed churches on the Continent, and they are known to have been used in England. But a general rule of the greatest of these reached their ultimate double form by receiving additions to the original plan. They therefore come under a different category from those which were so planned from the first, and they may perhaps be taken to show only phase in a transition—an abandonment of the W. altar for the E.

Double-apse churches are found at the following places among others: Germersheim, in the Haiti; St. Cyril’s (collegiate); Hildesheim; St. Michael’s; Laach, St. Mary (Benedictine); Worms Cathedral; Trèves Cathedral (the W. apse is said to be the latest); Mayence Cathedral (probably both choirs entered into the original scheme; the W. choir is called the parish choir); Naumburg Cathedral (the W. apse appears to be a creation of the 13th cent. and not to continue an early tradition); Bamberg Cathedral (the E. apse is rather the earlier and has a crypt, but the church is thought to be an earlier plan); and elsewhere in Germany. St. Catherine’s (the present W. choir is later, but probably occupies the site of an early church); Reichenau on the Lake of Constance.

Outside Germany double-apse churches are rarely met with on the Continent. J. T. Micklethwaite (‘Something about Saxon Church Buildings,’ Archaeological Journal, lii. (1896) 293) suggests that in Germany they may possibly be due to the English tradition taken thither by St. Boniface. In England we know of three: Abingdon (7th cent.), Lyminge, and Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury. Of the last named we have a description of the building that was burnt in 1067. Below the E. apse, which contained the high altar (of Christ), there was a crypt, but the W. apse contained the bishop’s throne behind the altar of the Virgin. Between the middle of its length the church was flanked by a tower on either side. It is thought that St. Augustine found an old building (Bede [HE i. 33] says Roman) with a W. apse, and with a narthex and towers at the E. end, that he rebuilt this, and that after time the nave was lengthened eastwards at the E. end and that the W. was closed off.

At Lyminge the foundations of a W. apse have been found; the work is said by Scott (Essay on Engl. Ch. Arch., p. 20) to be Roman.

7. Position of altar in later Middle Ages. — The turn of the 10th cent. saw a change in Western Europe so that the altar should be at the E. end instead of at the W. probably happened in different places at different times. Micklethwaite thinks that in double-apse churches a monks’ choir at the E. end gradually overshadowed the people’s choir at the W. end, till in the 11th and 12th centuries the W. altar came to be looked upon as abnormal, and at the general rebuilding of churches in that age the W. altar was put away to the rood screen. A simpler explanation is that the W. apse was gradually confining tendency to what had become the orthodox practice at a much earlier period.

Probably the direction of the altar was at no period held to be of very great importance. We have noted that during the Early Christian period minor altars seem to have been often placed against side walls so that they faced N. or S. There are several in the plan of St. Gall which apparently have been placed with as great convenience against the E. walls of their respective chapels. There are a few striking instances of churches with a N.S. direction. At Siena Cathedral the altar is at the E. end, but we may see the beginnings of a great 14th cent. scheme for a new cathedral which was to run N. and S., and was to absorb the old building (the present church) and convert it into a transept. Naples Cathedral is another instance; the old and new buildings are at right angles to each other.

In England it was natural that Augustine († 604), Æthelred († 610), and Wilfrid (634–709), under Roman influence, should place their altar to the W. It might also be expected that the Scottish mission of Aidan († 631) should use the E. position. This we find to be the case. But at an early date the E. altar was adopted and spread universal.

8. Deviation from due E. — English churches generally have their axes near enough to true E. for deviation to be unnoticeable to most people. But the orientation is by no means accurate, and occasionally the deviation is very considerable. The deviation has been explained by the pretty theory that the axis is in the direction of sunrise on the day of the particular saint in honour of whom the church is dedicated. But this theory has not found favour with serious ecclesiologists in England. It is just possible that this direction was adopted occasionally, and in the aggregate such instances might be numerous, though those who hold the theory have never been at the pains to compile a list. But it is open to serious objections. There are in England so few churches of this type that placing churches and no hint that they ever were so placed, while Durandus distinctly says that churches are to point to sunrise at the equinoxes and not at the solstices (i. 8). And the exceptions are so numerous as to be in the majority. We may notice a few well-known buildings (see table at end of article). These and all observations must be corrected to suit the unformed calendar. The calendar was reformed in England in 1751, when we had to omit eleven days. If we take the year 1100 as an average date for the foundation of our churches, the calendar would then be seven days wrong. This would not make a difference of 2°. It will be seen that most buildings favour E., regardless of their dedication. Winchester Cathedral is fairly correct for its feast-day, but there can hardly be a doubt that it is turned so far to the S. to accommodate it to a cramped site. At Westminster there are three notable buildings, the Abbey, St. Margaret’s, and St. Stephen’s Chapel. The old royal palace, now absorbed in the Houses of Parliament. The easts are 29th June, 20th July, and 26th December. But the axes of the three are nearly parallel and point E. or slightly S. of E., instead of almost opposite the meridian of E.

Ely Cathedral, an instance favouring the theory, may be quoted to show the rashness of holding it
without very careful inquiry. The dedication is to the Holy and Untvlied Trinity. As it is a cathedral church, the artisans who hatched it were probably trained. It is known that before the Reformation the dedication was in honour of the Blessed Virgin or of St. Peter or of both. The feast of the translation of a saint's relics was no doubt a felicitous occasion, but it is difficult to en-
ceive of its giving the orientation of the building, because it would be hardly possible to foresee, on the fix ing of the axis, when the new building would be ready for the translation. Thus the building probably does not derive its direction from the first translation of 17th Oct., but it is to
sunrise on about 17th Oct. that the axis points, and it may be argued that the present building was made to suit sunrise on the anniversary of the first translation. But it is more probable that, if any axis, it would be either St. Peter's Day (29th June) or Lady Day (23rd March).

We have seen that the direction does not suit 29th June. It would indeed suit Lady Day fairly well, though not exactly.

With this result another by applying it to a group of small churches taken at random in one district. None of the following deviations are more than 5° E. or 5° W., which is as true as it can be (it will be seen that the dates of the raids vary from mid-
summer to nearly midwinter, at which seasons the points of sunrise and sunset are almost at right angles). Our selection: St. John (29th July); St. John Baptist, Alderford (24th June); St. Andrew, Attlebridge (29th Nov.); St. Agnes, Cramton (26th Jan.); St. Nicholas, Brandiston (6th Dec.); All Saints, Weston (1st Nov.).

A point to be borne in mind in this connexion is that the dedications of churches have not infre-
quently been altered; some earlier dedications have been changed to that of the Blessed Virgin Mary; this was common in the 14th cent.; others were changed to that of the Holy Trinity at the
Reformation. Some places still preserve, it is said, a primordial solar feast.

In Rome, out of 45 churches (nearly the whole number in Scott's lists) 15 point reasonably near to the sunrise on the feast-day, and 30 are quite wide of it.

The Bend in axis of churches.—Another popular theory is this: when the axis of a chancel is found not to be in a straight line with that of the nave, the deflexion was intentional and was meant to
symbolize the drooping of the head of our Lord upon the Cross. Here again we have no authority from the ancient writers, and we have no right to attribute to them a meaning which they do not acknowledge. F. Bond (Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches, London, 1914, p. 249) indeed quotes the case of a 17th cent. architect who died of grief on finding that a church that he had built at Metz had a bent axis.

Bond says that the theory has been supported recently by Emile Male, Victor Mortet, J. A. Britnell, Archdeacon Saint-
Paul, and to some extent by de Guennoc and Lenoir. Camille Enlart, but rejected by Auguste Choisy and Robert de Lestevie. Johnson (p. 258) suggests that the bend was intended to produce an agreeable optical illusion. He states that deviation is generally to the S.; Bond says that it is to the N.

A little consideration will show that the def-
lexion must always be accidental. When a chancel is to be rebuilt, the chancel arch is blocked by a temporary wall so that the nave can continue in use. Unless the axis of the nave is carefully preserved, it is customary to continue this wall is built, and unless the stakes in the ground are care-
fully preserved, the chances are that the axis of the new chancel will not be in the same straight
line, because it is difficult to make it exactly per-
pendicular to the short base afforded by the piers of the old arch. (Compare the cases of Lewes.)

And it is not going too far to say that the deflexion is never found except where one part of the church has been rebuilt. It is, moreover, seldom found in the best buildings—more often in the churches of frontier and wild villages than in cathedrals and
great churches, and more often in new churches which are in other respects irregular and of various periods than in those which are of fairly uniform style and are acknowledged master-
pieces.

No bend is found in Winchester, Durham, Salisbury, Wells, Norwich, Lincoln, Peterborough, Exeter, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, Llandaff, Oxford, Southwell. This list
The force of even these few instances is lessened still more by the fact that we can see that the particular axis is only one irregularity among the many found in old buildings; e.g., in six cathedral churches the W. door is not in the centre, and in one, Manchester, the axes of nave and choir are parallel but not in the same straight line. So also the irregular Lady chapel at the E. end deviates.

It may be that the above analysis is subject to correction, because plans, however carefully measured (like the Builder series here used), may occasionally omit a slight deviation. But, if the deviation is so slight as not to escape the notice of a good surveyor, it can have but little value as a symbol.

It is true that the cruciform plan of our great churches symbolizes the Cross. But it was a symbolism read into the cross-form after it had been evolved on other grounds. Exactly the same process is happening now in regard to the inclination of the head of the Cross.

10. Details of orientation in buildings and furniture and in ritual.—The site chosen for the English church is usually on the N. side of the village; perhaps it would be more correct to say that a site was chosen such that the village should be S. of it. There may have been some unknown motive in this, or it may be simply that it was preferred to approach the church through the
burial-ground, which was usually to the S. Similarly, there are two possible explanations of the burial-ground being to the S. There is a pre-
judice against burial on the N. side, J. Brand (Popular Antiquities, new ed., London, 1900, p. 475) has said it was formerly the custom to un baptism infants, the excommunicated, the executed, and suicides. This prejudice may be due to an old belief or simply to a natural dislike of a cold, damp place with rauk herbage. Thus the principal door on the side of the chancel arch is in the S. Nevertheless, there is almost invariably a N. door opposite to it, which is often nearly or quite disused.

Tombs in the aisles are on either N. or S. side indifferently. But in the chancel the place of honour was on the N. side; this may have been in order that the tomb might be used as the Easter Sepulchre, which was on the N. side, presumably because our Lord was pierced on the right side.

In early churches the Gospel ambo was on the N. side; from it sermons were preached and decrees and excommunications read; hence there is still a
sight tendency in Anglican churches to place the pulpit on the N. side. The Pascual candlestick also was on the N. side. The Epistle ambo was on the S. side. The sedilia of medieval type are believed to be a relic of the presbyters' seats round the apse of the early churches. They have been kept on the N. and not on the N., doubtless because it is more convenient for the assistant to approach the celebrant, who is facing E., on his right hand. Close to the sedilia was placed the piscina. The bishop's throne is also on the S. side. There was a custom, very commonly if not generally kept up in the later places, of the bishop sitting in the left cent., of separating the men and women, the men sitting on the S. side of the church and the women on the N. This custom had doubtless continued without a break from the earliest days of Christianity, and it is perhaps of pre-Christian foundation. It is noted by Durandus (i. 46).

The dissenting bodies from the Anglican Church do not observe orientation.

11. Burial.—Christianity no doubt inherits the custom of burial with the feet to the west, from paganism. The reason for it given by the early Christians was that Christ at His second coming will appear in the E. and the dead will rise to move towards Him. In practice graves are made parallel with the chief temple or grand street.

12. Superstition.—Few definite beliefs in this country about the points of the compass are recorded. The following has not previously been published: An old gentleman who had to undergo a slight operation declined to allow it to be performed until the sun on which he was lying had been placed N. and S. It is thought that he held some superstitious belief.

It is said that in Scotland there is an idea that if the passing of the soul is to be easy the floor-boards of the sick room should not run N. and S.

The association in Ireland of colours with the points of the compass will be noted presently in describing similar ideas in other parts of the world (see below, X.). Green is said to be an unlucky colour in England (Baring-Gould, p. 15.)

Jews.—The Hebrew word for east means literally 'the front,' and that for west 'the back,' so that south is on the right hand and north on the left. This suggests some form of sun-worship at an early period. The supposition is supported by the fact that later time a building had its door facing E. (and for the hinder part of the tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards) [Ex 26:2 RV]. This true orientation was notwithstanding the ban of sun-worship by Moses (Dt 4:2).

Lapse into worship of sun, moon, and stars are frequent all through Jewish history: Manasses 'worshipped all the host of heaven' [2 K 21]; Josiah 'took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun' [23]; Amos upbraids Israel with carrying with them 'the star of your god' [Am 5:25]; Ezekiel sees 'between the porch and the altar, about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped toward the east' [Ezk 8:5]. The custom of saluting the moon by kissing the hand referred to in Job 31:26 may have been learned in Assyria (see J.E., s. e., 'Star-Worship').

The Jewish attitude of prayer is an instance of what may be called 'local orientation': it was not a turning to a point of the compass, but a turning to a place. We have a suggestion of this in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple: if a man 'spread forth his hands toward this house, he is in God's house' [1 K 8:55]. And, when Daniel prayed, 'his windows were open in his chamber toward Jerusalem' [Dn 6:9]. This became the law; a worshipper out of Palestine should turn towards Palestine, one in Palestine towards Jerusalem, in Jerusalem towards the Temple, in the Temple towards the Holy of Holies (J.E., s. e., 'Mizrah'). In J.E., s. e., 'East,' however, facing to the E. is said to have been the attitude of prayer, and reference is made to the Apocryphal Books, ii. 57, which the writer maintains to have a pro-Christian Hebrew foundation.

In regard to buildings the custom of a true orientation, which had been established by the arrangement of the Tabernacle, was continued. It was not followed in Solomon's Temple and in all subsequent rebuildings. Ezekiel is very precise on the orientation of the temple of his vision (40-47). Comparison may be made with the Apocalypse (Rev 7:16). Synagogues (apparently those of the pre-Christian era) are said by A. W. Brunner (R. Sturigis, Dict. of Architecture and Building, 3 vols., New York and London, 1901, s. e., 'Synagogue') to have had 'the holy ark or sanctuary' at the E. end, but no authority is given. Those of the 2nd cent. A.D. in Gallienus and the 'Synagogue' of Syria') Synagogues are now so planned that the ark may be towards Palestine (J.E., s. e., 'Mizrah').

VIII. MUHAMMADANS.—The Muhammadans, like the Jews, observe a 'local orientation'; they turn in prayer according to their own facing Mecca. The Ka'bah at Mecca, adapted by Muhammad as a mosque, had been a pagan temple with its entrance to the E. (J. Gwilt, Encyclopaedia of Architecture, ed. W. P. Popworth, London, 1807, §118).

The oriental feature of prayer is that it is the gilibah or mahalab, a niche or recess in a wall, the direction of the wall being at right angles with a straight line to Mecca. In front of the gilibah is an area covered by a roof supported on columns which form a series of aisles running towards the Mecca wall. These form the prayer chamber in which the celebrant, at an open court with covered walks at the sides leading from the entrance, which is generally opposite the Mecca wall. As the Jews had but one temple, synagogues being but houses of prayer, so the Muhammadans had but one temple, that at Mecca (Ferguson, ii. 516); mosques are places of prayer arranged so as to show the direction of Mecca, though they have acquired a sanctity of their own, not less than that of the shrines of other faiths.

Orientation of a kind was therefore of the first importance in a mosque. At Isphahan the axis of the great bazaar runs N. and S. The front of the mosque occupies the S. side of this, but the axis of the porch is bent at an angle of 45° so as to suit the mosque itself, the main axis of which is duly pointed to Mecca.

Private prayer on the housetop is also directed towards Mecca.

In burial the Muhammadan is laid on his right side facing Mecca (see art. DEATH [Muhammadan], iv. p. 5029).

IX. THE EAST.—Orientation in ritual observance is perhaps most pronounced in Asia, which may be more or less indirectly the source of the European. It is held by Mr. Tytler holds that the adoration of the sun in the ancient Aryan religion is revealed in ritual orientation. The Brähman turns E. at sunrise, says Tytler, and at noon, after adoration of the sun, he turns N. Again he reads daily portion of the Veda and to make his daily offering.

"It is with first and principal direction to the east that the consecration of the fire and the sacrificial implements, a ceremony which involves the work of all his religious acts, has to be performed" (P.C. ii. 450).

An example of the orientated altar is given in art. ALTAR (Hindu), vol. i. p. 345. Hindu temples are sometimes dedicated to the sun-god, but the
moon-god has none (art. BRAHMANISM, vol. ii. p. 5082). Temples may be duly orientated in the wider sense of the word.

The Indian Buddhist generally orientated his buildings fairly closely to the cardinal points, and seemed to prefer to make his entrance face E. But the Jain temples did not follow a rule, the Jains being indifferent apparently to any particular direction for their buildings' (H. Cousins, in *Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1907-08, p. 185).

The Things, on the other hand, are worshippers of Kali, the death-goddess. In her honour human victims were murdered; to her the sacred pickaxe was consecrated with which the graves of slain were dug, and the elaborate ritual of this consecration was performed facing W. The temple Tartars make a mound over the grave and place on it a statue facing E. (P.C. ii. 423).

Buddhism varies much in different countries, and presumably its buildings and ritual vary. In China it appears that the temples are truly orientated (see *Architecture [Chinese]*, vol. i. p. 6959) and there is therefore, to be supposed, some orientation of ritual. There is a paradise of the dead in the W., and the chief book read in the presence of the departed person is the 'Sutra of Andro and Ganga.' The Buddha was born in the W., and it is the west, behind which lies paradise' (art. CHINA [Buddhism in], vol. iii. p. 5544; cf. art. Confucius, vol. iv. p. 199).

In the Confucian religion there are many sacrifices connected with an elaborate ritual. The most important of these is described in art. Confucian Religion (vol. iv. p. 13), and the points of the compass are carefully mentioned, but their religious significance, if they have any, is not indicated. The sacrifices, the second-hand, made altars in the temples and about Peking. The sun-god has an altar-terrace outside the main E. gate towards the region of the sun; the moon-goddess has an altar outside the W. gate, because the W. is the region where the new moon is born.

X. SAVAGE RACES.—1. Ritual acts.—The ritual of primitive races is with difficulty ascertained, and not very much has been recorded. The Pangin, one of the tribes of the Indian Archipelago, on all ceremonial occasions salute and face the directions of the rising and setting sun; the people sleep with their faces to the E., and on cremating the dead they place the body to face in the same direction; the land of the dead is in the E., and it seems that that is the direction to which most importance is attached:

'The only disturbing feature is the fact that the "setting sun" is said to be invoked. This may be due to the influence of a solar cult' (W. J. Perry, *J.R.I. iv. 236).

Another tribe, the Toraja of Central Celebes, place their houses in an E. and W. direction with the door at the W. end, thus facing the land of the dead; but this is really religious.

A neighboring tribe, the Tobaha, build their 'village-house' N. and S., so that, as they say, on entering, one faces to the north, the direction whence they have come, and in which direction they place the land of the dead. The holy place of the house is the north-centre pole, and there the ghosts come to live in bunches of leaves of the arum pala' (ib. p. 260).

This seems to be a first, but very important, step towards temple-worship. The largest and most important temple of the Tomapo has a door on the E. side, thus facing towards the land of the dead and in the direction whence the tribe came. A number of the Buddha reproductions which houses are built with due regard to the direction of the land of the dead, and of others in which a place is provided as a residence for the ghost, or an entrance into the house is made for it.

In ritual observances the following may be noted.

In old Mexico, where sun-worship was the central doctrine of a complex religion, men knelt in prayer to the E. and doors of sanctuaries were placed on the side (W. (P.C. ii. 436). Indians of New Mexico, though they are now Christians, have preserved their ancient practice of turning to the sun at his rising and setting in the directions of the four parts of their worship. The cave-temples of the sun-worshiping races of the northwestern part of Mexico and the Hopi tribes stood in the opening early in the morning of the first days waiting for sunrise. The Comanches, also sun-worshippers, make preparations for the sunrise, place the dead on the right on the E. side of the lodge to receive the morning sun's first rays. The ancient Peruvians were sun-worshippers, and in their capital, Cuzco, a temple was orientated, with a great golden disk on the W. wall to reflect the rising sun as it shone through the window. The sun-god was slain on the twentieth day after the birth of her child, presents it to the sun at the moment of sunrise (see *Buny [Introduction]*, vol. ii. p. 619, and *Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch. ii. *1902*). 163).

The following symbolic orientation is characteristic (A. C. Hayden tells the present writer) of the Pawnees, but to a greater or less extent applies to the Plains Indians generally. The earth lodges are built on a divinely inspired plan, and serve for ceremonial purposes as well as dwelling-houses; the same symbolism is found in the summer tents, or tipi. The entrance always faces E. The central circular fireplace represents the sun, and the cleared space round it the horizon. For certain ceremonies an altar of rushes and earth is placed in the W. of the house, and at the edge were the sacrifice was made. The sacred bundle was deposited the sacred bundle; behind it, in the place of honour, was the priest, and at the priest's back was the sun, the holy ground, over which no priest can pass till purifled by purification. This region in the W. is sacred to the evening star, the beneficent spirit of fertility, and his messengers: wind, clouds, thunder, and rain. To the N. of the fireplace there should be a bison's skull to represent at once the gods of the heavens and the house of Tira, the high god, the all-embracing, the morning star, the blood-thirsty controller of the heat of the sun, and who represents his brother, the sun, from burning up the world. The S. is the land of death and the receivers of the souls of the unfortunate dead, while the S.E. is the region of sickness, death, and storms. S.W. in ceremonial pipe-smoking puffs of smoke may be blown in various directions as offerings to these and other heavenly bodies.

J. W. Fewkes (Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch. ii. 14-22) says that the orientation of the Comanches (whose ancestor, the Acoma, lived in the Tusayan [Hopi] Pueblo of Walpi in Arizona 'are generally placed with their walls corresponding to the conception of the primary points but not to our cardinal directions. . . . The variation of their N. is, with the true N. (varying from 42° to 40°): consequently the N.S. lines of their khi-biad are in reality N. and S.'). The orientation is 'probably intentional,' but it may be determined by the possibilities in direction of the recesses in which they are constructed.

K. M. Whetstone tells us that the temples of Mashonaland were orientated (J. T. Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, London, 1918).

We may here notice the wide spread association of certain colours with the various points of the compass. A table is appended showing some of the recorded observations. It will be seen that these are from N. and S. America, China, and other parts of the world. Certain lines of influence in each case is no approach to uniformity and only a few tendencies can be faintly traced, as, e.g., that black is practically never associated with the S. or E. It is just possible that the well-known liturgical colours of the Christian church, though of liturgical use, are not entirely unconnected with these ideas.

2. Burial.—Practically all peoples who practise immolation follow some rule as to the direction in which the body is to be laid. A journey to the land whence the tribe migrated is probably the most general conception at the present time. The dead are laid in the direction of the land of the dead, and this, when both can be ascertained, probably coincides with the direction of the land of the forefathers.

Perry gives many instances from the Indian Archipelago. One tribe makes the grave parallel to a river upon which the spirit must cross the river; the houses are built thus towards another, which believes that the land of the forefathers is to the S., lays the body on its side with head to W., feet to E., and facing S.; another, which believes that the land of the dead is to the W., says that the body be laid with head to W., feet to E., and facing S.
dead is situated in the S., and it is from the S. that the people believe themselves to have come. Cases are recorded where the body has been oriented in the direction of their forefathers, the situation of the land of the dead being unspecified. An exceptional and splendid example of how the dead were oriented is illustrated in the belief in the persons of the sky, the sun, and the earth; the sunset at a point of the compass appropriate to his totem (ib. p. 459).

'Among the Batuts of Sumatra men of different totems are buried with their heads in different directions, but the reasons for these differences are not always manifest. Among the stone circles of the Hot-Wind totem and the totem among the Wotjebaluk we may conjecture that the direction in which the body was buried was the direction in which the totem was supposed especially to reside, so that the intention of interring the bodies in these positions may have been to enable the released spirits of the dead to retain their totems' (Frigg, Totemism and Taboo, iv. 215). But, as Hadano points out, since the people are supposed to be related to or descended from their totems, it is only probable, but not demonstrated, that this is the spirit to the land of the forefathers.

The orientation of the graves of some primitive peoples is without any indication of the beliefs which decided the direction; burial with feet to the W. is observed by races of N. America, Central Africa, Samoa, Fiji, and Australia. Tylor mentions some Australian tribes who bury their dead in a sitting position facing E., even while believing that the land of the dead is in the W.

XI. PRE-HISTORIC WESTERN EUROPE. — 1. Temples.—Under this heading brief reference will be made to the well-known megalithic monuments. They are included in this article because they have been called temples and tombs, and have been said to be orientated in the sense that their aspect was decided by religious considerations. But as a matter of fact we do not know their use, or what determined their direction, their age, or the religion of the folk who built them. If we knew any two or even any one of these facts, it might be possible to deduce the others. But we have no working base, not even any uniformity among the remains.

The two most famous examples are Carnac in Morbihan and Stonehenge in Wiltshire. Carnac is a series of immense parallel avenues running roughly E. and W. along the coast of Brittany. Stonehenge is a circle with three concentric circles, two of stone and one of earth. From the outer circle runs a straight depression between earth banks. A line drawn down this depression and continued through the horseshoe divides it symmetrically and passes through a flat slab called the 'altar.' This line points to the place of sunrise on mid-summer day about, according to Lockyer (Stonehenge, p. 67), the year 1880 B.C. It may be that Stonehenge is a sun-temple, as Lockyer argues, and that it was built about that time. But it may not be a sun-temple, and, as to the date, A. R. Hinks points out (NC iii. [1905] 102ff.) that, if the first glimpse of the sun is observed, we get the year A.D. 3000; if the middle of the disk is observed, the conditions are right for to-day; if we wait for the completion of the sunrise, the date must be put back about 2000 years.

The works at Avebury consist of a large circle enclosing two others; there is an avenue leading from the inner circle to a passage, Avebury, the Avebury and the Kennet and Avon. At Avebury and a similar passage, Avebury, there is a circle with indications of an avenue leading N.W. The circles forming 'King Arthur's Round Table,' Peareth, are broken towards the N.E. and S.W. The work at Arbor Low, Derbyshire, seems to be orientated almost due N. and S. (Fergusson, rude Stone Monuments, London, 1872).

Carnell is in the island of Lewis is a circle with a stone in the centre. From the circle single lines of stones run to the sea, and in some cases the great monuments in wide avenue runs to the N. (These directions appear to be approximate only.) A tomb within the circle has an axis roughly N.E. and S.W., the entrance being towards the N.E.

There are Carnell-like remains in Ireland. Those around Lough Gou, Limerick, have been described by B. C. Windle, who made careful observations of the bearings in those cases where they might possibly be significant (Proc. Royal Irish Acad. xxx. [1912] sec. C. 235). The monuments near Lough Swilly, Co. Donegal, have been recorded by H. Boyle Somerville, who detects several systems of orientation, monuments being orientated for the solstitial sunrises or sunsets or both, for sunrise or sunset at the equinoxes, for sunrise or sunset at a point equidistant in time between solstices and equinox, for rising or setting of a star or of the moon (Journ. Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland, xxxii. [1909] 192, 215, 343).

2. Burials.—Until recently burials both on the Continent and in Britain appeared to be hap hazard. But recent research seems to show that two or perhaps three definite systems were followed, though in each of these there were not a few exceptions. In some cemeteries the skeletons are found laid on their backs E. and W. with feet to E., while in others they are N. and S. with feet to W., but occasionally to S. Others again are laid on the side E. and W. with the feet sometimes towards N. and sometimes towards S., and in some cases a single group contains skeletons pointing to all four cardinal points, as at Broughton Poggs. At the Saxon cemetery at Fairford the feet were almost invariably to the N., and W. Wylie thinks that this was the prevailing pagan practice among Teutons (Archaeologia, xviii. [1857] 450). In Sussex and Surrey and in the south of England generally the feet are most commonly E., but, when they are not, they are almost invariably to the N. In the round barrows of Wiltshire the tendency is for the bodies to be facing S.

One of the most remarkable examples of orientation (taking the word in its wide sense) is the 7th or 8th cent. Christian cemetery at Hartlepool, the first monastic seat of Hilda of Whitby. Here the bodies were buried with their heads N. and their feet S., and incised with crosses and Christian inscriptions; yet all were lying N. and S.

There seems good ground for believing that the Teutons held the north sacred. The classical passage in medieval literature is in Beowulf (Beowulf) and is quoted by J. Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie, Gottingen, 1854, i. 30). Here the fox turns in the Christian direction, while the wolf is content with the heathen orientation towards the N. G. B. Brown (The Ashmolei, xxxi. [1895] ii. 161) points out that this orientation cannot have formed an important item in Teutonic paganism or it would have left a more decided mark in literature. On their conversion to Christianity the Teutons for the most part seem to have abandoned this direction in their burials for that of E. and W.

The general conclusions are as follows, though we must not expect uniformity even in the same race. Burials with feet to the east were prevalent in the province of the pagan Saxons, though this was not universal. For the most part they adopted the E. and W. position on conversion to Christianity. On the other hand, some Christian burials are, as we have seen, N. and S. Some burials on the side with feet to E. or W. with the face
always to the S, suggest a desire to face, or lie in the path of, the sun. These general tendencies are interfered with by the survival or overlap of more ancient customs, by indifference and ignorance, and by local conditions such as a steep slope in the ground.

List of English churches showing direction of axis, dedication, and date of festival, with direction of sunrise on the festival (see above, VI. 6).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church Name</th>
<th>E.</th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pueblo, Arizona</td>
<td>Blue (green) or yellow</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Red blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navajo</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohi</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Blue (trouble)</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isleta, Pueblo</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico and Central America</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenos Indians, New Mexico</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucatan, Mexico</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Very White</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navajo</td>
<td>Very White</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veda</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China and ancient Java</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Liturgical colours in common use in Western Christian Church  

- Advent and Lent  
- Easter  
- Good Friday  
- Oct. of Egyptians, to Candidian and Trin. to Advent  
- Sorrow  
- Purity  
- Death  
- Life  
- Violet  
- White  
- or, for Passion, Easter and Love, red  
- Black  
- Green

LITERATURE.—The only work dealing comprehensively with the subject is Heinrich Nissen, Orientation, Berlin, 1906–10 (only pls. 1–3 (Egyptian to early Christian) have been issued). Egypt is dealt with partly by E. A. Wallis Budge, Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life, London, 1910, and ‘The Pyramids and Temples in the Sudan’ in Proc. of Royal Society of London, iv. (1859), and more fully by J. Norman Lockyer, The Dawn of Astronomy, London, 1894, Greek temples are discussed by F. C. Penrose, in Proc. of Royal Society of London, ill. (1905), and by J. Scott, early Christian churches by G. Scott, Jour., 1891, and Lockyer has expounded his theories on Stonehenge in his Stonehenge and other British Stone Monuments, London, 1896. James Ferguson’s Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries, London, 1872, is still valuable. Pre-historic work is discussed by G. Baldwin Brown, The Early Arts in England, 4 vols., 1893–15, and by Walter Johnson, Byways of British Archaeology, Cambridge, 1912. Both these authors give useful references to recent research. J. G. Frazer’s works, although curiously enough, not dealing directly with the subject, must of course be studied.

T. D. ATKINSON

POKOMO.—I. Distribution.—The Pokomo are a Bantu people inhabiting the Tana Valley, in the north-eastern part of the British E. Africa Protectorate. Their proper tribal name is Wa-Pokomo (from the word representing to Swahili pili and Giryama h), but they are called Wapokomo by the Swahili and Munyu by the Gallia. A recent official estimate gives their number at about 18,000. They are divided into thirteen tribes (myuti, plur. of lutu), occupying definite areas with recognized bound.

1 Nicholas, Chron. of Hist.


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aries. None of their villages is found at any great distance from the river, with which their tribal life is so closely bound up that they have a saying: 'The Tsana is our brother' (they call it Tsana, Tsana being the Swahili pronunciation; the Galla name is Galana Maro). Their fattest northwestern limit appears to be about 30° 30' E., on the bend of the river; this is the district of the Koro-Koro tribe; the rest, in order, going down the river, are the following: the North, the Kinakombo, Gwano, Ndera, Mwina, Ngatana, Dzunza, Bun, Kalindi. The first nine of these are known as the 'upper' tribes (Wantu wo dzuu); the Ngatana (whose district is about 3° 30' S. by 40° E.), Dzunza, Bun, and Kalindi are the 'lower' (Wantu wo nani). These two sections differ considerably in dialect and customs; they are sometimes said never to intermarry, but the rule is not absolute. On the confines of the Kalindi area, between Chara and Koro, and on the Ozi estuary, are some villages of 'Muhaji—Pokomo who become Muhammandans and more or less adopted Swahili dress and customs. The Zubaki are the most numerous tribe, numbering about 3500.

The first European to mention the Pokomo is probably Beteler, who was at Lamu in 1823, and says:

'Above the town of Kow (Kanu), at every twelve or fifteen miles, there are large villages on the northern bank inhabited by the Poquomo tribe. They are apparently Confessionists or Christians, and in ten days, or about fifteen days' journey in a canoe, . . . is situated the town of Zoolakey, beyond which the current of the river is too strong to proceed against it' (Narr. of Voyage of Discovery, i. 260).

The 'town of Zoolakey' is probably a mistake for the Zubaki tribe; the distance is approximately correct.

Kraaf, though he never visited the Tana, heard of this tribe, and mentions their kinship with the 'Wanyiki' (see art. NYIKA). He obtained a good deal of information from two Muhammandan Pokomo settled at Takamungu, who, among other things, gave him a list of the 'principal places' on the Tana, most of which are the names of the tribes already given; others may be those of villages which have since been removed. The Pokomo, though not nomadic, like the Galia, have at various times been forced to reside by changes in the course of the Tana, the last one who is said to have taken place about 50 years ago, the river being deflected near Mariano from its old bed, which ran to the north-east of the present one.

Von der Decken was at Kau in the early part of 1865, and states that the Gallas were 'tiefliche Ackernon,' whose villages begin above Chara (Reten in Ostafrika, ii. 271). His companion, K. Brenner, returned in 1867 and ascended the Tana as far as the Malankote district. Between these two dates the Tana had been visited by New and Wakefield, of the United Methodist Free Church Mission, who founded a station at Golbanti, primarily for the benefit of the Gallas, though the Pokomo were found to be more promising converts. The country had been visited by resident Europeans, but is in charge of a native teacher; and there is a small number of Christian Pokomo at other stations of the same mission. Brenner's estimate of these people, it may be remarked, is unduly severe. The Tana was explored 1857-59 by Gustav and Clemens Denhardt, who ascended as far as Masa, in lat. 1° 15' S. The former gives some account of the Pokomo in the Journal of the Berlin Geographical Society for 1884. Subsequent information is chiefly from the German missionaries belonging to the Northern Mission, who, began work on the Tana in 1887, soon after the proclamation of the German Protectorate over Witu, which lasted till 1890.

2. Origin, language, etc.—The traditions of the Nyika tribes seem, on the whole, to import that the Pokomo came, like them, from Sungwany; though they moved southward considerably earlier. They were already settled in the Tana Valley when the Wanyika were driven from their homes by the Gallas in 1860. It is remarkable that the Pokomo are always said to be descendants of the Kalindi ('we refused to be conquered by the Galla, but the Pokomo consented,' and retained their country at the price of their freedom. They have been, in fact, more or less tributary to the Gallas ever since. The increase of the Kalindi tribe has been reduced by the attacks of the Somali on one side and the Masai on the other. According to Von der Decken (ii. 271), the Pokomo were, in 1865, dependent on the Galla 'olime jedoch von ihnen geschiickt zu werden.' Thus, but the matter is still involved in much uncertainty. Some of the
Pokomo make him contemporary with Yere, and others, while not asserting this, are positive that there were Swahili towns on the coast when this ancestor came to the Tana Valley, which may indicate that the Pokomo settled there at any rate later than the 12th century, as stated for the foundation of Pate. It seems probable that the Pokomo were the earliest Bantu with whom the Arab settlers came in contact, and that their language forms the groundwork of Swahili—or at least of the Lamu dialect.

The Pokomo language contains, as might be expected, a great many Galla words and also a number of others which do not seem to be Galla, but are difficult to parallel in any other Bantu language. Considering the traditions abovementioned to and other points which make it highly probable that these people are partly descended from the Wasanye, we may not be far wrong in assigning these words to the language of the latter. It is difficult to establish this point at present, because most of the Wasanye have disused their own language, and (like the Korokoro) speak Galla; the few who still know the old speech are to be found in the neighbourhood of Witu.

The Pokomo are divisible into exogamous societies, are also hunters and fishermen; and their hunting customs, tabus, and traditions show that the practice is of great antiquity. Their burial customs also seem to connect them with the Witu; for they are said to be removed, even in the dead man's own house, as do most Bantu tribes, they carry the dead away into the forest. One of their 'mysteries,' the fisfurige, is avowedly borrowed from the Wasanye, as the great nyagda, a sacred friction-drum, is said to have been derived from the Warabai. We have therefore every right to assume a composite origin for the Pokomo; and this seems also to be borne out, e.g., by the numerous gradations of skin-colour met with, 'black' and 'red' (i.e. darker and lighter) individuals being frequently seen among the children of the same father and mother. As a rule, they are of sturdier build than the Wasanye, but not often tall. Otherwise their physical type calls for no special remark. Denhardt (p. 145) says that he has never seen a woman, but it is not often seen now. The two middle lower incisors are sometimes removed, or partly chipped away, but this is not universal, and seems to have, nowadays at least, no ritual significance. Denhardt's account of the fisfurige, the installation of the youth, of this operation about their eighth year, was repeatedly assured that this and the circumcisions were 'nur Schönheitsmittel.' The tribes of the Lower Tana do not practise circumcision (except such individuals as have adopted Islam); those of the Upper Tana do.

3. Social organization.—The Pokomo eweti consist of exogamous clans (masindo, plnr. of sindo). Many of them bear Galla names (e.g., Uta, Meta, Ilanu, etc.) but the sense of later adoption, and some have their old Pokomo name side by side with the Galla one—e.g., Kinakaliani of Zulaki, which is also Garigela (=Garideld). The clans of the Wasanye also have Galla names. Traces of totemism, though no doubt it once existed, are not very obvious. Of the Galla ceremonial, as described above, the initiation is similar to that of the Giryama and other Nyika tribes, and also to that of the Galla, the Masai, and apparently the Wasanye. The system of 'ages' (Giryama morro) is known by the Galla name of wasanye, which is also practised by the Pokomo of the Lower Tana; but all the boys who enter the 'young men's house' (gane, or nyumba ya wemari) at the same time (which they do about the age of 14 or 15) constitute a luga. They remain in the gane till they marry, the next luga entering a few years after them, so that there are always two 'companies' (ritero) in the house at the same time. There is a twofold division of the tribe, apparently corresponding to the 'right-hand' and 'left-hand' circumcisions of the Masai. Amongst the Poko of the Upper Tana, and Vibare, and the senior luga in the gane belonging to each of these alternately. Apparently the luga does not receive a name till it has passed into the highest stage of eldership. In 1912 the young men were married at the age of fifteen. The tribe is exogamous (see mukumba), belonging to the Vibare section; the men of the previous luga, older, but not old enough to be their fathers, were vena we mperanya, and the luga before that (to which belonged Nyota, the senior chief, then almost incapacitated through age) was magomba. The magomba are the fathers of the vena we magomba, and the sons of the latter are at present known as wezulukwu ('grandsons') we magomba. The luga before magomba was mperanya, of which few, if any, were still living in 1912. The duration of a luga would seem to be about fifteen or sixteen years—roughly, half a generation.

The word ritero is used by the Pokomo, but is applied to a feast given to the children by the members of a new luga on their admission.

These age-classes must not be confused with the 'degrees' or 'orders to which men and women are admitted at various stages of their existence, and which correspond to the British term age or section. The Giryama, Boys are supposed to be brought into the metokoe by their fathers as soon as possible after birth, but the ceremony may be delayed if the family cannot afford the fee. The initiate is entitled to wear a coronet of palm-leaf (fauve) and ornaments called nyipti. The next step is njere (Giryama nyere), followed by kanvu, which a man is supposed to have entered before he marries. Married men are initiated into the kivuvi, whose badge is an ostrich-feather worn in a little clay 'holder' plastered on the head, like the nest of the mason-wasp (whence its name, nyangwa ya nyiro). After this comes the higher grade, ngazizi, with three divisions: the fisfurige, lesser ngazizi, and greater ngazizi. The special 'mystery' of the fisfurige consists in having the hair cut, and from the Wasanye, who strictly keep the secret from the Galla) consists of two flutes (called 'male' and 'female'), differing in diameter and pitch, which are played together. They are kept at a lodge in the forest; the lodge is named after the initiate; the lesser ngazizi has three stages, and the greater six, one of which is called wawanj (Giryama wawandzi). The ngazizi itself is a huge friction-drum made of a hollowed log, 12 ft. long and weighing half a ton. There is one ngazizi for the Wantu wa dunu, and another for the Wantu wa nuni, with whom are included the Wasanye. The members of the ngazizi are all called 'elders' (wekiko), though those belonging to the greater ngazizi enjoy most consideration. The government of the tribe is in their hands, and from them the two chiefs (wekhoji) are chosen. One of them belongs to the Hongo and one to the Vibare section. They appear to hold office till they die or are incapacitated by age. The name haji is the Gally haji.
Women have two orders, the vare, corresponding to the mbugwyne of the youths, girls being bought in by their fathers as soon as they can afford it, and the ngalola ya mulungu (also called ugorohe), by which they are married to three or four husbands paying the fees. It is probable that they have a ngadzi (or some equivalent) of their own, but the present writer was never able to ascertain this point.

As the marriage relation was yet insufficiently investigated is the division of each village into 'upper' and 'lower' sections (denda ya dzuwa and denda ya nsemi), which appears to have no relation to either class or lucas. At Nga, in 1912, each section had two elders (one of the four being the junior haju).

4. Material culture.—Pokomo huts are very much like those of the Gallia; they are hemispherical, or beehive-shaped, thatched with grass on a framework of poles, which are placed in a circle and tied together at the top (not, as by the Zuls, bent over to form arches). Rice was formerly the staple crop cultivated, but, since the Tana has had a freer outlet to the sea through the Bolezon canal and the Ozi estuary, the cultivation of paddy has increased. Some quantity of rice is exported, owing to the smaller area now covered by the annual inundations. All Pokomo are expert swimmers and canoe-men; the craft generally used (wado, plur. maho) is the usual African dug-out, but for long journeys performed by a large party they have the sangoala—two canoes lashed together, with a platform of sticks between them.

Fishing is carried on with hook and line, by spearing (the fish-spear, yutsoma, is distinct from the insect-spear, famo), or by means of snares and traps (momo) and weirs. The most important animals hunted (before the game-laws were in force) were the hippopotamus, the elephant, and the crocodile. Each has its appropriate ceremonies and is celebrated in special songs. No hunt could take place without the permission of the wokijo, who chose a lucky day, performed incantations to ensure success, and insisted on the observance of the complicated etiquette regulating the distribution of the meat. The chief hunting weapon was the bow and arrow, (with iron heads, or poisoned ones, with reed points) are sometimes seen, but are commoner among the Wasanye. The crocodile is a favourite food, and is therefore to a certain extent preserved; the Pokomo are always reluctant to destroy its nests.

Other items of food, especially in times of scarcity, are wild fruits and roots—e.g., the fruits of the mkoma-palm (Hyphaene thebaica) and the tubers, the receptacle, and upper part of the stalk of the blue or white water-lily (jenu).

As might be expected from their being largely a hunting tribe, the Pokomo have an interest in animals and a knowledge of their habits which recall the S. African Bushmen. Böcking has recorded some of their hippopotamus and elephant songs, and many others might be gathered from the lips of the people. A specially noteworthy point is the fondness of the women for improvising songs about birds, many of which are remembered and handed down from generation to generation. The Tokoak' of maize increased in bird-life, and the creatures celebrated in the songs (the osprey, a kind of plover, etc.) seem to have attracted attention by their beauty and grace and are not, so far as one can discover, considered from a utilitarian point of view.

6. Customs.—As far as the Pokomo are differentiated from other Bantu, it appears to be firstly by their affinities with the hunting tribes, and secondly by the specialized life consequent on their riverine habitat. In many ways their customs do not call for separate remark—e.g., those connected with marriage are much the same as those of other Bantu, except, perhaps, that it is more usual than elsewhere for a man to bespeak his friend's daughter in infancy or even before birth. This unusual custom, however, seems to be based on two considerations: one, that the women; and it was the present writer's impression that men with two wives at once—and certainly with more than two—were not common; but she gives this with hesitation, as her observation of natives of unimportant missionary influence was limited. The rules of klonipa are strictly observed, applying to a prospective as well as an actual mother-in-law, to her sisters, and, in a less degree, to other members of the family.

Pokomon speak of the usual Bantu type, but has interesting points of contact with that of the Galla, while the latter shows striking parallels with the Nama and Masai.


A. WERNER.

POLABIAN.—See Slavs.

POLE.—See Slavs.

POLES AND POSTS.—In many parts of the world poles and posts have had a religious or magic significance. There is reason to believe that in many countries the post or pole has gained this significance as the representative of a once sacred tree, the spirit of the tree being supposed to have passed into it. Whether this explanation will hold for all parts of the world is problematical.

1. Babylonia and Assyria.—One of the oldest Babylonian inscriptions known 1 (so old that its writing is almost pictographic) bears on one side the picture of a man who wears a feathered head-dress and stands before two pillars or posts. These have each a globular enlargement near the top; and just beneath this enlargement there are on one pole four horizontal marks, and on the other eight. The inscription, of which no translation has ever been published, refers to the building and dedication of a temple. It begins:

1 Wood unworked, reeds unworked, Emmang, suitable for a dwelling, brought.
2 Uninjured was the chief, uninjured was the officer Emmang. Emmang with firmness laid the bricks; the princely dwelling made.
3 It was a tall tree; by the tree he planted a post. 2
4 The association of trees and posts with such this ancient custom is confirmed by a number of early Babylonian seals, on which, in connexion with the picture of a god, a tree and a post are also pictured. Thus one seal 2 represents the sun-god stepping over the mountain of the eastern horizon, and behind him is an upright pole. Before

1 E. De Sarze, Decroozes en Chalde, Paris, 1855-1912, ii. 156.
2 W. H. Ward, Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, Washington, 1918, no. 200.
him stands the moon-god, and between the two gods is a post having at the middle a globular enlargement similar to that of Ennunnag. Another 1 represents the seated sun-god, behind whom is a tree, while two posts, one before and one behind him, are carved at the top into slightly tree-like forms. It thus appears that the sacred tree and the sacred posts were associated.

The sacred tree was in Babylonia usually a palm-tree. This is shown by the pictures on many seals. 2 The fact that the god resided in the tree is graphically represented by two seals, on which the tree is portrayed as an anthropomorphous deity whose head is surmounted by the horns of divinity, and from whose body the branches of a tree protrude. 3 This was the spirit which, it was thought in early times, could be persuaded to go and reside in a pole or post that could be transported from place to place. The conception was analogous to the idea that the spirit of a cag could be persuaded to reside in a smaller movable stone and then in an idol.

The posts were often surmounted by the symbol of the deity to whose worship they were attched. The symbol of Ishtar was a star, and on many seals this symbol is pictured as resting on the top of a post. 4 Out of this combination the sign was evolved which the goddess's name was expressed in later Babylonian writing. 5 A late seal, bearing an Aramaic inscription, actually has a form of the post practicly identical with the sign. 6 The post was sometimes surmounted by a sun-disk; 7 at least it is so situated by both the ear and post that could be transported from place to place. The conception was analogous to the idea that the spirit of a cag could be persuaded to reside in a smaller movable stone and then in an idol.

Representations of the post, when so carved, easily pass into representations of the caduceus, which, according to Ward, was a serpent emblem. Sometimes objects which he designates as caducei seem to show that the post was surmounted by the kanor-sokar, but the posts were sometimes carved to resemble serpents, and that the two emblems merge at times the one into the other.

Another object on the seals is of a puzzling nature. It looks like a post with a projection on one side. 8 Frequently, though not always, a vase is pictured above it. Ward calls the case the symbol of Aquarius, and suggests that the object in question may be the balance of Libra. 9 This suggestion seems most dubious. Why should a balance always stand on end? The balances in the Babylonian writing are never made like this picture. The pictures of the posts on the earlier seals, which represent them with a globular enlargement towards the top or above the middle, indicate that they were a post, though why it should be made in this form is impossible to conjecture.

Ward, Seal Cylinders, no. 271; cf. no. 374.
3 ib., nos. 374, 375.
4 ib., no. 382.
6 See GIS ii., Tabulae, no. 84.
7 Ward, no. 413.
8 ib., no. 257.
9 ib., no. 1392.
10 ib., no. 382.
11 ib., no. 258.
13 E. G., in Ward, Seal Cylinders, nos. 312, 313, 384-387.
14 ib., p. 113.

There is reason to believe that the primitive Semitic name for a sacred post was expressed by the consonants *tr*, for in S. Arabia it was known as akhirat, in Phoenican and Hebrew as asherah, and in Akkadian as ashirtu or eshirtu. Actually in early times such posts were left to the direction of a sanctuary, for in course of time ashirtu, or eshirtu, became the Akkadian word for sanctuary, and so passed into Assyrian. If we are right in supposing that the post was a surrogate for an earlier tree, it would follow that the names of the earliest Babylonian sanctuaries were determined by the position of sacred trees. F. Hommel suggested 2 several years ago that the name of the god Ashur was derived from ashirtu, sanctuary—a name that Barton afterwards accepted. 3 If this be so, not only the name of Ashur, but the city that bore his name, as well as the warlike empire that grew out of it, all bear witness to the popularity of the enluts post in early Mesopotamian religion.

No shrine was thought to be complete without such a post. Thus, when the Assyrian armies erected temporary shrines in order to propitiate by sacrifice a river-deity before crossing the river, they set up not only a temporary nusaggah, but also two posts. This is shown in the case of the army of Shalmaneser III. In the pictures on the Gates of Balawat the nusaggah here has a broad base so that it will stand on the ground; the two posts, surmounted with sun-discs, are provided with a base in the form of a tripod. Friedrich Delitzsch 4 calls these 'candelabra,' but in view of the evidence of the seals and the Carthaginian cippus, cited below, they are probably representatives of the older posts. As Shalmaneser does not inform us of the nature of these objects or of the material used, we cannot know with certainty which they are. The object that we have designated a nusaggah may have been made of wood. If so, it was also an asherah. In any event it has near the top some of the horizontal lines borne by the post of Ennunnag already mentioned.

Whether sacredness attached to the posts of doors and gates is problematical. If H. C. Trumbull's explanation 5 of the origin of the sacredness of the threshold is correct, the door-post, which represented the male, should be as sacred as the threshold, which represented the female. Possibly this was the case in Assyria, since at Khoarsabad foundation deposits were found, not only under the corners of the city which were sacred (see art. CORNERS), but under each gate-post of the city, from which it would appear that the gate-posts were dedicated to the sacredness of the corners. It is possible, therefore, that some sacred symbolism attached to the gate-posts pictured on the seals of the sun-god Shannash. 6 He is represented as stepping over the mountains of the east and through the gate of the morning by which he emerged from the subterannean passage which was supposed to lead from the west to the east. There are, however, no symbols at the top of these posts, as on some Phoenician gate-posts, to indicate that they were sacred, and the point cannot now be determined.

The Assyrian kings sometimes savagely boast that they impaled their captives on stakes round the cities which they had conquered. 7 Such victims were at early times often posted up in the limits. It has been customary to ascribe these acts to the savage brutality of the Assyrians; but, in view of a method of sacrifice by impaling cited below (§ 8), it is possible that we have in this custom the
survival of a primitive sacrifice by impaling on a post. Such a sacrifice could originate only in a period when man was held in very low state. The Arabians were the most brutal of all the Semites, and it is possible that such a primitive custom may have survived among them. It was exercised only in war, when persistent resistance especially enraged them. As all their wars were carried on in a spirit of retribution, it was impious to him, and he would take pleasure in the sacrifice of the victims. If this view be true, the stakes or posts on which the victims were impaled were a kind of rude altar.

Arabians—Nearly all direct evidence of the use of the sacred post in Arabian heathenism has disappeared along with the rest of the cultus of the ‘times of ignorance’ which Islam supplanted. The one bit of evidence that has survived is contained in a Minean inscription published by Hommel, which mentions a goddess Ahritat as the consort of the god Wadd.1 Ahritat is the S. Arabic equivalent of Ashera (Assy. Asshirta). As in N. Semitic lands the word designated first the sexual organ, then the consort, it is probable that the same was true of Arabia, especially as the palm-tree is shown by historical2 and archeological3 evidence to have been sacred in Arabia as well as in Babylonia. The only horned shrine of the kind of which we have a tolerably full description is the Kebah at Mecca, and, while in the descriptions of that the sacred stone is mentioned, there is no mention of the sacred post.4

3. Phoenicia and her colonies.—Most of our knowledge of sacred posts in the Phoenician world comes from Cyprus and Carthage. The word askereth in the sense of ‘sanctuary’ occurs in a Phoenician inscription from Masub that was discovered in 1885.5 This use of the word accords with the Akkadian. A seal, possibly Babylonian (in any case it reflects Babylonian influence), seems to represent the limits of a sanctuary as marked by two posts similar in shape to one of the Babylonian forms.6

There is much evidence that in Phoenician religious thought the palm-tree held the same place as it did in Babylonia thought. In Cyprus terra-cotta figures of three women dancing round a palm-tree have been found in considerable number.7 The hands of these are broken, a representation of the original is possible and furnishes proof of the devotion of women to this tree. Evidence of the sacredness of the tree is also afforded by many of the votive cippi from Carthage, on which it is drawn in more or less realistic fashion. The translation from the tree to the sacred post is shown by a terra-cotta object from Cyprus now in the museum of Bonn University.8

As to the forms which the post assumed in the Phoenician cult we cannot always speak with definiteness, since from the drawings on the votive cippi it is not possible to distinguish in every case which objects were made of wood and which of stone. The askereth is once represented as a slender post surmounted by the crescent moon,9 and a post has come to us a very savage state. The curved lines which form a kind of sun-disk, or two

sun-disks one above the other; in some instances two wavy lines branch out below the sun-disks.1 These are closely made representations of the palm-tree made by using as few lines as possible. Another series of figures, more elaborately made, affords the transition to the more common sort of post. These are in the form of posts surmounted by the crescent moon and the sun-disks, but they still have the horns or streamers which represent the hanging date-fruit.2 The post as most commonly represented on these cippi is identical in form with this conventionalized date-palm, except that the line which represents the hanging dates are more abundant. Sometimes two wavy curves are represented at the top, sometimes one, and at times even one curve is so incomplete that the post appears to be surmounted by two horns. This series of pictures demonstrates the date-palm origin of the cultus-post for the Semitic world.

The posts appear on the cippi in various connexions. At times they stand by the triangular figure of the goddess Tanit; this is the most common. Sometimes with the figure of the goddess there stands a hand which represented at this time the massegobh, or pillar.4 This hand appears also on various seals made under the mingled influences of Babylon and other countries of the Mediterranean. It was a eunuchic symbol of the phalic, which the pillar was believed to represent. This is the meaning in ls 37:1 in the phrase ‘thou sawest the hand’ מָרָץ. That is this is the significance of the hand that on these cippi is indicated by a picture in which the posts appear together with the figure of the goddess and a phallic.5 At times it is accompanied by two hands. Various conjectures have been made as to the significance of the posts. It seems clear from these combinations, and from the dance of the women of Cyprus about the palm-tree, that in the Phoenician religion they represented the female principle of fertility as the pillars did the male principle.

In some representations of Phoenician temples which have survived the door-posts are surmounted by curves similar to those at the top of some of the cultus-posts.7 Apparently, when such posts were of wood, they had a significance similar to that of the cultus-posts. Sometimes, however, they were impaled as a sacred tree.8 Perhaps, in that case, the sacredness of the massegobh attached to the pillars. In any event the sacredness of the doorway was connected with the two sets of symbols.

A number of the cippi are dedicated to Tanit and to Ba’al-Shamin, or the sun-god. Naturally it was thought that the female principle would appeal to the god, just as the male principle did to the goddess. The rude representations of the top of the palm-tree appear, as already noted, somewhat like sun-disks. In time, then, these posts were known as ‘sun-pillars’ (cf. Is 57:17, Lv 26:9, where RV renders ‘sun-images’).

4. Amorites.—As was the case with Arabia, no archeological evidence of the use of the cultus-posts has come down to us from the Amorites, and yet we know that they not only used the post, but, like the Arabians, gave its name to a goddess. When the El-Amarna Letters were written, in the first half of the 14th cent. B.C., a compact group of Amorites were living in Palestine. Their

1 See Barton, Sentic Origins, p. 79. 2 See CIS IV, Tab. I, nos. 14-11. 3 See J. Wellhausen, Beste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1891, p. 472. 4 Cf. W. Clermont-Ganneau, Rl v. (1885) 389; and G. Hoffmann, Über einige phthische Inschriften, Goldingen, 1889, p. 13; and W. F. Albright, ZEPBi, 1911, s.v. Hochschild. 5 Menant, Gypique orientale, Paris, 1886, II, 65; Gg. 0; and Ochshech-Richter, Kyper, pl. xxvii. 8. 6 Albfright, L. LXXI, p. xlvii. 7 See Ochshech-Richter, Tab. I. 8 See CIS I, Tab. nos. 141, 140, 243, 2719, 3732, 3908. 9 Ochshech-Richter, pl. xli. 10 CIS I, Tab., no. 426.

2 ii. 396. 3 See CIS IV, Tab., no. 141. 4 See J. Wellhausen, Bestes arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1891, p. 472. 5 Cf. W. Clermont-Ganneau, Rl v. (1885) 389; and G. Hoffmann, Über einige phthische Inschriften, Goldingen, 1889, p. 13; and W. F. Albright, ZEPBi, 1911, s.v. Hochschild. 6 Menant, Gypique orientale, Paris, 1886, II, 65; Gg. 0; and Ochshech-Richter, Kyper, pl. xxvii. 8. 7 See Ochshech-Richter, pl. xlvii. 1. 8 See CIS I, Tab., no. 426. 9 CIS I, Tab., nos. 320, 335, 370, 372, 385, 397, 398. 10 In, nos. 2929, 2929, 2937. 11 Edwards, J. S. St., 1886, p. 2766, 2883, 2992, 2995, 3013, 3031, 3059, 3065, 3066. 12 Edwards, J. S. St., 1886, p. 2766, 2883, 2992, 2995, 3013, 3031, 3059, 3065, 3066. 13 In, nos. 3045, 3060, 3122, 3142, 3144, 3192. At times the post and the date-palm alone, as in nos. 2929, 2937, 2953. 14 See, e.g., Ward, Seal Cyinders*, no. 921. 15 CIS I, Tab., no. 181. 16 See, e.g., Ochshech-Richter, pl. xlvii. 8. 17 ii. 44.
habitat stretched from the sea-coast at Acco, across the territory afterwards occupied by the tribe of Asher, up into the great valley between the ranges of the Lebanon. The chiefest of this tribe was called in the letters Arad-ilu-A-shiri-ti, the Akkadian form of Ebed-Asherah, a name meaning 'the servant of Ashera.' The presence of this name among the Amorites, it is probable that in these cases the text of the OT has been glossed, and that the presence of a goddess Ashera is due to a confusion between Ashuatre and her symbol. It is probable that, wherever the name of the post became the name of a divinity, it was in such confusion but it is certain that among the Amorites and in Arabia the name of the post passed into the name of a goddess, and it is quite possible that it was so in Israel. We sometimes are too suspicious of the Massoretic division.

In view of the form of the cultus-post as it is shown on Phoenician votive cippi, and in view of the analogy of this form with the shape of the pillars at the doors of Phoenician temples, it is tempting to see in the dakhirah the origin of the pillars (annunnta, not messobhdth) that stood on either side of the entrance to Solomon's temple, and which were named Jachin and Boaz. They were constructed of bronze, and their tops were carved into lily-work. The writer is disposed to believe that this shaped cultus-posts. As already noted, such posts were found in Cyprus made of terra-cotta, shaped to imitate the natural wood. It is not improbable that the form of Jachin and Boaz originated from a much conventionalized palm-tree. W. F. Smith thought that they represented the oldest type of fire-altar; but this is most doubtful.

Cf. also art. Massberah.

6. Egypt. - It appears that in Egyptian worship Osiris was the name given to the god of a certain region, with a female Osiris associated. The Osiris-post was of medium height and carved so that the upper part (about one-third of the whole) resembled four cups or four lotus-blossoms standing one within the other. Remembering how the palm-tree was conventionalized in Babylonia and Phoenicia, we readily see in this post also a conventionalized palm-tree. So closely was the post associated with Osiris that it became the hieroglyphic symbol for his name in all periods of Egyptian writing.

While other gods appear not to have been associated with posts, standards borne upon rods played a great part in their cults. Thus on the palette and mace head of När-mer, a king of the 1st dynasty, if not a pre-dynastic king, four divine symbols are shown upon palm-branches, 3 271. times the height of a man. Not only were these symbols borne in procession, but they are frequently represented in Egyptian reliefs as planted in the ground, so that they seem like posts surmounted by the symbol of the god. These are found from the time of the Middle Kingdom down to the latest Egyptian dynasty. They appear in many combinations; at times they seem half-humorous, as when one of the divine sceptres and the sign šb, signifying life, are pictured with hands supporting such standards. Similar to these standards are the red-olive sceptres carried by most Egyptian gods. Possibly there was originally some connexion between them, though it cannot now be traced.

7. Indo-European. - Posts and poles do not play so important a part in the religion of the Indo-European peoples as they do among the Semites; nevertheless they are not wholly wanting.

altar. Oldenberg believes that in Rigveda i. xiii. 11 such a post is addressed as a "tree." To these posts the sacrificial victims were tied before they were slain. In the Mahabharata (xii.) these stakes are described thus:

"Sacrificial stakes of timber with their golden fastenings ascended. Consecrated by the mantras are in sumptuous order placed."

Further on we read:

"Six good stakes of eileen timber, six of hard khindura wood, six of hollywood, six of posts, posts, posts, posts, posts, posts. Two were made of devadatu, pine that on Himalay grows. One was made of wood of alexa, which the sacrificer knows, other stakes of golden lustre quaint with curious carving. Draped in silk and gold-brocaded like the constellations these.

Bulls of various breed and colour, steeds of nettle tree and trills."

Other creatures, full three hundred, to the many stakes were tied.

At least in poetry a certain personification of the sacrificial pillar occurred, which became especially sacred in earlier Hinduism is problematical, though it was such a constant necessary of sacrificial places that, in a hymn in the Atharvaveda, in which the burning sun is apostrophised as a sacrificial fire, the mountains of the earth are described as the sacrificial posts. In later Hindutism the symbol of Siva, the linga or phallass, is usually a smooth post of stone or wood. Whether this is an evolution from the sacrificial post of earlier days, or an intrusion from the Dravidian population of India, cannot now be determined.

(2) Among the Persians trees were apparently sacred in early times, for there is in the Bundahishn a myth of a tree that was supernatural and generated all seeds. Worship of trees combined with sun-worship appears to have survived among the Magi, but it found expression in the use of posts or the branches of trees, rather than in the consecration and veneration of posts.

(3) Among the Greeks and their Cretan fore-runners there are traces of a sacred post. Plato describes a sacrifice of a bull that is said to have been offered in the sunken island of Atlantis, by which it has been conjectured that he meant Crete. The bull was led to a pillar or column on which the law and a curse were inscribed, and was slain against the top of the column over the writing. His blood was thus brought into contact with the column or post on which the laws were written.

Some coins from Hlim bear witness to the existence there of a cultus-post not unlike the sacrificial posts of India. One of these coins pictures Athena Ilia with her fillet-twined spear and owl, and on her right a pillar to which a bull is hung. Evidently the pillar was connected with the sacrifice in some way, though not in the manner described by Plato. Another coin shows the goddess standing on a post, while before her is a cow, apparently waiting for sacrifice. A third coin pictures the goddess standing on her post, and before her is a cow hanging head uppermost from a tree. Miss Harrison thinks that the post was once the goddess, and that the representation of an anthropomorphic figure standing on the pillar is a later development.

The Greek god Hermes apparently developed out of a post or pillar. In the early art he is represented as a square post with a human head; Gilbert Murray holds that the phallic post was perhaps regarded as a kind of grave-stone to symbolize the renewal of life, and that its spirit came to be regarded as a means of communicating with the dead. Such a post was called a 'Herm,' and in time the collective totality of such posts became the god Hermes, the messenger of the gods. Later the post form of Hermes was discarded for more artistic anthropomorphic representations, and the post was even regarded with aversion.

(4) There are many survivals of tree-worship in the customs of modern Europeans, and among these the May-pole celebrations and dances hold a prominent place. In one form or another they are found in Bohemia, Swabia, among the Wends of Saxony, and in various other parts of Germany; also in Cornwall, Sweden, Alsace, Provence, and Ireland.

It is remarkable that these customs appear in such completeness as in England. They are found in all parts of the country, have persisted almost to the present, and have found a considerable place in literature. The idea that the May-pole presents the image of the nature-spirit has been long universal among these peoples. In Saxon May-trees or May-poles were set up before houses, stables, and cattle-stalls, and even before the chambers of sweethearts; in Sweden, where the celebration took place in midsummer, young fir trees are set up at the doorway and elsewhere about the house; in Suffolk, according to an old custom, a servant who first brought a branch of hawthorn on the 1st of May was entitled to a dish of cream—a custom that until recently continued with some modification in Cornwall.

In many of these countries the May-pole was brought into the village each year with great rejoicings. In some cases bands had been seeking it in the woods all night. Philip Stubbes, writing in the time of Queen Elizabeth, says that the May-pole was brought home with twenty or forty oxen, each ox having a nosegay of flowers on his horns, while the pole was also decorated with flowers. It was raised in all the countries with rejoicings in which it reached, and in England, where it is shared by many places on the Continent, dancing was an important feature of the celebrations. In Northumberland, in the 18th cent., after the dancing there was a feast for which a sillabub was made of milk warm from the cow, sweet cakes, and wine. A wedding-ring was dropped into this, and the young people fished for it with a ladle. The finder was supposed to be wedded first. The customs and superstitions associated with the May-pole indicate that it was a surrogate for a divine tree, and that the sacredness of the tree was connected with the idea of fertility.

8. Native races of India.—In Hinduism the god Siva is not represented by an idol, but by the lingam, or lingam, a phallass post. It is generally supposed that the sterility in which there is no trace in the Vedas, is a contribution from the Dravidian peoples. The lingam are generally made of stone.

1 Frothingham seeks to show that he was developed from the Babylonian caduceus and was a snake-god; cf. American Journal of Archaeology, xx. [1916] 175-211.
2 Harrison, Greek Mythology, the Epic of Ancient India, condensed into English Verses, London, 1886, p. 167.
3 See the references cited by H Oldenberg in SBE xlvii. 12, n. 1.
4 Atharvaveda, xiii. 1. 47.
5 Bundahishn (SBE v. 1890), ix. 51., xvi. 9, xxvii. 2, xxvii. 6, and former astral plane, xili. 2.
7 E. R. Kato, 119 D and E.
8 See J. E. Harrison, Thébais, p. 103 ff.
9 ib. p. 104 f.
10 See ibid., p. 119 ff.
12 Full account of the maypole may be found in the works of Hazlitt and Frazer cited above. The statement given above is mainly a condensation of G. P., pt. i., The Magic Apple, ii. 52-77.
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and painted red, though possibly at times of wood. The use of this symbol seems now to be co-extensive with the use of posts in India there seems slight trace.

On the fourth day of the festival of Ankanma, a Dravidian village-goddess, ‘a man disguised as a woman carries a paper balloon in procession on the end of a long pole. Above the balloon is a picture of the goddess, and above that a drinking-cup, while the royal staff and marshal are similarly draped. Accompanied by drumming and shouting. On the last day the crucial features of the worship take place. The village carpenter prepares a rude cart on which are set the sacred shrines, deeply pointed at the upper end. The usual number of the stakes is nine. On these are impaled alive a goat, a pig, a bantam, and other small animals. The story-tellers then narrate the tale of an invisible horseman. The story is followed by music and a dance. The posture and the attitude of the suffering animals. . . After they have arrived at the temple, a live stag is fixed on a stake so as to rear its head in the ground in front of the temple. All of these animals of course die in their agonies.’ It is believed that Ankamma is propitiated by this suffering and shedding of blood.

In this case the stakes or posts become practically altars for the offering in a most horrible way of such sacrifices as are supposed to appeal to the savage god. According to Dravidian legends, men have sometimes been put to death by being impaled on such stakes.

9. Burma.—The Red Karens hold a festival every year in April at which the principal ceremony is the erection of a post on ground, in or near each village, set apart for the purpose. A new post is set up every year, in the clearing in front of the dwelling, but, when they decay, are not renewed. The posts are really poles, 20 to 30 ft. high. The tree from which each is made is selected each year by omens obtained from chicken-bones. When the pole is set up, the people join in rude dances not unlike the May-pole dances of Europe. They feast on pork and drink quantities of liquor.

10. China.—While in China there is evidence of a semi-sacredness attaching to trees because they are supposed to be the abodes of spirits that must be propitiated, no evidence of the employment of a sacred pole or post in that country is known to the writer. The nearest approach to anything of the kind is the system of poles by which a coffin is carried from the house to the grave. The coffin is placed on a frame-work which is attached to a heavy pole or beam. At each end of this there are cross-poles, which rest on the shoulders of the bearers. There are never fewer than four bearers, and, by increasing the system of cross-poles, there may be eight, ten, or more. These poles are erected without any significance, except in so far as everything connected with burial is to a degree sacred in China. The pole device may have been dictated by convenience, since the frame on which the coffin is mounted may be elevated by a swivel and can be turned in any direction at will—a great convenience in passing through the winding alleys of Chinese cities.

Brooms and bundles of twigs are employed to drive away evil spirits, but this is a development from the primitive sacredness of trees different from that represented by sacred poles and posts.

11. Japan.—Trees among the Japanese might be considered Kami, ‘wonderful’ or ‘divine.’ Kami was the name Japanese equivalent to ‘god.’ Trees, accordingly, were often sacred. This is shown in the Shinto ritual, where it is directed that heavenly twigs be clipped at the top and bottom, ‘making thereof a complete array of one thousand stands for offerings.’ Apparently each twig became a little post for the support of an offering, and was thus a temple. Three of the chief religious uses of posts in Japan that were formerly connected with the Shinto ritual. Down to 1872 phallic symbols were to be seen at many Japanese shrines. They were usually made of wood, and were often of wood in later times of terra-cotta, iron and gold. In connexion with Shinto there were, accordingly, many sacred posts kindred in significance to the sacred posts of the Semitic peoples, in Japan they represented the male principle, the female being indicated by an equal number of different shape.

12. Kamchatka.—Among the Koryaks, when a pestilence is raging, a dog is killed and his entrails are wound round two poles. The people then pass between the poles, which are supposed to have power to prevent the demon of pestilence from following them.

13. Celebes.—(1) Among the Tolodewi in the interior of Central Celebes it is customary to hold a sacred festival on the eighth day after the death of a man and on the ninth day after the death of a woman. On the way home from the festival the guests pass under two poles placed in a slanting direction one against the other, and they must not, while doing this, look round at the house where the death occurred. In this way, with the supernatural or magic aid of the poles, they take leave of the soul of the deceased.

(2) Among the Toboonganoe, another tribe of Central Celebes, when a man buries his wife, he goes to the grave by a different road, that along which the corpse is carried, and on certain days afterwards he bathes, and on returning from the bath must pass through a structure shaped like an inverted V. The structure is formed by splitting a pole up the middle and separating the two parts a little at each end, while they adhere at the other. The ceremony is believed to protect the man’s second wife, if he has one, from soon following the first. The leaning poles form an archway, somewhat similar to that made of lounges by the people of Borneo, beyond which a spirit is supposed to be unable to pass. Among the Toboonganoe it is the spirit of the dead wife, who is believed to be jealous of her living rival, against which protection is sought.

14. Melanesia.—Among the Melanesians there are few traces of sacred posts. (1) In Santo Cruz stocks or posts are set up as memorials of the dead. They are of the rudest sort, and have only such sacred character as attaches to the dead. In the Banda Islands men and women are often impaled in bamboo posts, as they are impaled in Chinese and Japanese burial. The spirit is supposed to be unable to pass through these posts, and is thus prevented from wandering. (2) In Lepers’ Island they have a way of communicating with ghosts by means of a bamboo pole.

They build a little hut in the forest near their village, adorning it with leaves and coconut fronds. The hut is divided by a partition, through which stands a long pole, 12 ft. long. To ascertain whether a ghost is present, the men sit at night on one side of the partition with their hands under the pole, while the privilege of examining the ghost is given to the others. When the bamboo rises in their hands, they know that the ghost of the last called is present. When they name one of

1 N. Maton, Indian Theism, p. 134.
2 ib., pp. 22 and 23, where there is a picture of the altar-stake.
4 G.E.P., pt. i., The Magic Art, ii. 69 ff.
5 ib., pt. i., The Magic Art, ii. 63.
6 ib., pt. i., The Magic Art, ii. 23.
7 ib., pt. i., The Magic Art, ii. 66.
8 ib., p. 917 ff.
9 ib., p. 173.
10 ib., p. 178.
11 ib., p. 179.
12 ib., p. 178.
13 ib., p. 179.
14 ib., p. 174.
15 ib., p. 174.
16 ib.
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themselves, asking the ghost where the man named is, the pole rises, and does not answer. After this they go out singing with one end of the pole in their hands, and the ghost hands them whether it will. If they sing that they will go up high, it looks as if the pole was about to go up. After this they returned to the village, it leads them there. A man is said to have put a bamboo pole over his shoulder with a basket attached, when a ghost was sent to him, putting the basket well, it Pública diollowing where the decapitation occurred. The sticks and pole possessed some ritual significance, though just what it was is not clear.

(2) On the Upper Congo a chieftain, after his death, given a kind of worship for a time. As a part of the reverence shown to him, four of his wives were selected also to be decapitated, and they had one leg and one arm cut off. The legs and arms having first been broken so that they will not crawl out. In order that he may be properly attended in the spirit world, ten of his slaves are decapitated that their spirits may go with him. The ritual of this decapitation is as follows:

A tall flexible pole is stuck in the ground, at some distance behind the seat in which the slaves are to be placed one by one. Freeing the top of the pole a cage-like arrangement is suspended by a cord. The pole is bent down, and the cage is fitted to the unfortunate man's head. He is blindfolded, but he knows that a head is about to be severed by a blow from the stick. Then he has seen it done to others. The executioner commences to dance, and makes a prodigious effort, and, with a few thrusts of the stick, he kills the victim, with one sweep of the huge knife. The pole thus released springs the head into the air. The crowd yells with delight and rejoicing.

17. American Indians.—The sacred pole was found widely among the American Indians. It was planted in the centre of their villages, or, if the tribe was nomadic, it was carried about in an arbor or wrapping and set up in a tent by itself in their encampment. It typified the communal life of the tribe and represented the "mystery tree," which was intimately associated with their legendary origin. The most striking of all these are the totem poles of the Tlingit tribes of the north-west coast of America. The largest of these, as well as the most curious, are those of the Tlingit of Alaska and the Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands. Some of them stand in front of houses, or very near them; others are set near the beach, beyond the village. When old they are weather-beaten and gray. They are sometimes compared to a forest of tree trunks left after a fire has swept through a wooded district.

There are three kinds of these carved posts—totem-posts, commemorative post, and the "house pole" or "chief" post. The simplest of the three. Among the Tlingit and the Haida the dead were usually buried. If the man had been important, a display was made, the body was placed on a platform, and the ashes burned, the ashes were gathered and put into a box, which was placed in a cavity hollowed out of the lower part of the death-post. . . . One of the most interesting is a shrine or place on which was carved or painted the totem of the dead man.

The setary, time of carved post is the commemorative post, put up to commemorate some important event. Thus an old chief once erected a post to commemorate the failure and consequent withdrawal from his village of missionaries of the Greco-Russian Church. On the pole were carved, from the top downward, an eagle, a man pointing with his right hand to the sky, an angel, a priest with hands crossed on his breast, and a trader. The totem-posts are the most interesting. They are taller and more elaborately carved than the others. They stand in front of the houses; among the Tlingit to one side, among the Haida at the front. In front and close to the house was a door, and among the Haida the doorway of the house was a hole cut through the lower end of the totem-post.

Among these tribes every one bears the name of some animal or bird, such as the wolf, bear, eagle, whale, shark, porpoise, puffin, orca, orca-bear, raven, frog, goose, beaver, owl, sea-lion, salmon, dog-fish, crow. The totem-poles bear the pictures the totems of the persons living in each house. The head and wife are of different totem signs, so both of their totems appear, that of the man at the top, that of the woman at the bottom. Between them other designs are frequently carved

4. "Ib., pp. 126, 137, 47, and fig. 119. (4.) P. 320.
5. "Ib., p. 353.
7. "Ib., p. 549
8. "Ib., p. 553.

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to 'tell the tale of the man's wealth and importance, or they might represent some family story.' 1

Descent is reckoned through the mother in these tribes, and amongst the Germans, but it must also be noted that the influence of women is most important, as it tells the totem of the mother and children. These poles are a kind of door-pane and tell at the same time something of a family's history and importance.

But, however, there are also those poles which are frequently carved columns or posts inside their houses. 2 They serve to support the two great rafters on which the jack-rafter and the roof rests. The carvings resemble those on the totem-poles and the totem-poles, too, do not bear the characteristic_sigis_and other similar signs. 3


GEORGE A. BARTON

POLITICAL ECONOMY.—See Economics.

POLITICS.—I. Scope of the article.—The word 'politics' is used to refer both to administration or legislation and to the study of this department of human activity. Although the usual senses of the word ought to public activities than to theory, the subject here treated must be what is more strictly the theory of politics, or political theory. The practical importance of this theory is very great, both because it obstructs and because it assists the attainment of justice and liberty. Theory has often numbered among the follies of a passing age seem to be the nature of things, and has therefore perpetuated abuses; and it has often shown a better way when politicians were blind to facts. The facts of political life will, therefore, be treated here as a basis for speculation, analysis, and suggestion (see, further, art. STATE). That part of life which is political is generally supposed to be concerned with the organization of social relations with a view to justice and liberty. Political theory is the analysis or the attempt to attain these ends; and such theory may be divided into political science (an analysis of facts) and political philosophy (a criticism and moral evaluation of political society). But, since political society is not the only form of society, the theory of politics is only one section of social theory; and it must be distinguished from other kindred subjects. Political society is distinct from the earlier or more primitive forms of social organization. In political society there is a conscious adjustment of social relations by members of a society. Until that occurs, there is, properly speaking, no political life, although, obviously, there is no moment nor any one place in which political life appears, and it must also be noted that political forces and powers are active even in an elaborate political organization. Again, in early but not very primitive society there was no distinction between what we now call 'political' and what we now call 'religion' or 'organization'. There was no separate theory of religious institutions; but there should be one now, if our social theory is to be complete. Political theory must exclude this. In still less primitive times, and even as late as the 19th century, there was a distinct separation of economic and political purposes. Therefore a study called 'political economy' arose; and the study of organization for economic wealth was confused with the study of organization for justice and liberty. But, however close the connexion between them, we shall presume that economics (q.v.) is quite distinct from political theory, at least in its subject-matter, if not in its method. Finally, politics is connected, through the general theory of society, with ethics (q.e.), or the study of right action. The study of politics shall here be regarded as fundamentally social and should not isolate the individual, it deals with more general issues.

II. The Greek conception.—The first political theory was Greek; and it was based upon the half-conscious political organizations—monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy—which are reviewed in the famous passage of Herodotus. 1 The criticisms there made mark the beginning of political theory. They are based upon Greek experience, aided by observation of Eastern practices; and the forms of government are distinguished by psychological observation of the actions of men in half-organized groups. The immediately following practice and theory were based upon the experience of the *polis,* a peculiar and unique organization or institution which has not only given a name to our subject, but very profoundly affected the view usually taken of it. A word is necessary as to the nature of the *polis.* It was the organization of a small local group of male slave-owners, based upon what we may call religious or ritual community. It was originally exclusive, segmented according to military purposes and organized politically, in our sense of the word, for the attainment of justice and liberty, in one of the three ways mentioned above. But it was a society in which the political was not yet clearly distinguished from the economic or religious needs of man. For this and other reasons, therefore, it is impossible to suppose that the *polis* was essentially a State (see STATE). But upon the experience of the *polis* was based all the Greek theory of society; and the Greek theory of the *polis* is therefore rather an early form of philosophical sociology than what we now call political theory. The pre-Socratic views of society probably veered between the idea that all social organization is a convention (and as such a break with 'nature') and the idea that the organization of civilized society is natural. The theory of convention, connected as it was with the attack on slavery and the subjection of women. *Nature* was the word given to what would be better than the established custom. But we have no complete statement of this view of society. The most valuable and effective political theories being those of the Socrates (q.v.), and is found in Plato's dialogues. Although it is not systematically presented, we can quite clearly see the main lines of the Socratic-Platonic analysis and suggestions of social betterment. This theory of society is part of a general theory of the nature and purposes of man; and,

1 Starr, p. 200.
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since man is essentially social, ethics is part of the
theory of social life which is called, in our trans-
literary phrase, ‘politics.’ It is false to say that politics in this sense is only part of ethics; it is absurd to suppose that Socrates and Plato (q.v.) were thinking only or chiefly of what we call ‘politics.’ Organized society presented itself to them as a whole—religions, cultural, and economic institutions—called society, and the discussion always refers to all the relations or contacts of man with man. For this reason the psychological analysis of the individual in the Republic is regarded as an equivalent to an analysis of society. The fundamental statement implied in Plato’s work is that society is the result of three
distinct elements of the character or nature of man; the reverse, he would admit, is also true that the
three elements are the result of society. 1 For
it is not possible to say of the individual or of society that one exists, in time, before the other. The Republic is in the main an analysis of fact, and only in a secondary sense a Utopia; the fact is the life of the state. Therefore the Socratic-
Platonic form of government is still in process of change, and it is the change that he would call political, and in that part is concerned more with the purpose of political action than with political devices or methods. The discovery
and promulgation of what is worth doing rather than the administration of how to do it is the
chief interest of Socratic Law. Let us turn to Plato what it meant to most Greeks—a statement of the reason-
able rule to be followed rather than a command.
And those who could discover this rule were, there-
fore, the only hope of society. Unimaginative
commentators have turned this ‘spiritual power’ into
a military autocracy, because of the Spartan
tendencies in Plato; for Plato is indeed too
impatient of the method of trial and error in
politics. But the value of his work lies in suggest-
iveness as to ultimate ends rather than in ideas of
method. He is the first political philosopher.
The situation had changed in the interval between
Socrates and Aristotle; but Aristotle (q.v.) con-
inues to repeat the established analysis and to
depart for evidence upon an already fast disappearing
life of the state. His analysis, however, is carried
farther than Plato’s, and his suggestions, though
less radical, are more detailed. In his Politics he
reviews the general principles on which the state
was to be built, and the principles of government
in later ages did more completely, all other interests
of man to the desire for orderly administration.
In addition to principles shared with Plato, he
gives as suggestions as to the dependence of social
organization upon external or natural circum-
stances; he perceives the importance of economic
facts; and he attempts to combine the good points of
the different systems of government so far dis-
covered by the Greeks. He is the first political
scientist. Apart from his unsurpassed ability in
analysis of political fact, he formulates well
certain principles already discovered. The true
State exists not for wealth or power, but for a full
and noble life; administration is to provide oppor-
tunities for real and actual happiness. A man
must be allowed to give these opportunities to all who are capable
of using them, women and slaves being proved by
‘experience’ incapable; and good government is
such as prevents the exploitation of some members of society by the other members.
Great as Plato and Aristotle were, they omitted
or under-estimated the value of certain facts of the
social life which they analyzed. They treated the
state as in essence self-sufficing; but the evidence
was against them. Nearly all the Greek city-
States were dependent, for food, luxuries, or ideas,
on other communities; and Athens, confessedly the
most advanced, if not, in the philosophers’
judgment, the best organized, was civilized largely
by foreign contacts. Similarly, in politics they
noticed the growing departmentalizing of function
which was making the primitive and all-inclusive
state into one of many institutions. Voluntary
unions existed for economics, religion, or culture,
which are simply disregarded by Plato and Ari-
totle.

So much with respect to facts; but as to concep-
tions of social betterment also the two great philos-
ophers are deficient. Although each gives hints
at the solution of the problem through an attempt of Sophists like Gorgias, Lysis, and
Isocrates to counteract the isolation of the state
and make an inter-State political structure. And
they hark back to the primitive all-inclusive
organization of the state, which is merely
a tribal or tribal family. The history of
their influence has unfortunately been as much a history
of their mistakes and omissions as of their illuminat-
ing conceptions, and this both in the sphere of
practical politics and in political theory. But
they started a method and succeeded in giving
a fresh impetus to the general theory of society and the social nature
of man. At about the same period political
theory and development were beginning in China;
but the early promise does not seem to have led to
anything very substantial. The structure of the
state which, at any rate, continued for more than
5000 years unaffected by the East. We may therefore
suppose that political, if not social, theory, as it
now stands, is almost exclusively Western.

3. Roman contribution to the theory.—The
domination of Rome marks the second stage in
political development. A single State gradually
acquired the administration of all the different
local groups in W. Europe, W. Asia, and
Africa. But even this State was a much more
simple and all-inclusive organization than any
modern State. It was, like the state, in its basis
religions, and in the form of its institutions
military; and, although the same administration
in the 2nd cent. of our era covered vast territory
with many states, the general structure of the State
was still sufficiently like that of the original urbs
for the conception of the Greek philosophers to be
applied to it. With some modifications made by
Cicero and Polybius, the idea of political life
remained unaltered during the period of the
Empire, and the most important, since he introduced to the
political tradition the idea of a balance of social
powers as a good method for administration. 2 But
the real experience of the Romans is contained
not in the philosophical commentaries, but in the
lawyers. For the social need of the time seems to
have been orderly administration, and the desire
for local or individual development was sufficiently
satisfied if peace was secured.

The Roman lawyers added to the political tradi-
tion two important conceptions: an early form of
the idea of sovereignty and the idea of a natural
law. The one was a reflex of the imperial unity of
the Roman world, the other an attempt to explain
the basis of civil law. As a result of the former
the dependence of all forms of association upon
the will of the political power are conceptions of
extreme importance in the Middle Ages, with sinister
consequences in the Renaissance. And the idea
of natural law lived on to affect the current
international law. And the lawyers claimed to ‘the
rights of man.’ But no complete and comprehen-
sive theory of politics had been developed among
the Romans when the Roman world fell in ruin.

4. The Middle Ages.—The development of
civil and political life and theory was then interrupted.

1 Plato, Rep. 415.
2 Hist. vi. 15.
The Dark Ages contain nothing but gradual loss of the civilized administration and exact thinking of the past, together with fruitful and primitive efforts to reconstruct them, and it has hardly been the occasion of any valuable political idea. In fact it was essentially pre-political and socially primitive. Kingship, on the other hand, has been important to political life and to theory. The medieval king was a sacred person, and he was responsible for the government of 'natural' or of customary law. He was not a despot, a representative, an official, or the source of law. He became, especially in England and France, the focus of the effort towards settled and permanent government. It is a curious fact of the new national sentiment. In theory the king has some special divinely-given qualities; he is the necessary result of the desire for one kind of law in any group, and he seems to be given some peculiar physical power of transmitting abilities to his children.

5. The Renaissance.—The decay of the medieval system, towards the end of the 14th cent., left the unity of Europe a vague memory, the conflict of Church and State a firesome and half-forgotten quarrel, feudalism a forgotten order, and the legal conception was of a defunct, a representative, an official, or the source of law. He became, especially in England and France, the focus of the effort towards settled and permanent government. It is a curious fact of the new national sentiment. In theory the king has some special divinely-given qualities; he is the necessary result of the desire for one kind of law in any group, and he seems to be given some peculiar physical power of transmitting abilities to his children.

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First, William of Ockham and his follower, Marsigli of Padua, attempted to give to the State the prestige of the Church by proving it to be fundamentally necessary and not secondary in importance. Then the minds of great numbers of men were gradually turned away from the desire for heaven. This had the double effect of degrading all political conceptions into the merely economic and at the same time of lifting ordinary life by making it seem more worthy of consideration. The supreme political fact of the Renaissance was the existence of personal government in different mutually jealous groups. The situation is generally described in books on history—a subject that has become since the Renaissance predominantly political. Indeed, conscious political development began again at about this date. And this resulted in a succession of brilliant analyses of political life and suggestions of change. Machiavelli is the first statesman and greatest theoretician of the new attitude. Because neither the Bible nor Aristotle obscured his view of life as it was; and since his time no political thinking has been based upon books. Even his suggestions for the future are not more than observations of the plans usually followed. The State is for him an instrument of the prince, chiefly for the attainment of 'glory'; and it is essentially an organization for exploitation, either within its frontiers, of the many by the few, or, outside of its frontiers, of one group by another, an analysis which is not altogether inapplicable to modern States.

A slight change of experience is marked by the consolidation of personal government on a more economic and less military basis, over nations rather than districts. France and England provide the evidence. And Jean Bodin analyzes the new phase of political life. The monarch is less prominent in theory and the organization more, although generally the educated men even in Bodin's time were always tending to become an analysis of personal rule only. The Six Livres de la République (Paris, 1576) expresses for the first time clearly the complete doctrine of sovereignty, at least with respect to the ideas in government of the State. This was a great step forward. From then on it has been taken for granted that there is within each
politically organized group an authority, a source of law and administration, beyond or above which there is no other. Legal supremacy of one authority within one territory was, therefore, no novel idea. But however, never lost sight of the fact that legal supremacy does not imply moral superiority, and that legal submission does not imply moral allegiance. He recognizes other institutions and even grants that these may be the social State; but he accepts to say that, the State having come into existence, all other social allegiances derive their force from the State and bind only in subordination to the State. This is probably due to the influence of theorists who had held that the natural tendencies of the human being were such as to war against each other. This natural war of each against all, according to Hobbes, survives between organized groups or States, and it is described as the use of force and fraud. Within the territories of the dominant the law is no appeal against 'the mortal god' who, in effect, is a monarch, although in theory the sovereign may be a multitude; and there is no appeal because force is against any such appeal. As for a Church, either it is the State itself in one of its functions or it is a subordinate form of society like a goose-club. Political realism could go no farther; and with some uncertainty perhaps, but with evident intention, force is made to be the fundamental political fact. Against this Locke's conception of civil government was in part a protest. Men are not for him quite so physical, and 'the state of nature' is clearly distinguished from war. Primitive man is rightly considered to have social tendencies; and Locke (q.v.) adds to the idea of a contract the conception that administration is not based upon an unlimited surrender of individuality, but on limitation of independence with a view to particular purposes. He implies that these purposes are not the only purposes of life, and he definitely makes allegiance to a government depend upon its success in attaining the purpose for which it exists.

The two leading conceptions of the period in all writers were those of a state of nature and of a social compact or contract. They have been many times misapplied and misunderstood, and revolved into the Revolutionary period and perhaps influenced the idea of 'the rights of man,' they had been already exploded. For it is obvious that primitive man was neither so unsocial as Hobbes imagined, nor so much the child of the uncivilized as he thought. And even as a logical basis for society, as opposed to a historical origin, a social compact implies far too calculating and conscious an activity. But perhaps now we need rather to understand the question a little in those terms.

Like a compact is logically implied in the half-recognized acceptance by citizens of the political conditions under which they live.

The international period deserves special consideration, for it reflects a new phase of political experience and adds something to political theory, but with strangely little effect upon the idea of sovereignty. International law was primarily an attempt to supply another conception for the dual idea of the unity of civilization. It was based upon the obvious facts that no State was isolated, and that the relations between States were not altogether those of force and fraud. There were indications that at intervals even sovereigns regarded other nations as treacherous or amicable; and, when the peculiar habit called war broke out, there seemed to be some limits set to the amount of force or to the intricacy of the fraud usually maintained. How was this to be explained? The attempts which were made to explain it culminated in Grotius (q.v.), who established or revived for many generations the conception of a natural law, with Christian connexions, superior to the will of States or princes. Besides being the natural law in that particular period, this natural law, in so far as it was defined, was a mild restrictive suggestion which the international lawyers tried to believe was a command. But its presupposition was that the agreement between two or more States was required to be few peculiar practices, and need not feel even that restriction when the existence of their own form of government was in danger. Personal rule had created a mythical State-person, having all the qualities of a person, and incapable of the idea of a collective personality. At the close of the Renaissance period another great political realist appeared. Charles de Secondat Montesquieu set himself, in L'Esprit des lois (Geneva, 1748), to study political facts by the method of comparing the usages of different peoples. The evidence at his disposal was very deficient, but he arrived at some valuable conclusions—e.g., that environment affects institutions. His attempt to distinguish the inner spirit of different forms of government as well as their external forms is also valuable. His 아래의 "의미적" i.e., it must be conceived as the very nature of government and the only basis of moral allegiance. A new and truer conception of humanity was shaking the barriers which divided social estates. The first age of humanism had passed, with Jean Jacques Rousseau (q.v.). Still moving in the confused region of contracts, rights, and sovereignty, Rousseau redefined the old words and foretold a new spirit by his undoubted love of men. He thought it in turn a man, and even used the musty language of his predecessors. In the analysis of fact Rousseau emphasized chiefly the dependence of the individual upon society for his thought and feeling as well as for his material wants, but he so phrased his conceptions that the
choice of the individual seemed to be the ultimate source of government. As for suggestions of social betterment, he required a complete supremacy of all adult men of the group, who were to rule directly through their agents. They were, however, to take power not because of combined force, but because their real will could not be mistaken. This was a moralizing of politics; but in effect Rousseau only transferred to popular government the absolutism and the divine right (q.v.) which had hitherto been to personal rulers. Again, for him as well as for most of his contemporaries, the State meant the whole of organized society. And, again, in the effort to preserve local political vitality he repudiated the doctrine of representative government. These are obvious mistakes. But the great importance of Rousseau is not merely due to the effect of his work on his own generation; it comes from the fact that he re-established the old Greek and fundamentally human idea of political society as an opportunity for the full realization of what is best in man. His argument is often bad and his language always ineffective, because of the obsolete conceptions with which he had to work. But one can feel the effort to express a new meaning. Men were to be treated as free in political society; they were to find in it more than they had surrendered in the mythical contract; and they were to be 'citizens,' because 'subjects' only of the general will. The Revolution was intoxicated with the word 'citizen'; and it marks a new age, if we consider that for writers like Hobbes the products of the social contract are only subjects. With the title of citizen the common man felt that he could rise from his knees; and, even if in the end he was treated as a brute, sheer necessity at least gave a dignity without which the political progress of recent years would have been impossible.

Burke, who imagined himself as far as possible opposed to Rousseau, is full of the same kind of humanism. He feels the naturalness of institutions and the value of tradition, but his intellectual analysis of facts is inadequate. The circumstances of the time often misled him into the maintenance of what was obsolete, and he saw objections against any new institution more clearly than the evils of the established system.

The two great political changes of the period, of which the importance is hardly recognized even to-day, were the political experiments in N. America and in France. The political changes vaguely conceived by English revolutionaries were taken as the theoretical basis for the republic of the United States and, under the influence of thinkers, adopted by the revolutionaries of France. The phrase, however, sounds so empty to-day that it is difficult for us to understand the force that it once had. It meant that there was to be recognized by every political society a fundamental humanity in every man which should not be, as it still is, forgotten in the pursuit of wealth, or because governments desire to act without being criticized, or because we know that men differ in ability.

In the meantime men were tending away from the comparison of different organizations to the criticism of all organization in view of fundamental needs. The new question was not which form of administration was best for the attainment of old purposes, but what purpose any administration should be called to serve.

7. Utilitarianism and politics.—Political thought renewed its life in the utilitarians. The experience which gave rise to their calculus of pleasures was the dismal beginning of industrialism. At first a revolt against the restrictive influence of the remnants of the medieval system, utilitarianism (q.v.) became ultimately an appeal for the full and free development of all human beings. Jeremy Bentham was the source of the new energy. 'The greatest happiness of the greatest number' became the watchword. The effect of Bentham's theories upon political practice was so obvious and is still so recent that even practical politicians admit in this case the importance of theory. For Bentham initiated the modern practice of continuous legislation. The State was not merely to maintain, but to develop and increase the opportunities for civilized life. From this period we derive the conception of a scientific use of legislation for definite social effects and the desire to have as few restrictions on individual action as is consistent with order. J. S. Mill (q.v.) was the most philosophical thinker of the new school, especially as regards the fact that spontaneous individual action is the only source of a valuable social life. So far as the analysis of facts is concerned, the most important influence upon political thought came from the new study of economic facts. At one time the State seemed to be concerned only or chiefly with wealth. Mill represents this element in the new phase of political thought. Much discussion turned upon the theory to which commerce is directed; and for that attention was directed to the relation of administration and economic production. English political thought has since fallen into the hands of the lawyers, whose natural interest is in methods rather than in moral ends to be pursued. The problem of legal sovereignty has bulked largely in their imagination, and they have done admirable work in making the machinery of government more effective. Their deficiencies were due largely to the influence of Bentham. French thought, meanwhile, was making progress in the basic conceptions of political society. It was perceived that society could not be understood as a machine, and that the conception of individuals as nameless similar units was destroying social vitality in the attempt to prevent the growth of privilege. The republic was criticized as severely as any monarchy had been. In Germany the philosophical study of man led to conceptions of society vaguely correct but hopelessly without reference to contemporaneous facts. Thus the ideals were reached in various systems of the historical evolution of various forms of organization.

The attitude towards established government, adopted chiefly in France and England, was one of suspicion. A belief in the desire to limit the power of men was best when alone or was by nature isolated. Loisirs-faible (q.v.) led to brute conflict, and the State was becoming a machine for the use of manufacturers. The influence of the historical school, both on the Continent and in England, should be counted as correcting the mistakes of this false individualism. In practice it had been corrected, for the political influence of the later utilitarians was by no means directed to isolating the individual, but to showing that the theoretical and living and natural unit was needed to complete the tendency towards socializing all political activities. The historical school rightly looked back to a form of political humanism in their opposition to what appeared to be a too elaborate separation of society and the State. But their ambitions misled them. They lost sight of the individual in the endeavour to transcend him; they confounded the State with society as a whole and, in the desire for personal philosophic freedom, returned from the grave of Leviathan a monstrous ghost—the mystical State which is above all morality.

8. A new political theory.—The curse and as yet unexamined conceptions of nationalism at present popular are in part due to the mis-takes of the
POLYNESIA

historical school. Already, however, especially among French writers, there is a return to the individualism (p. c.) of earlier times, with such corre-
cisions as must be allowed from the suggestions of Auguste Comte and his followers (see art. 

POSITIVISM). Society is clearly not a mere col-
clection of individuals, nor is the State a mere contract of citizens; but, on the other hand, the social unit or 

the State is not to be explained except as 
special form of relation between individuals. 

Neither the atomic individual nor the mystical crowd-mind is a fact; and with such negatives the history of political theory ends, except for the study of societies or special groups. 

Again, however, political life outgrows the formula of established theory. Within the 

frontiers of every civilized State independent 

quasi- voluntary associations have arisen — the 

trade-unions (p. c.). Across the frontier voluntary 

associations for the use of capital in undeveloped 

countries have become powerful. State action 

has immensely increased, and no clear limit 

appears as to what the State can do; but other 

organizations have begun to renew the idea 

they can succeed to the State's function. 

Further, by contrast to the preceding period, 

States are compelled by force of circumstances to 

act together; and, most important of all, for the 

first time in human history every human being is 

brought into continuous political contact with 

every other, since all the States of the world are 

at last connected. The mass of new facts has led 

to extreme specialization in action and thought; 

and so far no comprehensive view has become 

common nor have the movements of improvement 

been generally accepted. Recent political thought is to 

be found embedded in the discussion of general 

social and economic questions. Socialism and 

syndicalism (p. g.), although implying political 

conclusions, are far-reaching social movements rather 

than programmes of State action. For the old 

theories of the State begin to appear superficial to 

an age impatient of fundamental evils and unlikely 

for much longer to be satisfied with the modifica-

tion of a few officialisms. Already there is ab-

dence that a new political theory is arising out of 

the new social theory; and the new experiences of 

recent years will perhaps require an entirely new 

analysis of fact, not to speak of new suggestions of 

future objects that political thought should concern 

itself not only with the devices of government, but with the establishment of 

more ideal purposes than those now commonly 

accepted. 

Although the situation has indeed changed in so 

many ways that much of the old political theory 

is obsolete and all of it is inadequate, we owe 

much to the statesmen and thinkers of the past. 

The results acquired in practice are probably such 

as that the consent of the governed is essential for 

good government, that different situations need 

different systems, that political life changes and 

therefore the system of administration should 

change. These are principles which may be 

observed to be implied in the action of the more 

advanced political groups. In the sphere of theory 

the old truths still valid are such as that 

society is a real and natural whole, that man is 

made by society and yet the individual is the only 

source of development. But, naturally it is 

impossible to compare the unequal development of 

practice when we are making a summary of our 

indebtedness for the achievements of past ages. 

We can only build the future upon the good 

already established by men now dead. The 

great advantage that we have over them, in the effort to elevate political action and 

illuminate political theory, is the power to repudiate 
what we have inherited when it hampers our 

perception of evil or dulls our desire to destroy it.

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POLYANDRY.—See Marriages, Family.

POLYDÆMONISM.—See Demons and Spirits.

POLYGAMY.—See Marriages, Family.

POLYNESIA.—1. Introductory.—Polynesia is the 

name given to a number of Pacific islands whose inhabitants are closely related to one 

another, speak dialects of substantially the same 

language, are similar in physique, and are, in fact, a 

distinct, though not a pure, race. The chief 

groups of islands included in the area are Samoa, 

Tonga, Tahiti and the Society Islands, the Hervey 

or Cook Islands, the Marquesas and the Paumotu, 

the Tuamotu, the Society Islands, the Samoan 

country to the north and New Zealand to the south. The Fiji 

Islands form part of Melanesia; but their people are largely Polynesian in character; and there are, 

scattered among the islands of Melanesia and Micronesia, small outlying settlements of people 

either wholly or partly Polynesian. 

The Polynesians have long been subject to the 

influence of white men. Mission stations were 

established long ago in most of their groups, and 

the people have been in constant contact with 

travellers, traders, government officials, and others. The old religious beliefs have been swept away, and 

superseded by Christianity; early social and 

political systems and customs have been displaced; past cultures have been forgotten. It is therefore 

necessary, in writing about these things, to adopt 

the past tense, even though some of the matters 

spoken of still survive. It must not be assumed 

that every statement which follows applies to all 

of the islands, the intention of this article being 

merely to indicate, as far as possible in the space 

available, some of the more widely spread or char-

acteristic features of Polynesian customs and 

beliefs.

2. Origin and migrations.—It is believed that, 

prior to the migrations about to be mentioned, the 

islands of Polynesia, or many of them, must have 

been occupied by a people more primitive in culture 

than these later migrants. This belief is based 

upon a recognition of physical differences among 

the people; upon an investigation of the sys-

tem of relationship, nomenclature in connexion 

with those systems, and certain relationship duties 

and privileges found in Polynesia; upon a study of 

certain Polynesian beliefs, cultures, and customs, 

including the custom of kava-drinking; and upon 

a comparison of all these matters with what has 

been found in Melanesia. Much fresh light has 

been thrown upon this difficult subject by W. H. 

Rivers in his recent great work, "The History of 

Melanesian Society," (1900). The later migrants moved 

into the Pacific from the islands of Indonesia; 

they had probably passed to those islands from an 

earlier home on the mainland of further India; 

and there are grounds for suggesting a still earlier 

home for the whole Polynesian family. Their movements from 

India to Indonesia, and afterwards, by routes 

skirting some of the islands of Melanesia, to the 

Pacific, are believed to have been caused by pressure 

from behind; and it is thought that in course 

of their migrations through Indonesia they them-

selves came in contact with, and to a certain extent 
pushed before them, Papuans or Melanesians then
occupying the islands. Their legends indicate that their first halting-places in the Pacific were probably the Fiji Islands, from which they reached the Samoan and Tongan groups, and from all these they spread outwards in the manner of the waves of a less uncontrolled and intermittent process of passing from India southward and eastward. The period of what is regarded as the first recorded migration from India to Indonesia has been placed in the last century prior to the Christian era, but it is difficult to point irrefutably to a totenic origin—that is, to say, these visible representations of their gods were defined deities, or, as has been suggested, had been the totems of defiled heroes and ancestors long ago. A Polynesian would be unwilling to kill, and still more unwilling to eat, the animal which was the incarnation of his own god or that of his people, and the accidental killing of one of these animals, or the finding of it dead, would cause a kind of nervousness and religious ceremony; he would, however, have no scruples in regard to the god of his neighbour or a neighbouring people. He not only trusted the incarnation of his god to do him no injury, provided, of course, he had not been guilty of a grave offence, but he actually looked to it for guidance, help, and protection. There is, moreover, evidence which points to beliefs as to animal incarnations having been the ancestors of their religious forms. Then, as regards the more social aspects of a clan system, the attitude of the people towards one another includes features highly significant of clanship; these features are various, but by way of example two are more frequently evident in prevalent in some of the islands, that, if A killed B, it was a social and even religious duty of all B's people to join in retaliating, and their vengeance was directed, not only against A, but also against all his people, a whole village being involved in the matter. There were also clear and unmistakable relics of clan exogamy; and in some of the groups—notably in Tonga—family rank descended by a matrilineal system, and there were traces of the same thing in other groups.

5. Myths of creation.—The dominant idea of some of what are believed to have been the oldest Polynesian myths of creation was the evolution of light from darkness, with which was sometimes associated the beginning of sound and of stability.

The Maori myth tells of the embrace of the original parents, and the birth of the earth, and of the emergence of the man and woman who were between them, being enshrined, until one of them, Tane, killed the other, and thus gave birth to the world and so letting in light and air. The same myth was known in Nine (Savage Island); and the belief that the sky had originally been formed by the man rising up from the earth in the Polynesian. The beautiful Marquesan legend told of the victory of Atea (representing light, or perhaps even the sun) over darkness, and of Atea setting the sun and moon in the sky, and thus the dawn. The Hawaiian myth narrated the achievements of Kane—the Hawaiian spelling of Tane—representing light, and two other beings, representing sound and stability, who broke up darkness and chaos, admitted light, and created the heavens and earth and, lastly, man. In Mauguis (Hervey group) the legend of creation begins with references to certain spirit-beings, not of human form; and then goes on to tell of a woman, called the 'very beginning' or the 'beginning and the bottom,' who dwelt in the depths below the earth, and of the children whom she produced by tearing off portions of her own flesh, of whom the eldest, Vatea, representing the noon, and so in effect the light, was the divine ancestor of mankind.

Several of the Polynesian myths, in the form of a recital of a series of consecutive births or evolutions, suggest the development of firm rock or foundation, from the earth, the sea, and the sky. Kane were the same god; Atea and Vatea were also the same as Tane, or at least represented the same conception; and to Tane must, perhaps, be ascribed the original primacy in the Polynesian pantheon; but he had to do with all the groups, and in some of them, in particular, had been wholly or partially forgotten and supplanted by another god, Tangara, who was there regarded as the creator of all things. Another idea which was widely scattered in Polynesia was that the islands or groups had been dragged up by one or
other of their ancient gods, by means of a fish-hook, from the bottom of the sea.

6. Ideas as to earth, heaven, hades, etc.—A belief prevailing in Polynesia was that the earth—a term generally confined to one island or group of islands and the surrounding sea—was a flat surface, overarched by the sky, and ending abruptly at the horizon, where sea and sky met. In some of the groups we find the idea that the heavens, above the visible sky, were formed in a series of concentric strata, the highest layer being darker than the lower, and the highest being absolutely dark. These upper or more distant heavens, spoken of as the region of Po, or night, were believed to envelop all things, both the visible sky and the earth, so that it was Po in the remote heavens above, and Po in the regions below the earth. This idea has an important bearing upon Polynesian beliefs as to the homes of their gods and the destination of the souls of the dead. The old migration traditions and myths point to the west as the place from which they came. The home of their gods, some of them known in most or all of the groups (possibly gods or living heroes of Indonesian or pre-Indonesian days), was a beautiful vision of paradise, or the sky, and in the region of darkness, which was believed in some islands to be in the sky above, and in others to be in the depths below. The apparent confusion between the distant west, beyond the horizon, and the sky above was natural, for anything coming from the former was visibly approaching from the sky; and the further confusion between the sky above and the region below arose from their conception of Po. Similarly, the most general belief as to the destiny of the souls of the dead was either that they went to live with the gods in their western paradise or that they passed into Po.

7. The soul during life.—The belief that man possessed a spiritual personality quite distinct from his physical body—a ghostly self, which we may call a soul—and that this soul survived the body at death is found throughout Polynesia; the statement as to survival must be qualified, however, by saying that in some islands it was believed that the souls of the low-class people died with their bodies in the life hereafter; that the notion was in their minds between this soul, on the one hand, and the mental and moral faculties and emotions, on the other. The belief that, when dreaming, the soul of the sleeper left his body and actually saw himself in it is widely held; there are many instances how the dreams of human beings are recognized method of inspiration by the souls of the departed and the gods. In some of the islands the possession of a soul, or at all events of a mysterious invisible self, was attributed not to man alone, but also to animals, and even to trees, plants, and inanimate objects; and we find beliefs that with these also this invisible self survived the death of its owner.

8. Good and bad conduct.—It may be said generally that a man's conduct, as between himself and his fellow-men, had no influence upon his life on earth or upon the future of his soul. The only offences noticed by the gods were acts of disrespect to themselves—omissions of acts of devotion, or the performance of them, according to the usual religious observances, breaches of the taboo, and, perhaps especially, neglect in offering in sufficient quantities the required sacrifices, the last offence being one to which the priests, for obvious reasons, were most addicted. For offences of this sort the gods inflicted the punishment of illness; and, if the offence was serious and the gods were not appeased, the illness would be followed by death.

9. The soul after death.—The conduct of a man during life, even as between him and the gods, had no influence upon the destination of his soul after death. In some of the islands all souls went to the same place; in others there was an alternative between what may be called heaven and some region under the earth generally Po. But, in nearly all the groups it was solely a question of rank, only the chiefs and upper classes going to heaven, and the common people, if their souls survived at all, going below; though in one group the alternative depended upon an entirely different matter.

In Samoa and Tonga the souls of chiefs went to their heaven, Bulutu, which was one of the homes of their gods—indeed, the souls of Tongan chiefs became gods; the souls of common people of Samoa went to a sort of hallowed, called Sa-le-fee, which was not exactly Po, but was for all practical purposes the same; the souls of common people of Tonga died (according to the more prevalent ancient beliefs) with their bodies. Bulotu was away to the west; the Samoans believed it to be a region under the sea, and the Tongans thought that it was an island. It was a beautiful place, abundantly supplied with plants, bearing the richest fruits, and supplied with quanti- ties of pigs; and, when the flowers were placed and the pigs killed, others immediately took their place. Sa-le-fee was under the earth; it was the home of the family of the cuttlefish god, and, though not apparently a place of actual torture, was an unpleasant place to live in.

The Society Islands heaven was Rohutu-noa-noa, a home of the gods. It was primarily the destination of the souls of members of the great Society Islands semi-sacred Aroei society; but, as any one could go there whose surviving relatives could afford a somewhat expensive ceremonial after his death, it was also in effect the destination of chiefs and important persons. All other souls went to Po, Rohutu-noa-noa, which was really Bulotu with another name, was by these people believed to be near (apparently above, in the sky) a mountain on the north-west side of the most westerly island of the group; the description of it is similar to that of Bulotu. All souls which did not attain that heaven went down to another region, the journey to which appears to have been a westward one; it was a home of the gods, and was not regarded as a revolting or terrible place.

In Mangala (Hervey Islands) the alternative destination was to be left in a place near the heavens above and a subterranean Po—both of them homes of the gods. Here the soul's destiny did not depend upon rank; the souls of these slain in battle went to paradise, but all others went to Po. The heavens were above, built of azure stone; and the souls that reached them were clothed with beautiful and sweet-scented flowers, laughed, danced, and enjoyed themselves in every way, looking down with disgust at the poor wretches in Po, who had to endure the misery of being surrounded with the dung which fell from their more fortunate friends above. There were three points of departure for Po; but they all faced westward. The beliefs of the people of Karotonga (Hervey Islands) were fundamentally similar to those just described.

In the Marquesas the souls of the upper classes went to heaven, this being, they thought, an island up in the sky, apparently beyond the seas, abounding in everything delightful; those of the lower classes were sent down to the earth. Each of these was a home of the gods.

The Maoris of New Zealand recognized the idea of Po in its original form, as extending in concentric layers both above the visible sky and beneath the earth. Po above was the home of the gods;
and Po below was the destination of all human souls, which after death descended to the impenetrable darkness of its lowest depths, where they gradually pined away and ultimately became annihilated.

In Hawaii there was a common belief that the souls of the dead went to Po and were there eaten or annihilated by the gods; but there were variations of this belief.

It will be noticed that generally the alternative death to Hades or to heaven was recognized, and that in almost every case the road to Hades; that each of these was a home of the gods; and that, whilst the former was delightful, the latter, though not necessarily a place of torment, was not a desirable residence—among other things it was always dark and gloomy. It will also be observed that heaven was usually supposed to be situated somewhere in the west; and so generally was Hades; for the most usual route to either one or the other was westerly, commencing with a rock facing the sea at the westerly end of the island group, from which the soul leapt into the sea. In New Zealand the leaping place was at the northerly extremity of the islands; but the migrations to this group of the Maoris were from central Polynesia, and a glance at a map will explain many of the mistakes and inconsistencies in the beliefs generally. It may be that the custom which, as will be seen, prevailed in some of the islands of placing the remains of the dead in a canoe or a canoe-shaped receptacle is significant of a belief as to the journey of the soul when released from the body. It is thought that all these beliefs concerning the west must be associated with the early traditions of the people about the quarter from which their remote ancestors had migrated; for this would be the natural habitation of the oldest racial gods, and, to a certain extent, of their pantheon generally, and the natural destination of the souls of the dead.

In some of the islands it was believed that the soul during its journey might have a chance of turning back and re-entering its body. This was so in the Hevev Islands and in Samoa. In the latter group the belief was that, if the soul struck against a coco-nut-tree near the western land extremity, it would leap over it; in other groups it was the fate of all, good or bad. There is ground for suggesting that this soul-eating was not merely a matter of divine gastronomical enjoyment, but that there was connected with it an underlying idea of the passage of the soul, and the judgment, through the gods, for the purpose of purifying them and making them fit to live among the gods.

The souls would sometimes linger about their old haunts before starting on their final journey, and it is a common custom to visit the old friends and relations of the deceased in order to return from their abode in paradise or Po and revisit their friends. They seem to have appeared usually in human form, but to have been immutable and mist-like. Their visits were much dreaded by the people, though it does not appear that they were usually believed to act malevolently during their wanderings.

10. The gods. —The Polynesian gods were extremely numerous, and differed widely in celebrity and power. They were greedy of respect and some religious attention; and many of them failed in these matters; but it cannot be said that they were regarded merely as a body of malignant beings, only to be propitiated. The people appealed to them for active guidance and assistance in all their great events, and placed much confidence upon receiving it; and a large proportion of the omens which governed the people's decisions, even in the most important matters such as peace or war, were the actions and movements, most carefully watched, of the divine incarnation. First in rank came what may be called the racial gods—great deities, one or more of whose names were known in nearly all the groups; these included Tane, Tangoaroa, Rongo, Tikihui, Tu, Itu, the demigod Manihi and others; they were the oldest gods, possibly the divinities or heroes of the Polynesian ancestors in the Indonesian days or earlier. At the periods of visits of white men to the islands there was much confusion as to these gods. In one group only one or two were known, though the majority of the group kept others; in another group another was supreme; the beliefs as to the relationships of these gods, one to another, and even their origins, attributes, and spheres of influence, differed in the several groups. As a rule, they were not the objects of prayer and sacrifice, except on specially important occasions, the reason being that they were believed to be too remote to concern themselves with unimportant human affairs. Each island group, and many a single island, had gods wholly or mainly peculiar to itself; there were tutelar gods of specific sections of the people, of districts, and of villages, and family gods; and individual Polynesian and special gods, selected by themselves, or by their parents for them at birth, under whose protection and guidance they placed themselves. There were gods of the air, of the mountains, of valleys, of streams, of the sea, of animals, of plants, of fishes, of the harvest, of life, and death. Some were gods of various trades or occupations, from the most important productive labours to mere matters of personal entertainment. Of all these deities, some (including the great gods above mentioned) were spoken of as original gods; or of gods of remote antiquity, appearing regularly or occasionally themselves in the far distant past, never having been human; others were supposed to have been descended from, or created by, these original gods; others again were admittedly defined human beings. It may be said generally that these gods were believed to be influenced by sentiments, inclinations, and passions, and, as regards many of them, to engage in occupations and enjoyments very similar to those of the human race, though they were more energetic and possessed supernal powers. Very many of them were believed to be incorporeal or immaterial in, or to enter or take the forms of, birds, beasts, fishes, insects, plants, stones, and other inanimate objects and natural phenomena; and possessed supernatural powers. Very many of them were believed to be beneficent or benevolent, or to enter or take the forms of, birds, beasts, fishes, insects, plants, stones, and other inanimate objects and natural phenomena; and possessed supernatural powers. Very many of them were believed to be beneficent or benevolent, or to enter or take the forms of, birds, beasts, fishes, insects, plants, stones, and other inanimate objects and natural phenomena; and possessed supernatural powers.
after death, it may be said that the religion of the Polynesians included the worship of the dead. Whether it can be said that they were hero-worshippers or ancestor-worshippers depends mainly upon the definitions to be put upon these terms. A large number of the Polynesians probably were hero-worshippers. If, as most historians believe, the number of the Polynesian deities had been human beings—great chiefs, successful warriors, distinguished navigators, etc.—then to this extent their religion perhaps may be regarded as having had its origin in the belief of all events, human or supernatural. As regards ancestor-worship, a Tongan chief would go to the grave of his deceased father or grandfather, and pray to him; but this does not necessarily mean ancestor-worship; the ancestor was regarded by the chief as a god, to whom he might pray, not merely because of ancestry, but because, having been a chief, the ancestor after death had become a god; and other people not descended from the deceased chief also might pray to him. Some of the myths of creation ended with the birth of a god who was the ancestor of the human race, i.e., of the particular people who believed in the myth and worshipped the god; and this idea perhaps may be regarded as pointing to a past cult of ancestors. However, there is no evidence, nor is there any reason to justify the suggestion of a general custom for members of families to worship their ancestors, either actual or collateral.

12. Sun-worship. —The evidence of sun-worship in the past is of a varied and scattered character; but its cumulative weight seems to be irresistible. Only a few indications of the nature of some of this evidence can be given here. Some of the gods in certain groups were associated with the sun—so much so that writers speak of them as sun-gods. There is tradition that the founder of the sect concerning a god Hiro, which, though he was not there regarded as a sun-god, is very suggestive. Hiro was voyaging with his companions in search of the maro vona, the special red girdle which was perhaps the most sacred object in Tahiti and is believed to have been specially connected with sun-worship. On one occasion, when he was sleeping in a grove, evidently under the sea, his enemies, the gods of darkness, taking advantage of his absence, raised a violent storm. In the hope of destroying his boat and companions; Hiro, however, awoke at daybreak, repaired the surface of the water, and with a look dispersed his enemies with the divine alchemy.

Other evidence is connected with the great Areoi societies of the Society Islands and the Marquesas, and with certain seasonal festivals in which they engaged. These societies, which have been compared, and indeed associated, with the secret societies of Melanesia, appear, both from the legends as to their origin and from the performances in which they engaged, to have been connected with the worship of the sun. Among their performances in the Marquesas and perhaps in some of the islands in the Society group were certain seasonal festivals of a significant character. The summer, ending in April or May, was a season of rejoicing; but on its termination feasts were held to celebrate the departure of the gods to the abodes of the dead. The following day offerings were made to the gods to return. Then the Areoi went into mourning, suspending all amusements, and retired to their homes to lament the absence of the gods; this continued until the spring, when, along with everything domestic, the rejoicing recommenced. In the return of the gods (and especially, it would seem, the sun-god) and their period of rejoicing recommenced. These festivals, as might be expected, if the suggestion as to their significance is correct, were closely connected with the ideas of fertility and reproduction, and in evidence of crops and harvest. It may be noticed that this marked differentiation between summer and winter must in itself be regarded as an indication that these people came from some latitude very different from that of the central Pacific islands. A custom of orientation of the bodies of the dead prevailed in some of the islands, but, in view of the beliefs of the people as to their place of origin, the homes of the gods, and the destination of the soul, this custom necessarily be regarded as evidence of sun-worship.

13. The priesthood. —There is ground for believing that at one time religious and civil authority were united in Polynesia. In Tonga there were two bodies of priests, known respectively as the tongue, held a purely sacred office, having little or no secular power, while the other, the tuikaoa-bolu or hau, was the actual civil and military ruler of the people; and the same division of the supreme power is found in Manginia and Rotuma. The Tongan traditions go back to a time when religious and civil supremacy were united in the tuitongu, and tell of his parting with the latter; but probably the change was gradual. In some of the islands the dead chief or king was the high-priest of the island; in all of them the chiefs of all events the highest, were regarded as divine or nearly so; and in some of them the chiefs were in many ways closely associated with the divinity, especially in connection with the sea. But, in these groups there were no recognized separate ranks or gradations of priests; this was not general. Considerable differences are found in the social status of the priests and their co-operation as an organized and distinct class. In some islands they formed a powerful united caste; in others they were merely members of the lay classes (and not necessarily of the highest of these), engaged in the ordinary vocations of life, and, except when actually inspired, having no special social status or power. Each of them, as a general rule, was a chief, and in some was a specific god. As diviners and interpreters of the will of the gods, able in cases of illness to ascertain the cause of the divine displeasure and to specify the offerings required for its removal—offerings in which they usually had a substantial interest— they had considerable power; and the practice of sorcery gave them a special method of terrorizing the people. In some groups the sorcerers were regarded as a separate caste, distinct from and inferior to the priests, while in other groups certain ranks of priests who did not appear to have practiced sorcery; but in some groups even high-class priests did this; and it cannot be said that there was any general defined distinction between priests and sorcerers. The father, or other head of the family, was in some of the groups the person to approach the tutelar family god.

14. Temples and places for disposal of the dead. —The Polynesians had temples and places for the disposal of the bodies of the dead. In many of the islands the temples were the mortuaries; in some the two were distinct. Where, as in Tonga, a chief became a god after death, the place where he was buried became in a sense a temple; for it was there that supplications would be addressed to the god, the place of his abode, with the objects of other gods. The temples included great national temples, temples of districts, of villages, and of families, the places of sepulture generally belonging to families. The great national temples, the temples of the districts, and in many cases of the islands the family burying-places of the chiefs were often massive structures; one form of these was a huge raised quadrangular arena, enclosed and supported on one or more of its sides by boundary walls, and with a temple built on the interior slope of the flat, or rising upwards from the sides to the centre, and often wholly or partly paved. In some cases the stone boundary rose in steps; in some a portion of the enclosed area was occupied by a massive stone structure, in the form
of a truncated pyramid, with sides rising in steps. The prevalence of this form of step-like boundary and pyramid may be a matter of some significance. In Polynesia walls and dwelling-houses of magicians were in form like domestic dwellings and usually enclosed by an encircling fence. Similarly, in some of the islands, where it was the custom to keep the bodies of the dead above ground, house-like structures were erected for their reception.

If we consider that the larger temples of the gods were usually in some other erections connected with the religious rites conducted in them. These erections were different in the several groups; but they commonly included images, great and small, altars, statues, standing or seated, and sometimes enclosed in dwelling-houses, kept by the people for keeping some of the smaller images and other sacred objects, and for the occupation of priests and custodians of the temples. The images erected outside varied in character. Some were of stone and others of wood; some were rudely carved with more or less grotesque representations of the human form, others were not carved at all. And so with the smaller images kept inside the houses; some were merely shapeless lumps of wood, or polished stones, not sculptured or decorated, but ornamented with red feathers—that sacred form of decoration throughout Polynesia; others were mere bundles of cloth, decorated with red feathers.

As regards all these objects, it must be stated that the Polynesians, like the Chinese and Japanese, were of the opinion that all things possessed some kind of soul, and the people actually worshipped them was mistaken. They were images or symbols of the gods, to whom alone the worship was offered, and as such they were of course sacred; but this sanctity was not inherent in themselves, but derived to them through their association with the gods. Sometimes, as in Tahiti, the god was supposed to enter temporarily one of these images, and through its medium to speak to the priest. On such an occasion the image would necessarily become specially sacred, just as the commonest Tongan layman would be sacred during a period of inspiration by the gods; but this does not mean that the image was worshipped as an idol.

15. Religious Observances.—Fear of the gods and their anger wish to turn away their wrath, and the desire to secure their guidance and help were for ever present in the minds of the Polynesians. Hence we have records of their methods of invocation and praise, possession, inspiration and divination, and the self-sacrifices and sacrifices, and of their belief in omens, use of charms, and practices of sorcery. Religious ceremonies of one sort or another were associated, not only with the leading events of the lives of the people, from birth to death, but also with their daily life, their industries and occupations, and even amusements. Many of the prayers repeated by the priests were expressed in metaphorical and obscure language, the meaning of which was sometimes hardly understood by the speakers themselves; some of them included references to the traditions of the people, the genealogies of their chiefs, the feats of their heroes and histories of wars, and any other events of which the priests professed to have knowledge.

The faculty of obtaining inspiration from the gods and of expressing their wishes and intentions does not seem to have been nearly so much a monopoly of the priests as was that of invocation and foretelling, for any one was allowed to become temporarily inspired. Possession by the gods was generally indicated by great bodily agitation, in which the limbs became convulsed and the features distorted, the inspired person sometimes falling on the ground and remaining in a frenzy, moaning at the mouth, and giving vent to violent cries. Thus they ascertained and announced the will of the gods in matters great and small, public and private. In cases of illness the priests and sorcerers were the doctors, for they claimed to be able to find out the cause of illness—always either an offence by the patient or by some person connected with him, against the gods, or else sorcery—and plead with the gods for mercy, or try to counteract the machinations of the hostile sorcerer. Sorcerers and tabu workers were nearly always the doctors of illness; but the curative powers of these remedies seem to have been attributed by the people to supernatural agency, the medicines being the vehicles or media by which the gods acted. The majority of the remedies were plants or medicinal articles, including medicines, used by them differed in the several islands, and indeed, as regards different individuals; but the predominant matters seem to have been the fees to be paid to themselves and the offerings to be made to the gods, this generally meaning, in part at least, to the priest. Sometimes one of these men would, without actually applying sorcery to make a man ill, frighten him into the belief that he was so and thus reap a harvest from him and his friends.

16. Omens.—Omens were believed in largely in Polynesia, some of them relating to the ordinary affairs of life, but the majority being connected with war. The people noted the position of the moon, the appearance of the stars, the forms and movements of the clouds, the advent of shooting stars and comets, the position of rainbows, the form of the waves, the appearance of the sky, and the character and locality of lightning discharges, the sunset sky and other matters, and especially the movements and behaviour of birds and other living creatures in which their gods were supposed to be incarnate. The matters which these signs pointed to were intended included besides success or failure in war, the approach of death to a member of a household, the recovery or otherwise from an illness, the death of some chief, whose identity the omen did not disclose, or an invasion from a neighbouring island, and the omens of the deaths of persons. The omens of these signs were the persons. The omens of these signs were sent by the gods; when the guidance was given by an animal incarnation, it was the god himself who was pointing out what should be done. The appearance before a Polynesian of the god in the form of a crab or a certain fish indicated that he was about to die; another crab or fish was sometimes regarded as a premonition of death by those who had come to the spirit.

17. Tabu.—The principle of the tabu, which was in effect a prohibition based upon the idea of sanctity, permeated deeply the minds of the Polynesians; it has been defined as a prohibition resting on a magico-religious sanction. There were certain forms of tabu which, though doubtless having a similar basis, were, in their application, of a social rather than an obviously religious character; and these cannot be dealt with here. Most of the other tabus fell under one or other of the following categories: they might be directed against: (a) touching a sacred person or object; (b) entering a sacred place or one in which a sacred ceremony was being performed; (c) doing certain things on certain solemn occasions; and (d) interfering with things upon which a specific tabu was laid. Tabu in this last sense was expected for breach of any of these tabus was punishment by the gods, inflicted in the form of illness or even death.

The belief as to the sanctity of kings and great chiefs was almost universal in Polynesia, and none might come in contact with them, direct or indirect. In some of the islands no one
might touch one of these divine people or anything with which he might be in contact near or far. If the person who was to be acted upon had to be carried about on the shoulders of a bear, he therefore himself became sacred. Any person who broke this taboo, by direct or indirect action, became taboo himself. It was the same with those who had, in performance of the funeral offices, handled the bodies of the dead; they became taboo. The most widely recognized results of such a situation was that the person thus infected with sanctity must not eat food, drink or use the toilet, if he did so food, drink, or toilet articles, would be polluted by it, and he would become ill and die. The removal of the taboo was effected in different ways in different tribes. Sometimes the taboo had been performed before another great chief, whilst in Samoa the remedy was sprinkling with cool-water. The tabu of the dead man was sometimes terminated on the completion of one of the regular funeral ceremonies.

(6) Entry into temples, or portions of them, and other sacred places, and even into private houses, when religious ceremonies were being carried on there, was in many islands forbidden to all except priests, and perhaps the chief; and a violation of any tabu of this character would be regarded as a sacrilege, from which the direct consequences would ensue. The most widely spread form of tabus, intended to warn off trespassers, was a flag or piece of white cloth.

(7) Entry into the house of another was usually prohibited by every tabu which were forbidden during the performance of certain solemn ceremonies and for a period after the death of a great chief. These differed sometimes in the tabus of one tribe from those of another, and in this, as in so many things, man's food, eating it in the day-time, lighting fires, engaging in certain occupations, launching a canoe, or passing in a canoe, in a canoe, or on the deck of a manly.

(8) The placing of tabu upon specific things was a somewhat different matter. A king or chief, or perhaps a priest acting on his instructions, would place a general tabu upon a grove of coco-nut trees, or upon food of some other produce or upon the whole of some form of diet; and no man would dare to break it, even in secret. This restraint was not merely based on fear of harm from supernatural beings, and the protection of the gods; a violation of the tabu would be an effective check upon the effects of all evil and all evil which would be done by such things as eating food, or eating it in the day-time, lighting fires, engaging in certain occupations, launching a canoe, or passing in a canoe, or on the deck of a manly.

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18. Sorcery.—Sorcery was practised by lower classes of priests, commonly spoken of by writers as sorcerers, and also, in some islands, by the higher priests. The supernatural beings through whose help it was accomplished were usually evil spirits, inferior in rank to the gods; but the gods themselves were sometimes supposed to act at events in some of the islands. One method of sorcery was what may be called contagious magic. A man, wishing to avenge himself on an enemy, procured some of his hair, saliva, urine, or excrement, or some remnants of his food, or a piece of his loin-cloth, or something else which had been in contact with his body, and handed this, with the requisite fee, to the sorcerer. The latter might take these things to his house or to the temple with which he was connected, and engage in incantations over them; or he might place them in a little bag, in which he carried images or other symbols of the supernatural beings whose aid he would invoke; and the bag might also contain such things as lizard-skin, parts of special plants, pieces of ordinary cloth, beeswax, wood, etc.; and he would probably bury the bag and its contents. Another method of contagious magic consisted in rubbing with a human skull food that a man was going to eat. Another form of sorcery was that of cursing. No one was safe from the operations of the supernatural beings engaged in contagious magic would be of the nature of curses; but in some of the islands it was believed that disaster could be brought upon the head of an enemy by merely cursing him. Presumably the intention was to place the gods or spirit, just as did the proceeding wrong acts, in connexion with contagious magic. In Tonga they had some special curses, amounting to commands that the person cursed should manifest a superior relation, such as 'Bake your grandfather till his skin turns white, and then cut him into forty pieces, and give him to your pigs to eat,' or 'Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones,' and others of a highly indelicate character. These Tongan curses are referred to specifically because of what they would appear to imply. They involved the conception of Tongan religion that human merit, for failure in which a man might be punished by the gods, included among other things the paying of respect to aged persons and filial love; and it was considered a crime to eat food that had been the subject of a relative curse, e.g., a man might have pronounced either of these curses, a man was commanding the committal of a double offence, for which the gods would punish the offender; for, if it was wrong to eat an aged relative's food, it must have been very wrong to eat the aged relative himself. How these curses operated is not stated; but it must not be assumed that it was believed that the victim would actually be impelled to commit the crime; for many of the Polynesian ceremonies were purely symbolic, and the tabus and the various acts performed by the priests had been performed in the sense that the suggestion of the act took the place of its actual committal. Sometimes the victim was not aware of what was being attempted against him; but sometimes he was told of it, and then he would often go away and die from sheer fright.

The underlying idea of Polynesian sorcery seems to have been that the supernatural being to whom the sorcerer appealed actually entered into the victim, sometimes perhaps through his food, and sometimes by direct entry into his body. The sensations of a person so possessed were far from pleasant; we are told, e.g., of the evil spirit twisting and knotting the man's internal organs; and again of his causing the feeling of being transfixed internally by a barbed hook. These descriptions suggest certain internal complaints, which may well have been ignorantly attributed to sorcery.

There is a description by a missionary of a young Tahitian who had been subjected to sorcery. He was lying on the ground, writhing in anguish, foaming at the mouth, his eyes ready to start from his head, and his constitution exhibiting every form of terrible distention and pain, while his limbs were agitated with violent and involuntary convulsions. After his recovery he became absolutely unable to perform any work whatsoever, and might have been said to have worked differently; in the Marquesas, for instance, it is said to have operated only slowly, the victim first becoming sick and then growing daily weaker, until, after about three weeks, he seemed to die from loss of strength.

In some of the islands there were alternative methods of saving a man who was under the spell of sorcery. One was to find out who was the sorcerer that had inflicted it, and by means of presents to him, exceeding in value those given to him by his original client, to induce him to call the malignant and devouring spirit. The other was to call in the services of another sorcerer, associated with another supernatural spirit, more powerful than that which had produced the trouble, or perhaps if only a part in power of the other, to greater energy by more costly gifts. When a victim died, the instigator, or suspected instigator, of the calamity would often become himself the victim of persecution by the dead man's family.

To which names of Court. Not only had nothing been said about the attitude and conduct of the priests, acting as doctors, diviners, and suppliants to the gods in time of illness. This matter of illness and subsequent death is also interesting as regarding the attitude of the people, the relatives and friends of the sick man, especially when the invalid was a great chief or king, and thus the subject of anxiety and concern of a deep and
of everything. The idea of providing the ghost with things for use in its new world is well known, and must surely be the explanation of many of the Polynesian practices. In Samoa valuable mats and other things were sometimes buried with the dead. In Tahiti the bones were frequently buried with spears, fixed upright in the ground, while his club was sometimes placed on the ground and allowed to decay, no one daring to touch it; a few little trinkets and playthings might often be seen on the grave of a dead child. In Tonga most of the valuable property of the sacred chief, together with presents brought to the funeral, were buried with him. In Rarotonga they placed the dead chief’s adze in his right hand, and his staff and drinking-cup by his side; and with a woman’s rank they buried her cloth mallet and other domestic utensils. The practice of putting to death the dead man’s wives and burying them with him prevailed, though apparently only to a limited extent, in the Tongan Islands. The custom of placing food on or near a grave or burial platform, and renewing it from time to time, was wide-spread.

Boxing and sham fights were usual features in most Polynesian festivities; but in some of the islands the ceremonies at the death of a chief included fights of a special character. In Mangai-a (Hervey Islands) they had combats between parties, of which one was called ‘the friends and the other represented malignant spirits, and it was said that the latter was surrounded by the Society Islands, when the body of a chief had been put on its resting-place—a bier, placed in the temple—it was surrounded by his family and people, all well armed. Shortly afterwards an armed party of friends from an adjoining district approached; they were called ‘the mourners,’ and they asked to be admitted to lament their chief. Permission was always refused; and thereupon arose a battle, which, though quite friendly and purely formal, often caused loss of life; and apparently the mourners were always the victors. In Samoa also they sometimes had combats which, though we have no description of them, there was reason for thinking had a special significance connecting them with those of Māngai-a and the Society Islands. The cause of these contests was the rest of these mock conflicts rests on the fact that a comparison of them with the ceremonial funeral combats usual in a district of Australia and in certain places in Melanesia seems to suggest that their origin was due to the prevailing spirit of the hostile spirit that had caused the man’s death.

Another curious ceremony practised in some of the islands may be called the ‘burying of the dead man’s sins.’ In Tahiti a hole was dug in the ground, beneath the bier upon which the dead body lay; and the priest prayed to the god that the sins of the dead man, and especially that for which he had been called away, might be buried in the hole, so that the surviving relatives might be free from anxiety as to their future; the hole was then filled in, and the priest addressed the corpse, exhorting it (i.e. the ghost) to be content with its new conditions, and not to distress its surviving relatives by returning to them. Some similar ceremonies were performed in some of the colony groups of the Society Islands.

20. Disposal of the corpse.—The methods of dealing with the corpse can be stated only in the barest outline. Throughout Polynesia common people were usually buried underground with but little ceremony; but the modes of disposing of the dead chiefs differed in the several groups.

In the Society Islands the body was taken to the seashore, and there is a statement that it was usually carried in a canoe as far as the opening of the reef, and back again. Within a short period

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of everything. The idea of providing the ghost with things for use in its new world is well known, and must surely be the explanation of many of the Polynesian practices. In Samoa valuable mats and other things were sometimes buried with the dead. In Tahiti the bones were frequently buried with spears, fixed upright in the ground, while his club was sometimes placed on the ground and allowed to decay, no one daring to touch it; a few little trinkets and playthings might often be seen on the grave of a dead child. In Tonga most of the valuable property of the sacred chief, together with presents brought to the funeral, were buried with him. In Rarotonga they placed the dead chief’s adze in his right hand, and his staff and drinking-cup by his side; and with a woman’s rank they buried her cloth mallet and other domestic utensils. The practice of putting to death the dead man’s wives and burying them with him prevailed, though apparently only to a limited extent, in the Tongan Islands. The custom of placing food on or near a grave or burial platform, and renewing it from time to time, was wide-spread.

Boxing and sham fights were usual features in most Polynesian festivities; but in some of the islands the ceremonies at the death of a chief included fights of a special character. In Mangai-a (Hervey Islands) they had combats between parties, of which one was called ‘the friends and the other represented malignant spirits, and it was said that the latter was surrounded by the Society Islands, when the body of a chief had been put on its resting-place—a bier, placed in the temple—it was surrounded by his family and people, all well armed. Shortly afterwards an armed party of friends from an adjoining district approached; they were called ‘the mourners,’ and they asked to be admitted to lament their chief. Permission was always refused; and thereupon arose a battle, which, though quite friendly and purely formal, often caused loss of life; and apparently the mourners were always the victors. In Samoa also they sometimes had combats which, though we have no description of them, there was reason for thinking had a special significance connecting them with those of Māngai-a and the Society Islands. The cause of these contests was the rest of these mock conflicts rests on the fact that a comparison of them with the ceremonial funeral combats usual in a district of Australia and in certain places in Melanesia seems to suggest that their origin was due to the prevailing spirit of the hostile spirit that had caused the man’s death.

Another curious ceremony practised in some of the islands may be called the ‘burying of the dead man’s sins.’ In Tahiti a hole was dug in the ground, beneath the bier upon which the dead body lay; and the priest prayed to the god that the sins of the dead man, and especially that for which he had been called away, might be buried in the hole, so that the surviving relatives might be free from anxiety as to their future; the hole was then filled in, and the priest addressed the corpse, exhorting it (i.e. the ghost) to be content with its new conditions, and not to distress its surviving relatives by returning to them. Some similar ceremonies were performed in some of the colony groups of the Society Islands.

20. Disposal of the corpse.—The methods of dealing with the corpse can be stated only in the barest outline. Throughout Polynesia common people were usually buried underground with but little ceremony; but the modes of disposing of the dead chiefs differed in the several groups.

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POLYNESIA

—generally three or four days after death—it was taken to the temple of the chief's family, and there placed upon a platform or bier, sheltered from sun and rain by a roof, in shape rather like an inverted canoe. There it was subjected to a process of preserving—one or the other, and when sufficiently dried up, it was wrapped in cloth, placed in a sitting posture on the bier, and allowed to remain exposed for an indefinite time. Ultimately it was buried underground beneath the platform. In time the vault was filled with other remains, and the body was carried away to almost inaccessible spots in the mountains, in order to secure them from the sacrilegie of the enemy.

In Tonga the body of a dead chief was carried, generally within a few days after death, to the burial-place of his family. The interment was underground in a vault, made of six huge masses of stone, one forming the bottom, four making the sides and ends, and one closing it at the top, the whole being sunk underground, and covered with earth. These vaults were generally about 8 ft. long, 6 ft. broad, and 8 ft. deep; but that of a very important family might be larger, one such vault being described as capable of holding thirty bodies.

In Samoa there appear to have been alternative methods of disposing of the body. The more usual one was burial underground, some ten, fifteen, or twenty days after death. Ultimately the body was placed in a canoe, or a canoe-shaped receptacle, and buried under water, the canoe being turned over to the left, and the bodies kept in this posture in case of war. The canoe was then subjected to a rude process of preservation or embalming, and then either placed in a canoe and sent adrift out to sea or placed on a stage erected in the forest, and there left to decay, after which the bones were collected and buried. One or two of the leading families had a custom of embalming the bodies of their dead, placing them on platforms raised or double canoes, in houses built for the purpose, and leaving them until the Loa or spirits had returned to the heavens. The bone or skull was then opened, the brains removed, and the skull placed in the orifice, and the bones kept in the temples at which they had officiated. For other people natural graves were preferred, such as caves in the sides of steep rocks, or large subterranean caverns. Their artificial graves were only shallow, and were often dug in their gardens, sometimes in their houses or in sequestered spots near them, the bodies being generally placed in them in a sitting posture.

POLYTHEISM

New Zealand, do. 1857; F. E. Manning (A Pakohe Moari), Old New Zealand, do. 1854; G. W. Rusden, Hist. of New Zealand, 1 vol. Boston, 1843. (J. J. Jervis, Land of Sandwich Islands, Boston, 1842.)

ROBERT W. WILLIAMSON

POLYTHEISM.—Polytheism is the stage or phase of the religious development of mankind in which the belief in and worship of many gods prevails. It is distinguished from the previous stage (polydemonism) by the nature, and from the subsequent stage (pantheism, monothelism) by the number, of the objects of worship.

1. The antecedents of polytheism.—It is not necessary to retrace the development from its earlier phase (animism, or possibly an earlier animatism (R. R. Marett, The Threshold of Religion, p. 15). Only two general remarks need be made.

(a) In the first place, the primitive monothelism which has been asserted has not been proved, as the assertion rests on insufficient and inconclusive evidence; and to this view applies the same objection as to the view that polytheism belongs to the pre-animistic stage.

'If not at present prepared to admit,' says Marett (p. xvii), 'the polytheistic view is a demeansion of wide delusion,' and expresses no belief in such beings 'high gods,' as accounting for pre-animistic phenomena in general. On the contrary, I assume for working purposes the hypothesis that the polytheistic view is based on a psychological pre-history of some kind which, if known, would connect the religious consciousness of primitive man with those vague ideas and powers strongly predominating in the pencil as of the primitive mind, and dancing about the dimming rim of the tribal fire-circle.'

From the psychological standpoint the movement of the mind from the indefinite to the definite, the incoherent to the coherent, multiplicity to unity, is incomparably more probable than the reverse process. It is incumbent on us to try to make the development of the religious consciousness intelligible, not by way of a bolt from the blue, a gift from heaven dropped down on earth, but by connecting it with the probable movement in the human mind under the given conditions of life.

(b) In the second place, totemism (q. v.) cannot be assumed as primitive or as a necessary phase of the development of the religious consciousness.

'The totemistic theory of the origin of worship has been widely propagated through the brilliant and learned monograph of Jevons (Introduction to the History of Religion, 2 vols. London, 1886), and its fascinating exposition by Jevons (Hist. of Religion, 2nd ed. London, 1897-98). Totemism seems most intelligible when viewed as formed under the play of savage thought or unconscious association of ideas, as an intermingling upon and overrunning earlier forms of worship which found a god in nature or the spirits of men' (IBID. p. 191).

Totemism assumes that the stage of generalization in thought has been reached, as the totem is not an individual, but an animal or plant class, and also presupposes the stage of tribal unity in life, neither of which can be regarded as primitive. There is not the same evidence that all religions have passed through a totemistic stage as there is regarding an animistic, and the psychological probability is not so great. We can hardly say that it appears necessary for religions thought to have passed through this phase. We cannot therefore connect polytheism so exclusively with totemism as Jevons does (pp. 234-248). Where the phase of totemism did exist, it is not at all improbable that, as he argues, the objects of the totemism, though it may have been political or social, were either fused together (syncretism), if for one or other of the reasons he suggests the spirits were not definitely enough distinguished either in belief or in worship to remain apart, or placed side by side in a different god (polytheism). Totemism, however, was not monothelistic (belief in the existence of one God alone), nor even had it reached the stage of monolatry (the worship of one God combined with the belief in the existence of others). As Jevons concedes (p. 239), 'the sky-god, whose favour is essential to the farmer, may be worshipped in revivals as well as to the farmer's crop, may be worshipped concurrently with the totem plant or animal, and retain his independence, as the sky-god, of the totem.'

Accordingly, we may question whether his statement, 'polytheism is the price which must be paid for political development' (p. 241), is so absolutely or universally applicable. Even where totemism does prevail, it does not ensure the certainty that it must advance to monothelism? Polytheism need not then be regarded as a relapse from totemism; it may be regarded generally as an advance on polydemonism (the belief in an indefinite multitude of spirits, and the worship of some of them). It must, of course, be understood that the distinction is logical, for our thought, rather than chronological, in time. Polydemonism and polytheism overlap and intermingle. Gods and spirits may be worshipped together; but we can call a religion polytheistic when the worship of the gods is not prominent.

2. The transition from polydemonism to polytheism.—How shall we distinguish the spirit from the god as the object of worship?

(a) The conception of the spirit is less definite than that of the god. The god is individual; he has his own name; he has generally no name. As the god is conceived more definitely, he is less confined to, and more detached from, the individual object than the spirit which inhabits and controls it, and which we shall describe as 'superhuman,' if 'supernatural' suggests too advanced a mode of thought; the god has more power than the spirit.

(b) Again, as man gets more familiar with the world, he begins to observe resemblances and connections; he begins to classify plants and animals; he begins to recognize the effect of the great objects of nature—sun, moon, earth, etc.—on his environment; he begins to think of the objects in nature (may we say?) departmentally rather than as individual objects separated from each other. As man gets to know, or is trained to believe, that a tree or an animal may have its own spirit; there is an idea of vegetation, of a land, of seas and rivers.

The material progress made by man,' says Jevons (p. 231), 'as he advances in his knowledge, may be regarded as the rationalization of his beliefs, as the connecting of the fruits, and the chase, first to pastoral and then to agricultural life, required that he should make an ever-increasing use for his own ends of natural forces. These forces were to him living beings with superhuman powers, of whom he stood in dread, but whose operation he required. Without some confidence that it was possible, if he set about it in the right way, to secure their favour and assistance, his efforts would have been paralyzed. This confidence was given him by religion; he was brought into friendly relations with powers from which, in his previously narrow circle of interests, he had had little to hope or to gain.'

This practical interest was the main, if not the sole, motive of the intellectual development sketched above. Speaking generally, the relation to the gods is more definite, intimate, and con-
stage, even where totemism does not prevail, where, feeling his kinship with the animal at least in qualities, or gods or gods as altogether animal, or partly animal and partly human. We may call this the theanthropic stage. At last, when he lifts himself above all his fellow-creatures, he thinks of the gods as men (or women) of like passions with himself (the anthropomorphic or anthropomorphose stage). In Egyptian religion we have a conspicuous instance of this development (see art. God (Egyptian)).

At first the god is an animal: "Khnum of Elephantine was a ram, Hathor a cow, Nekhbet a vulture, Basat a cat, Horus a falcon, Anubis a jackal, Sekh a crocodile, Thoth an ibis, and so on." Of these gods Thoth is the most important and the god is represented with an animal-head; lastly the god assumes a human form, but the animal which once represented him remains sacred to him.

3. The mythology of polytheism.—So much it seems possible to state of a general character about polytheism. The development of polytheism in each religion was determined by so many varied and varying factors that few simple uniformity but a variety appeared. Physical conditions, racial characteristics, political circumstances, historical occurrences—all affected the forms assumed by the belief and worship of the many gods. The personalization and the divine qualities, perhaps, more than anything else, determined those of these gods with human qualities, passions, relations, and activities, the free play of the imagination with this varied material, the reflex influence of language on thought, metaphor begetting myth, the absence of any control of this development by scientific knowledge, moral sense, and religious reverence—all these factors combined explain the luxuriant, extravagant, and sometimes grotesque and even offensive mythology which connects itself with polytheism. These religions of man:

(a) The moral defects of mythology.—The description of natural processes as the personal actions of gods and goddesses, especially the comparison of these processes to sexual relations, results in the ascription to deity of what to a more developed moral sense appears immorality, although there was no such intention originally. Religion is more conservative in belief and worship than in morality, and much is told about the gods which a decent man, remembering Paul's warning in I Cor. 8, 4, might auger against the development of mythology. We find that the ascription to deity of what to a more developed moral sense appears immorality, although there was no such intention originally. Religion is more conservative in belief and worship than in morality, and much is told about the gods which a decent man, remembering Paul's warning in I Cor. 8, 4, might auger against the development of mythology. We find that the ascription to deity of what to a more developed moral sense appears immorality, although there was no such intention originally. Religion is more conservative in belief and worship than in morality, and much is told about the gods which a decent man, remembering Paul's warning in I Cor. 8, 4, might auger against the development of mythology. We find that even the gods are guilty of immorality, and that this is on the ground of not being thought evil. Thus in Xerxes' time and ancient Persia, the Persian kings were supposed to have been the offspring of the Persian god, and if they were not said to be the offspring of the Persian god, it was because the Persian gods were not supposed to have been the offspring of the Persian king. In this way the mythology was perpetuated.

To quote Xenophanes' own words:

"Homer and Herodot ascribe to the gods everything that among men is a shame or disgrace—thieves, adulterers, and deceivers" (quotep by Moore, loc. cit.). Only one other instance of such criticism of popular mythology need be given—Aphithyon's address to Zeus in the Herakles of Euripides:

"O Zeus, in vain I shared my wife with thee, in vain I called thee father of my son; thou hast not proved the friend thou dost pretend to be. I am far as much better than thou, a great god! For I did not betray Herakles' children, but thou understand how stealthily to find thy way to men's beds, the women, while their husbands' protectors, couched with their concubine, but how to save thine own friends thou dost not know. Thou art a stupid god, if not an honest one!" (quoted by Moore, p. 453).

It is no wonder that Plato desired that these stories should not be told to children because corrupting to their morals.

(b) National differences in mythology.—Not all nations are the same in their interest in their gods to develop a mythology about them. Of the Chinese deities Moore says:

"These posts have no plastic, dramatic individuality, like the gods of Greece; no mythology exists for their exploits. They have definite functions, and by these alone they themselves are defined. In this, as in other respects, the religion of China strikingly resembles that of the Romans; for practical people it is enough to know what the gods do, and what their worshipers do when they secure their favor, without trying to imagine what they are like." (p. 72).

But China and Japan offer the same contrast as Rome and Greece; for Shintó has an abundant and even grotesque genealogy of its many gods. In India, too, we find the development of its mythology. Japan differs from it in the representation of the gods. While Greece represented the gods in the likeness of men, in a Japanese temple the deity is represented by some holy object (ahkintu) in which the spirit of the deity (miamu) dwells; thus a mirror is the symbol of the presence of the sun-goddess. While Greece in its matchless art endowed its gods with beauty of form, Indian idols are "to our taste grotesquely hideous—a human body with an elephant's head; tricepsious monstroses; heads with a third eye in the middle of the forehead; human trunks with supernumerary arms and legs, and the like" (Moore, p. 345). Of this difference Moore offers an interesting explanation: "It should be noted, however, that all this vulgarity is symbolical; the supernumerary powers of the deities are intended to be expressed by these unnatural forms. The Hindu gods are less "deified" than their Greek prototypes or, to put it more correctly, they are more distinctly individualized in Greek art, because of the effort to make them more manifestly divine" (p. 345).

In China heaven (Tien) is the supreme emperor (Shang Ti), who determines both the moral and the natural order; in Japan the sun-goddess takes the highest place, but she has no relation to any moral order, although Japan did possess a customary morality even before the advent of Confucianism.

(c) The influence of political conditions on mythology. Political conditions very directly and potently affected religious ideas. Over all city-State in Egypt a god watched, cared, and ruled; when political combinations took place, the gods were brought into relation to one another. The chief god had a wife and a son. Anubis has as wife Mut (=Nekhbet of Eleithyiasopolis) and as son Montu (of Hermontis). These triads have a special peculiarity:

"The son is the successor of his father, and it is his destiny in turn to marry his mother and so to reproduce himself, that is his own successor; and so though constantly dying he is ever renewed, whilst his father is being a sort of elder. Paul's warning in I Cor. 8, 4, would then be: we remember that the gods have to do with the sun these things need not shock us, nor need we wonder at the statement which is directly contrary to that with which Paul dealt; but that he or that he produces his own members" (A. Menzies, Hist. of Religion, p. 150).

A, the solar deity of Heliopolis, rose to be the supreme of the Middle Kingdom; but, as the political importance of the provincial cities increased, their local cults could not be suppressed, and each deity was in turn identified with A, and appropriated his attributes.

"From the Heliopolitan priests came also a theology which but the god of their city, Abram, at the beginning of all things, and derived from him, through two intermediate generations, the gods of the Libyan circle as it appeared in the Delta" (Moore, p. 169).

When Babylonia became the capital of the new dynasty in Babylonia, its god Marduk supplanted Enlil of Nippur, that god's wisdom and power, and made Nabû, the god of Borsippa, his son and prophet. In one hymn the other gods are treated as only variant names of Marduk in his varying functions.

(d) The influence of religion on mythology. The exchange and corruption of the gods, the evolution of the gods, all about the gods did not, however, always depend on political conditions; religions belief and worship must also be taken into account. Before Marduk assumed the supremacy, the gods at the head of the pantheon were those of Erinna, Nana, whose son, held in high honour, if not the patron deity, in Urk; and they owed their place to the influence on the religious development exercised by their temples and priest-
POPOP VUH

A great deal of doubt has been cast upon the genuineness of the Popol Vuh, and it has been contended that it is merely the imaginative production of a Quiche native whose ideas were coloured by Christian influences; but these reflections do not affect the classification of the Popol Vuh as a work composed with person who were for the most part unacquainted with the history and mythology of Central America, who possessed no insight into aboriginal habits of thought, and who, in short, were improperly equipped for the criticism of such a work.

C. Scherzer, an Austrian savant, became aware that such a work as the Popol Vuh had existed through the medium of a letter from the Abbé Bras- seur de Bourbourg to the Duc de Valmy, in which the Abbé deplored the supposed loss of the collection. Bent on the recovery of a relic of such profound interest, Scherzer journeyed to Guatemala in 1854 or 1855, found that the Popol Vuh had been made use of early in the 19th cent. by a certain Don Felix Cabrera, and was successful in tracing the missing MS in the library of the university of San Carlos, in the city of Guatemala. It appears that Ximenez had deposited it in the library of his convent at Chichicastenango, whence it passed to the library of the University of Havana. The Spanish translation of the MS, as did Brasseur, and these were published at Vienna and Paris in 1856 and 1861 respectively. Most unfortunately the Spanish and French translations leave much to be desired as regards accuracy, and the misleading notes which accompany them must be read very critically. A Spanish translation, published as a number of the Bibliothèque Centro-American, is scarcely more accurate, but is burdened by notes which show a total ignorance of the subject on the part of the editor, and which are substantially those of Brasseur.

The name Popol Vuh means, in its literal translation, according to some authorities, 'The Book of the Mat.', or, in more sophisticated phrase, 'The Record of the Community'; but it is likely that a correct rendering of the title is 'The Collection of Written Leaves,' popol signifying the prepared bark upon which aboriginal writing is often set down, and vuh meaning, 'paper,' or 'book,' to write.' Thus a still more simple translation would give 'The Book of Bark.' It is a work of the same family as the Chinese History of the Five Books, the Japanese Nihongi, the Danish History, the Heimskringla, and some of the Hindu sacred books—a compilation in which pure mythology gradually shades off into veritable history. The language in which it was composed, the Quiche, is a dialect of the great Maya-Quiche tongue, spoken at the time of the discovery in Western Guatemala, where it is still used by the natives, and it is the only remaining monument of this tongue. Evidence is not wanting to prove the considerable antiquity of the compilation, and a decided metrical tendency in its composition leads us to believe that it was originally composed in metre, and that consequently, like the poems of Homer and Ossian, before it was reduced to writing it depended for its popularity upon the aboriginal memory alone. On the other hand, the language is so curious, as we possess it probably does not stand in its pristine simplicity; that it has become sophisticated in a certain degree by Christian thought and influence can hardly be doubted; but it cannot be too strongly urged that the popular language which we possess as a text was for a long time the language that suited a certain member of the Quiche race. The almost inex-
mountable difficulties of the Quiche language render it impossible that a European of the 17th cent. could have in any way tampered with the compilation, and the evidence of its contents is conclusive, as it is supported by the copyists' signatures, respectively, with those of Mexico and Yucatan, which were as sealed books to the scholars of the time in which the MS was written. Furthermore, the Quiche mythology, as set forth in the pages of the Popol Vuh, adheres in its general characteristics with the great laws of mythologic science.

The Popol Vuh is divided into four books, the first cosmological, the second dealing with the adventures of certain hero-gods in the nether world, that is, Quetzalcoatl, the rain-god, and his brother Hunahpu, the通行创造者; the third, the last, presents the legend of the heroic twins, Vukub-kan, and the great god Kukulcan.

The Popol Vuh is an important book for the historian, as it gives us a glimpse of the religion and mythology of the Yucatecan Indians of the pre-Columbian period. It is a valuable source of information about the beliefs and practices of the ancient Maya civilization.
this strange, as in Mexico itself the cult of a god does not appear to have been known. But it is known that the popular science of the Mesoamerican peoples, which aimed at a total representa-
tion of the gods originated near the southern borders of the Mexican empire, nearer the sphere of Maya influence. In the Borogenic Codex the bat-god is represented as holding a severed human head in the hand and clubbing the neck of a man with the other hand. He is also frequently met with on the Codex, and in the Maya Dresden Codex, and his head appears in the Maya ceremonial sign for the cardinal points. He is alsoBriefly described by E. P. Diodoros. He is well portrayed with outstretched wings on which are depicted half-moons, symbolic of his nocturnal character. We find his name also reproduced in that of the two royal families of the Cakchiquels, Ah-po-xa, and, according to another passage in the Popol Vuh, we find that the Cakchiquels designated him Zotzilaha Chamalean, who, we are told, took the bat for his image. Thus Zotzilaha does not mean 'lost', but 'that which is left.' It is reasonable to suppose that this god possessed more than one form, i.e., that, besides the bat which he symbolized, he had the form of a cave-god.

The brothers, having outwitted their fiendish hosts, now awaited the return of their parents, killed and coming to life again, after their bones had been beaten to powder and thrown into the river. The monarchs of Xibalba requested to be killed also, but, as the brothers omitted to revive them, their reign was at an end. They then showed themselves on the shores of Lake Peten and once more descended the prince of Xibalba, and, after paying fitting funeral honours to their father and uncle, set them in the heavens as the sun and the moon.

In this myth it is easy to see the harrying of the 'lost' common to the mythology of all nations. The Quiche Xibalba is, of course, a place of the dead, with many departments, like the Egyptian Amenti, where both just and unjust alike are lodged. The savage mind trembles at the idea of a place of eternal doom of which it knows nothing; therefore it invents mythological descriptions of its hedges of its most heroic and god-like figures, who are described as achieving the conquest of the terrors of death and hell, and making the way easy for those who come after them.

In this myth we find the winds, once more in council, their object this time being the creation of man.

Four perfect men were fashioned by Hurakan out of red and white earth and placed in a forest field. In knowledge closely approached to the gods themselves. The creators, astonished at this condition of things, felt that it was not good that man should approach them in wisdom, so they contracted his sight so that he might only be able to see a portion of the earth. The gods then provided the first four men with wives. These eight people were the ancestors of the Quiche only, the progenitors of other tribes being created subsequently. As yet there was no sun in the heavens, and, despite the prayers of the early Quiche, no laminary appeared. A desire to migrate came upon the first men, and they set out for Tulan-Zeita. Attempts have been made to identify this locality with the city of Tollan, the capital of the Toltecs of ancient Mexico. In that place the Quiche received gods, each man being given a special and probably tribal deity. One of these, Tollan, whose name signifies 'the rambler,' and who is a thunder- and rain-god, is Quetzalcoatl. He supplied the endowments with fire by striking his feet (which were composed of flint) together, and producing lightning. At Tulan the gods gave the Quiche two corn plants, two corn plants, the former progenitors of the Quiche could no longer comprehend one another. Leaving Tulan for the land of Tolu, they wandered on, meeting innumerable hardships, making their way through desolate mountain-passes, and passing through the sea, while the sun shone from the north. At last he appeared above the horizon, weak and as reflected in a glass, and, as his meaning was lost, the endowments were turned into stone, as were the gods worshipped by the Quiche.

It is probable that this myth recounts a migration from the cold north to the warm south. The sun grows stronger as the journey proceeds, which would seem to show that, to begin with, the ancestors of the Quiche people must have dwelt in a comparatively cold climate. (Mesoamerican Archaeology, p. 362 f.) sees in this myth the adoption of a solar calendar or rather the fixing of a date to form a starting-point for a time-count modelled on solar time. The whole myth is strikingly akin to that of the Israelites, but the conditions of migration undergone by the Quiche, though similar to those recounted in the book of Exodus, possess as many points of difference, and are by no means a mere variation of the Scriptural version, as stated by short-handed writers. The best proof that the myth is of purely native origin is that such myths of undoubtedly aboriginal manufacture abound in America. Thus we find in an Aztec migration-myth in the Topilli Collection that the Aztecs issuing from Aztlan carried their god Huizildopecolti before them when they came by water to Colhuacan. We also find a similar myth in the William Owen, or Painted Records of the Lenapé Indians, which state that the Lenapé left the dwelling of Talli for the Snake Land, to reach which they passed over the water of the frozen sea. The Popol Vuh, indeed, may be a dim and distant echo of a migration from N. E. Asia to American soil.

The circumstances that the tribal gods of the Quiche were formed by the Quiche are clearly reminiscent of the Flood. The best proof that the knowledge of these is so slight that at present it is found not a little difficult to apply the light shed by the Popol Vuh so as to dispel the gloom which surrounds them.


LEWIS SPENCER.

PORPHYRY.—See Neoplatonism.

PORTENTS.—See Promises and Portents.

PORT ROYAL.—See Jansenism.

POSITIVISM.—I. Derivation and definition. —Derived from the French positif, 'sure,' 'certain,' 'positivism' was the term chosen by Auguste Comte to designate a system of thought and life dealing with realities and based on the sure results reached by scientific methods, which aimed not only at certainty, but also at precision in the varying degree that each particular branch of science could be applied. Comte's system is based on a system of life as well as of thought, it obtained the additional connotation of 'useful'; and, as our knowledge of the world depends on the powers of mankind, we also get the meaning 'relative.' With the science of biology and sociology, science becomes organic, and with the recognition of the union of mankind in the social organism, sympathetic. Positivism, therefore, in spite of its name, is not purely intellectual. It is not only
real, certain, and precise, but also useful, relative, organic, and sympathetic.

2. History before Comte.—The general application of scientific methods, the accumulation of a mass of ordered knowledge, the growth up in turn of the various abstract sciences—all this has been a long and gradual process. While in the theocracies of Babylon and Egypt concrete facts were observed, recorded, and utilized, calendars were computed and astronomical pyramids built, it was only in Greece that abstract laws of co-existence and succession were formulated. But the abstract science of Greece made considerable progress only in mathematics and astronomy; it was essentially statical, failing to solve even so simple a problem as that presented by the acceleration of a falling body; it did not reach the subjects—health, politics, morals—most interesting to mankind, for in these subjects Greek knowledge remained almost entirely concrete and empirical. Other interests and needs, the development of Roman law, the rise of a new religion, the inroads of the barbarians, distracted the attention of the ancient world, and Greek science not only ceased to make progress, but would have been lost, had it not been preserved and even slightly increased by the Arabs. At the Renaissance the scientific advance was resumed. Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo introduced the new astronomy; the earth ceased to be the centre of the universe; problems of motion were successfully solved. Bacon and Descartes discussed the purpose, methods, and scope of science, and the former foresaw its extension to social and moral phenomena. In the two centuries after Bacon the sciences of physics, chemistry, and biology made great progress, and a long series of thinkers began tentatively to investigate the laws of social structure and development, the working of the human mind, and the relation of subject and object.

Building on the results of these labours and gathering up the scattered threads of these 15th cent. investigations, Comte founded a scientific philosophy and a purely human religion.

3. Comte.—Auguste Comte was born at Montpeller on Jan. 19th, 1798, son of a revenue officer of minor rank. His parents were royalists and devout Catholics, but he had abandoned theology before he was fifteen, and was throughout his life a firm republican. At the Lycée of Montpellier he showed such precocity that, while still a pupil, he was allowed to sit in the class of the advanced professor. Thence he passed to the famous Polytechnic School, first of his list in the entrance examination when sixteen, though he was not allowed to join till the next year. In 1810—the year after Waterloo—he took a leading part in a demonstration against an unpopular official, and was expelled with the other students of his year, the whole school being suspected of republican sentiments. He was, however, already known to some eminent men, and on their recommendation obtained pupils. Later he was appointed to two small mathematical posts in the Polytechnic as teacher and examiner. Having already published some important essays, he began, in 1826, a course of lectures on the positive philosophy, which was interrupted by a mental breakdown; but after his recovery it was resumed and completed. The course was attended by some of the most eminent men of science of the day, and formed a first sketch of the Positive Polity (4 vols., 1829-30). This was followed in 1848 by the "General View of Positivism", the introduction to his second great work, the Positive Polity (4 vols., the last being published in 1851). Between the two works his outlook on life had developed. An early marriage had turned out unhappy; his wife grudged his devotion to his chosen task, and wished to direct his powers into more lucrative channels; eventually she left him. Some years afterwards he formed a devoted friendship for Madame de Vaux, whose husband was a faithful model of the ideal philosopher, and perhaps a woman of exceptional mental capacity, but she was quite able to appreciate Comte's genius. She was not, however, in the least in love with him, and their friendship led to no closer union. Comte outlived her, and died a year after her death just a year later. This short episode had a lasting effect on his career. From the outset, as he had shown in his early essays, he had sought the good of mankind as the proper goal of all human effort. Henceforth, while recognizing the primary necessity of scientific synthesis, he saw that there must be a synthesis embracing all sides of human existence, which would satisfy the intellectual regeneration, a philosophy of science, a synthesis of human knowledge. Clotilde de Vaux could add nothing to his intellectual equipment, but their friendship opened his eyes to sides of human life previously unseen, to other needs of the human heart and other values in human conduct. Henceforth, while recognizing the primary necessity of scientific synthesis, he saw that there must be a synthesis embracing all sides of human existence, which would satisfy the intellectual regeneration, a philosophy of science, a synthesis of human knowledge. Clotilde de Vaux could add nothing to his intellectual equipment, but their friendship opened his eyes to sides of human life previously unseen, to other needs of the human heart and other values in human conduct.
always insisted that Condorcet was his immediate intellectual ancestor, and that he owed nothing to Saint-Simon. It is true that he gained little intellectually from the connexion; for Saint-Simon's ideas were constantly changing and often inconsistent—he was a visionary rather than a systematic thinker. Nevertheless, Comte was and still is well fitted to impress on him the need of reconstruction, and had some confused glimpses of its true conditions; for evil, because he retained to the end of his life Saint-Simon's tendency to expect quick results on the ground of his zeal for social reconstruction. The first is, indeed, the common failing of reformers; the second led Comte to make his forecasts of the future more detailed than the complex character of social phenomena allowed.

It was in this third essay (1822) that Comte put forward his law of intellectual development, which he named the 'Law of the Three States,* and his classification of the sciences. The former had already been stated by Turgot in an early thesis, but without adequate proof or reconstruction of its scope; and it was open to fatal misunderstanding unless combined with a classification of the sciences in the order of their historic development. Here is a statement of the law by Comte:

In the first stage men, interpreting the unknown by the known, attribute the phenomena of the world without to the action of beings moved by human passions; in the third they content themselves with discovering the order in which events occurred, noting the relations of coexistence or succession, which give the conditions of human action. Between these there is a transitional stage in which personified or merely verbal entities take the place of divine wills. Thus a pestilence, which is in primitive times or among backward peoples a punishment sent by the gods, passes into an entity, which comes and goes without assigned cause, till with increasing knowledge the conditions of its appearance and the course of its development are discovered, its microbe isolated, it may be, and so on with each science in order. And what are the natural rights of man, supposed the same in all ages and under all conditions, supply an example in politics of the metaphysical transition from the divine right of kings to the ordering of society in accordance with the needs of a developing civilization. Of such entities Nature is the most general. At the beginning of the transition it is hardly distinguishable from a divinity or at least a living being, as in such expressions as 'Nature abhors a vacuum.' In the end it becomes a convenient summary for the totality of phenomena and their laws.

But, in order to understand correctly the Law of the Three States, a classification of the abstract sciences was necessary. Comte proposed to range them in a linear series, beginning with the most general and simple and proceeding to the most special and complex—mathematics, astronomy (celestial physics), physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology, to which he afterwards added ethics, the first instances being interlocked in various stages. This order was that actually followed by the sciences in their historic development—the order in which they in turn reached the positive stage. Herbert Spencer attacked this classification with a view to show that the principle of the possible, the sciences being interdependent. But classification is a logical artifice, which usually accentuates the divisions found in nature, and is intended for the assistance of human reason. For exposition a linear order is necessary, and of such orders Comte's conforms most nearly to the order of historical development; and in its main lines it has been adopted by Spencer himself in his exposition of the synthetic philosophy, with one amendment: in the concluding section—of biology and not as a science, which the former development had failed to allow, it would, if the criticism be allowed, it would mean only the insertion of a new term, not a recasting of the whole. Whether psychology is to be considered as a separate science depends, according to Comte's principles, on whether it requires a new method; for the main distinction between the various sciences lies in the methods necessary for their investigation.

It will thus be seen, if we consider the Law of the Three States in combination with the classification of the sciences, that at any given period all three stages will be represented, the simpler sciences being already positive, while the more complex are partly or wholly metaphysical or theological. In the historic sciences, to which knowledge some simple positive notions will have been derived from practical life, while even in the present age the most complex sciences have not become completely positive. Comte generally recognized as the founder of sociology. It is true that the necessary conditions of human society were discussed by Aristotle, and that therefore, in its purely statical aspects, the subject was studied in ancient Greece. Early in the 18th cent. Vico attempted to establish a new science of society, but the necessary foundation in the simpler sciences was wanting; the same century saw the successful treatment of many isolated questions relating to social structure and development; and towards its close Herder, Kant, and Condorcet contested the laws of the progress of civilization in the study of history. But Comte was the first to map out the field of sociology, to show its true relation to the earlier sciences, especially biology, to distinguish social statics from sociology, and to apply the special method proper to the latter. In this, which Comte called 'historic filiation' and J. S. Mill 'inverse deduction,' a generalization is made inductively from the facts of history. Then the same result is deduced by showing how the sequence of events could be attributed to the known facts of human nature, or to what we already know of the development of societies and the conditions of social action. By this method Comte reached his law of intellectual development and corresponding laws of the evolution of activity and affection. Thus in the Western transition, while human activity was at first organized for conquest and then for defence, eventually industry becomes recognized as the chief occupation of mankind. As the power of the workers changes from slavery to serfdom and then to freedom. In the last stage there is a further advance from the metaphysical concept of individual rights and the absolute control of wealth by political or economic means to the duty or convenience as regulating industrial relations. In the language of Pierre LaTritte, Comte's successor as leader of the Positivist body, we should regard wealth as social in its origin and destination (The Positive Science of Morals, Eng. tr., p. 191). So, too, there is a widening of the moral sphere, a law of moral progress. At one
timorous duties are bounded by the family, class, or tribe. Later they are extended to all of the same city or nation. Finally, they include the
whole human race. In political, social, and moral, as we have seen, had been cultivated from ancient times. Comte, however, made some important additions to the work of his predecessors. He brought out more fully than they had done the co-ordination that exists between institutions in corresponding stages of the social evolution, while avoiding the error of supposing this co-ordination to be as exact as in biology, where it. Owen was able from a single bone to reconstruct the form of an extinct bird. More important, Comte's contributions include the definition of society—first into spiritual and temporal, these tending to further subdivision, the former into emotional and intellectual, the latter into chiefs and people. The progress of sociology has not been so rapid as Comte hoped, but it is now generally recognized as a science under that name, which he gave it. The chief sociologists since his time have pursued the study from rather different standpoints. Herbert Spencer has dealt largely with the inorganic or the social side of the lower sciences, especially the biological laws of heredity. P. G Frédéric Le Play has shown how the environment chiefly affects social structure and development indirectly through its control of industry, the home, the business, the church, the school, and the tiller of the soil each giving rise to a different type of civilization. But in sociology physical and biological laws only give the conditions of social existence. The environment is most powerful in the early stages of civilization and becomes less and less so as the social heritage grows. Following the example of other sciences, sociology must discover laws by the direct study of social phenomena, the structure of human societies, and the development of human civilization.

In this field Comte has been the chief pioneer. The importance of his discoveries is seen in the light which they throw on history. He traces the development of civilization from fetishism or animism through monothelism and polytheism, to monotheism, found in a theocratic form in the great river valleys, isolated by strong natural barriers, as in Egypt, or in a military form in Greece or Rome. In Greece the opposition of these two principles was more than national, and the country does not favour a career of conquest, and amid the freedom and rivalry of the small city-states Greek art and Greek science arose. Rome, on the contrary, conquered and united the Mediterranean world. Polytheism passed into monothelism and conquest into defence. For some centuries the energies and intellect of the West were occupied in civilizing the barbarian and creating the Catholic Church. But, as that was accomplished, new interests arose, stimulated by the failure of the Mass and the revival of renaissance learning. From the 14th cent. onwards Europe entered on that revolutionary transition which culminated in the 18th. But, alongside of the movement of destruction, the break-down of the old institutions and beliefs and a movement of construction, the building up of modern science. In this growth of science Comte saw the promise of the close of the revolutionary era, for scientific results were true for all, transcending national bounds and giving a certitude in which all could share. From a study of the past he reached the following conclusions as to the characteristics of the new era: (1) as the field of scientific investigation was continually enlarging, as that was becoming more and more the test of certitude and the bond of intellectual unity, the philosophy of the future must be founded on science, and the religion of the future must be compatible with science; (2) however much the peace of the world might be troubled by nations in a race for backward stages of civilization—and even in Europe some are behind others—industry was becoming more and more the chief occupation of man's energies; peace was becoming normal, war abnormal; (3) in politics the metaphysical conception of natural rights, the same in all places and times, was giving way to the acceptance of duties, changing with the development of civilization; (4) conduct was being more and more judged by human and social standards. Aristotle had declared of modern man: 'Hindmost is he who values one of another' (Eph. 42°), St. Paul proclaimed. In the 17th cent. this recognition of solidarity was extended—at least in the intellectual sphere—

The whole succession of men during the course of so many centuries should be considered as one man, ever living and continually learning' (Préciface au Travail du Vole, Quinoa Paper, 1806, ii. 156). In Comte's view the human race formed one great organism, organized according to the laws of nature, and reacting to the development of its own laws of development, its elements becoming more and more closely connected. The individual as such is an abstraction; for every one is a member of a family, then of a city, and of a state, and on the other hand, many are made up of the all the nations of the earth. On these collective elements the thought and life of each individual depend, and that thought and life necessarily differ in different stages of human development. Each is the child of his own nation and the world.

Religion, in Comte's definition, consists in the full harmony of life, and embraces equally the heart and the intellect, 'for both of these must concur to produce any true unity of life' (Positive Politic, Eng. tr., ii. 8). Its function is to regulate the individual life and to combine collective lives. In the earlier stages of man's development this was attained by the unconscious creation, first of fetishes, then of gods, the unknown outside being imagined as an all-powerful being. It was also interpreted in terms of men's own feelings. But, intellectually, in one department after another, natural laws take the place of divine wills, and in morals the desire to please or appease the gods becomes less potent as a motive for good actions and duties, the love of country becomes the new centre of unity; the Religion of Humanity, a religion capable of uniting all, and 'Live for others' its guiding principle. The term 'altruism,' now in general use, was introduced by Comte.

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and, so far as they fulfill a necessary function, to be destroyed, they must be replaced. They were ceased to be the business of all men, even when their rivalry made for disunion. Thus Positivists honor the great teachers of all religions and gladly accept what is permanent in their work—e.g., the separation of spiritual from temporal power under the medieval Church. But they can honor none among the great men, like Diderot, Condorcet, or Voltaire, who, though they failed justly to appreciate the past, made ready the way for the future. (3) Altruism is inconsistent with self-immolation or with purposeless self-denial. Pleasure, the end, cannot be the means. Heights of the great tribune were neither for guilt nor neglect of duty in ourselves or pain to others. To live for others implies the maintenance of our full powers of service, including physical health and cheerfulness of temper. Asceticism, save as training for service, is alien to the Religion of Humanity.

Comte has been blamed for neglect of epistemology and formal logic. The latter he considered best studied in the several sciences, methods being the best criterion of their truth. As to the former, the validity of scientific methods and the underlying assumptions of science were in his view sufficiently established by the success of modern science and the continual extension of its sphere. The methods of science were to give a basis by relying on the relativity of knowledge, the distinction between subjective and objective derived from Kant, were accepted as postulates of scientific investigation. He did, however, formulate under the designation The First Philosophy a series of general principles or laws on which the abstract sciences rest. Hypotheses, far from being condemned, were held to be legitimate provided they were verifiable. Without the use of hypothesis scientific discovery is impossible. Knowledge was not to be pursued for its own sake, but for a social purpose.

*Know in order to foresee, and foresee in order to provide* (Politique positive, i, table facing p. 729).

As to those ultimate problems which occupied so large a space in man’s early speculations, Comte considered them insoluble. The absolute is out of reach of man’s relative powers. We can postulate benevolence on his immediate environment and the laws that control his destiny only in so far as they have allowed Humanity to arise and develop. To that extent the earth and the whole body of natural law, the grand mitigant, in Comte’s expression, were rightly venerated by mankind, but only as a consequence of their relation to Humanity. The old cosmogenies made man the objective centre of the universe. Comte aimed only at a subjective synthesis. In positivism all knowledge is viewed in its relation to man, and human knowledge is considered adequate for all human needs. At the same time Comte was not purely intellectualist. He recognized the effect of practical life and feeling on thought. He took mankind as the basis of human nature into account. He insisted on the need of social aims even in scientific inquiry.

*The Intellectual should always be the servant of the Heart, not its slave* (in General View of Positivism, Eng. tr.3, original title page).

To the positive philosophy corresponds a positive education, replacing instruction in letters by a training in science and a knowledge of realities. Comte divided the education of the young into three sections: (a) the first, or primary education, would be mainly artistic. He would sing and draw, and become acquainted with the literature of his own country, and possibly towards the end of the period he might begin to study foreign languages. Comte hoped that eventually mothers who had already received a positive education would be capable of teaching their children the second, as well as the first, period, but for the present he recognized that this would be impossible. Finally, in the third stage, when the young persons were from four to fourteen years old, they would be engaged in preparing for the active work of his life—in general as apprentice—would follow courses on all the seven abstract sciences, from mathematics to ethics, on two evenings in the week during the first two years, on one evening during the last year. They would study—i.e., would have to do exactly what he did, only for the most part, necessarily for the same course, except that, to prevent overstrain, they would have only one evening a week throughout. For such classes to be largely attended, they would obviously have to fulfill certain conditions. (1) The hours of labor would have to be short. Comte hoped that the hours even of adults would ultimately be reduced to thirty-five a week. (2) The study of each science must be limited. There was to be no question of training the boys and girls to do the work of the old. Instead of the eight surgeons. For such professional instruction there would be special institutions. The general courses would be open to all and would have to recognize two limitations. They must be sufficient only to make all who would spend their lives in the official occupations of the scientific way of looking at the world, and (b) to enable him to proceed to the later sciences. Each science would be pursued—until the last was reached—in order to understand its method and have a firm basis for later studies. The seven years of seven sciences must form a connected whole, and be infused with a social purpose. The teachers, therefore, were to be men of philosophic outlook—Comte referred to them as a philosophic priesthood—who, while their chief business would be teaching, would also form a spiritual power, international as science is, and independent of political parties, who, as they would renounce all temporal ambition, could give disinterested counsel in relation to public affairs.

Many other institutions were suggested by Comte. Of these it is possible here to describe only the Positiveist Library and the Positivist Calendars.

The Positiveist Library for the Nineteenth Century was to be a selection of books made by Comte, with the view of guiding the more thoughtful minds among the people in their choice of books for constant use. It is divided into four sections: poetry and fiction, science, history, and philosophy and religion. Of these the first and last have naturally the most permanent interest, the one containing the great masterpieces of imaginative literature from Homer and Æschylus to Goethe and Walter Scott, the other, not only the sacred books of Hebrew, Christian, and Muslm, the Bible and the Qur'an, with St. Augustine, St. Bernard, Thomas a Kempis, and Bossuet, but the great philosophers, from Aristotle, through Bacon and Descartes, to Diderot, Condorcet, and Comte. The collection was purely provisional and intended only for the school. The books used at schools, and the writings that have directly affected Western civilization; it excludes the great epics of India. This is in the main true also of the Historical Calendar, though the first month contains the names of Joshua, Moses, Israel, and Muhammad. The year is divided into thirteen months, each representing a phase in human development: theocratic civilization, ancient poetry, philosophy, science, military civilization, modern civilization, politics, trade, industry, drama, philosophy, statesmanship, and science. The month is divided into
twenty-eight days. At the head of each month is a great name, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare for the three months of poetry, Aristotle and Descartes for the two of philosophy, Julius Caesar, St. Paul, Chuang-tse for the three of historical, political, and moral construction rather than destruction; except in the first month it deals almost entirely with the West; it is temporary, save as a historical sketch, and even historical values change. On the other hand, the Abstract Calendar is general and permanent. In this the first month is dedicated to Humanity, the next five to family and industrial relationships, then three to the preparatory historical phases, fetishism, polytheism, pantheism, and monothelism, and the last four to the moral functions—moral providence of women, the intellectual providence of the teachers and thinkers, the material providence of the industrial leaders, and the general providence of the proletariat. Both Calendars end with an additional day not included in any month—a day for each part of the body. But with 'all the dead,' since every man, in the course of his life, however useless or degraded, has done some useful or even honourable actions. In leap-year one day more has to be added, and this is devoted to a general commemoration of those illustrious women who, under exceptional circumstances, have, like Joan of Arc, passed beyond the sphere of woman's ordinary duties. Under the influence of a higher standard of education, Comte thought the number of small women would increase in the future, but that the great mass of women would still devote themselves to the indispensable duties of the home, and remain the moral providence of Humanity. The first day of the first month of the year was assigned as the festival of Humanity, not as the day of all the dead, a commemoration of the individuals who compose the human race, but as the day of that great human organism considered as a whole and built up by the convergent efforts of all generations. Comte also projected a scheme of national life, of consecrating all the successive phases of private life by connecting each with public life (The Catechism of Positive Religion, Eng. tr., p. 90).

4. Spread of positivism. Comte founded the Positivist Society in 1839, and the influence of his teaching was spread from an independent standpoint in England by John Stuart Mill, George Henry Lewes, and Harriet Martineau. Later a Positivist Society was founded in London by Richard Congreve, E. S. Beesly, J. H. Bridges, Frederic Harrison, and Henry Crompton. They concerned themselves not only with the philosophic but also with the religious side of his teaching and with the practical application of positivism to public affairs. Believing with Comte that the 'proletariate class is not properly speaking, a class, but constitutes the body of society' (A General View of Positivism, Eng. tr., p. 147), and that trade unionism is a powerful instrument for the emancipation of labourers, the English positivists were foremost in the movement. Other positivists, finding the legal recognition of the Unions lacking, in 1871 against the dismemberment of France. Recognizing that Humanity consists, not of an undifferentiated aggregate, but in a consensus of free nations, they have supported the claims of subject nationalities, as Ireland and Poland, to control their own internal affairs and develop in their own way. The term 'Comtist' was repudiated by Comte, and has not been accepted by positivists, as it misinterprets the relationship between the teacher and those who have carried on the positivist movement and propagated the Religion of Humanity since his death. Positivism being founded on science and on scientific philosophy, its doctrine and practice must be adapted to the results of empirical research and development. It is a synthesis, but not a closed and rigid synthesis. It is a relative, an organic, and an expanding synthesis, in which all new developments of science must find their place.
The Committee invites the adhesion of 'all those who wish to see life inspired by a human religion, guided and sustained, founded on science and directed to the service of Man' (ib. p. 2).


II. WORKS BY AUGUSTE COMTE.—Essays contributed to various periodicals, 1819-28, collected as Opuscules de philosophie positive, in appendix to the Politique, Eng. tr., Early Essays on Society or Temporality, is found at all stages of human development and has had a profound effect on the history of religious belief. Possession, a temporary embodiment of an influence or spirit alien to the subject, is a conception in full logical agreement with Comte's philosophy. It was officially recognized in the early Christian Church; and it underlay the curious forms of modern revivalism. Abnormal physical and psychical manifestations are regarded as evidence of the presence of a deity or spirit, good or evil, and every word and action of the subject are held to be outside his or her control and to proceed solely from the indwelling power. The primitive mind has been quick to seize the advantage of the supposed presences of a supernatural being in order to influence or ascertain the future course of events, and this in one form or another has persisted throughout the religious and spiritual history of mankind. And, since those who are, or have been, in possession of such presences are regarded as oracles, prophets, magicians, and diviners, it has followed that, where the physical and mental peculiarities which are regarded as signs of the spiritual influence are not present from causes connected with the subject, i.e., simulated or artificially induced. Possession in the primitive mind is, by custom, may therefore, be distinguished as being either involuntary or voluntary. This distinction, though not clearly present to the primitive mind, is afterwards very clear.

1. Origin of belief.—The spiritual theory of the universe, which is the basis of the primitive modes of thought and acquires powers and attributes which would now be regarded as supernatural to every man or woman, might be held adequate to account for the nature of the belief. It is clear, however, that, while this attitude of the primitive mind has suggested its general form, its interest centres in what is abnormal in the phenomena. The constant association of possession with pathological states of mind and body indicates that as a theory it is an attempt to explain the existence of epi- psychological, neurotic, or hysterical phenomena as subject to other forms of mental diseases. It is particularly significant that it is precisely in those areas in which what is known as 'arctic hysteria' is prevalent, and especially in Siberia, that the mediolateral side of the shaman's functions are most prominent and most constantly in request.

2. Description of phenomena.—The interesting physical and psychical phenomena of possession as described both in antiquity and in recent times are essentially identical wherever encountered. The subject, having attained by means of some stimulus or other a state of intense emotional excitation, is seized with convulsive shiverings and shakings of the body, makes violent gestures with the arms, and his voice becomes wild and excited. An account of a case of possession in the Sandwich Islands says that the priest who was the subject worked himself up to the highest pitch of frenzy, the limbs seemed convulsed, the body swelled, the conversation became broken with those features distorted, the eyes wild and straitened. While in this state, he was ignited on the hearthstone, at the top of the altar, exposed to the influence of the divinity. The will of the gods was then revealed in shrill cries, in violent and often indistinct sounds. When the medium lapses into trance the oracular features paroxysmally gradually subsided and comparative composure ensued (W. H. Fairbank and J. R. Harrison, The Coast Polynesia, London, 1852-56, L. 372-375). This account may well be compared with Vergil:

subito non vultus, non color aurae,
Non comparant nunc ore cœnas; sed pectus anheñum,
Et rallea lora curta timent; majoreisque videri,
An nec mortale sonat, si data est unde quando
Jam proprie dei! (Æn. vi. 47-51).
The explanations, the cry 'Apollo,' and the disjointed utterances with which Cassandra in the Agamemnon begins to prophesy the future of the gods, is 1072 in like manner a parallel in the description of possession among primitive races. In the Veddas of the south, a sudden access of fear, as if from another world, enters into possession of him and it leaves; in Fiji, when the priest was seized, the god appeared as an old woman. The subject is discussed by the subeditor of the British Museum (pt. I., The Magic Art, London, 1911, i. 278, quoting I. Fison).

The gradual cessation of the paroxysm is not universal. Among the Banyuns of Sumatra the possession of the deity takes place suddenly after a crucial act in the powntumine of which the ceremonial consists and the shaman is exhausted at the close of the act. In a careful study of the phenomena in the Vedda shaman Seligmann says that, although the performance (kohm) is conceived to be a mere automatism, theidea of what he is doing is more or less in an automatic condition in which he goes through all the emotional movements of the dance correctly and in the proper order. He acts without complete volitional consciousness. The shamans themselves said that both at the beginning and at the end of the performance they were seized with vertigo and nausea. One said that he heard booming noise in his ears when the spirits left him. Apparently the determining factors are a profound belief in the reality of possession and a subconscious attitude of expectancy. It appears to be clear that the possession of the bystanders is non-volitional. A spectator of a devil-dance has to appear to suffer considerable pain, or at any rate inconvenience, although he did not wish to, and had taken pains to avoid it. He has been seized and the performer seems to be genuinely tired. The Veddas show no particular anxiety for the health of their own temple servants but their dying of suppressed fever shows that it is a matter of serious consideration. C. G. and E. Z. Seligmann, The Veddas, Cambridge, 1911, p. 130, 134 f., 200 ff.

3. Possession and disease. — Although the manner of possession does not discriminate between the cause of cases which are pathologicai and those in which an abnormal state is the result of the more or less voluntary action of the subject, both alike being attributed to the possession, their treatment is made to be an accidental or occasional seizure and the ceremonial observance of rites to summon spirits to materialize for a special purpose.

Forms of possession which, in the light of this distinction, might be classified in the category of ecstasy, would be thus explained as arising from neglect of what is fitting in respect of, or by way of offerings to, a spirit.

Among the Lushai of India, on the occasion of the tribal feasts, the spirits of the dead are believed to be present and it is usual to place offerings of food for them in the caves of the houses. If it should happen that a girl who has recently lost her mother should fall in a faint, it is taken as a case of possession: "the dead has taken her place." This is a sign that the spirit is present in her. After the girl has regained consciousness with which she was decked on the occasion of the funeral. In order that the girl may be relieved and the spirit appeased, her clothes and the sharp end of the arrows, the body laying, and one of the old petticoats and cloths are burnt in the I. Shakespeare, The Lushai Ruki Class, London, 1912, p. 95.

Possession may follow some act of impiety.

It is recorded that a Javanese coolie in the Malay Peninsula who cut down a tree known to be inhabited by a holy spirit, and was nothing resembling an epileptic fit, which was regarded by the Malays as possession. No Malay would cut down a tree thus. The belief is that the gods are not in the habit of doing so in the course of an exorcism conducted by the medicine-man (C. O. Blagden, quoted by W. W. Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1910, 102 ff.).

Near relatives appear to be peculiarly susceptible to attacks by spirits of the deceased, as in the Lushei case of mother and daughter cited above. In other cases, as, e.g., among the Akikuyu, who believe that the spirits of the ancestors cause the (spirit of the dead), there is peculiar danger for the relatives.

The nyëma haunt especially the place of the man's death and, if he has been an evil liver, his spirit does as much harm as possible, or even by taking possession of the people ever he has an opportunity. In such cases the medicine-man is called in to interpret the spirit's desire. If it is not satisfied, it cannot be brought to rest. The spirit, night and day, may begin to work its mischief (W. S. and K. Routledge, With a Prehistoric People, London, 1910, p. 294).

Possession and causing madness are here specifically mentioned as activities of an evil spirit, but among the primitive theories of disease causation by spirits who enter into or torment the patient holds a prominent place. The therapeutic measures of the medicine-man, in so far as they are not purely materialistic, like the extraction of a bone or pebble, are largely directed towards driving out or propitiating the demons or spirits reputed to be the cause of madness.

It also finds expression in the customs of driving out disease-spirits at special festivals, of sending them away in boats, or of diverting them to a scrapheap.

It is, however, to the more violent and abnormal forms of disease in particular that the theory of possession is applied.

The lathong hold that possession in the form in which it is recognized the spirit's energy, is linked with its cause — and, not, be it noted, spirits of their own dead, but Zulu or Bantu spirits. It occurs chiefly among those who travel outside their territories. The attacks are not confined to the free of their absence from their own country; they may bring back the infection with them, and, indeed, though not so frequently as formerly, at times the disease has assumed the proportions of an epidemic. The preliminary symptoms are a nervous illness, persistent pain in head, shock, extraordinary yawning, and emaciation. If, after consultation of the divinatory bones, the medicine-man decides that the patient is possessed by the spirit in question, the course of the established series of ceremonies which follows the patient in a frenzy, declares the name of the spirit which possesses him, speaking Bazanga, and proceeds to analyze his condition in the language. The spirits are appeased by the offering of a meal, the medicine-men go into trances, and a good deal of blood from the cut until his stomach is full and is then torn away from the carcass by the bystanders. He is given drugs which come from the earth and the spirit lives on him. At the end of the ceremony which closes the rites, and after a probationary period of a year, the man is fully recovered, and the distinction of the man is made by white beads woven into their hair (H. A. Junod, Life of a S. African tribes, London, 1906, p. 260 ff.).

The magico-medical theories of the Malays which are based upon the theories of the medicine-men are particularly illustrated in this side of the possession theory. As an example may be cited the form of treatment which aims at inducing the disease to pass away. The patient is put in a small drawer figure of birds, beasts, and fishes (Skeat, p. 4321).

In Brazil the pagan tribes regard madness as possessed by some toh spirit, while the Melanans extend this theory to other forms of sickness. Exorcism for possession is practiced by all the pagan tribes, least frequently among the Kuyanas, most elaborately among the Kkoruanant. The different forms of disease are ascribed to different devils. They are said to be ghosts with red eyes; the amok devil comes from the swamp and is different from the suicide devil, both being distinct from the sickness devil. The causes of sickness and madness are related to one another, and the medicine-men are said to meddle with the affairs of the tribe (McDougall, Pagan Tribes of Brazil, London, 1915, ii. 28, 31, 40.

It will not be necessary to enter more fully into this side of the subject here, on which further information may be found elsewhere (see artt. DISEASE AND MEDICINE, SHAMANISM). Enough has been said to indicate that, while possession is one of the more important theories of disease, it is applied especially to those cases in which peculiarly violent or abnormal symptoms are plainly to be observed.

4. Possession and initiation. — The pathological character of those affections which are regarded by primitive peoples as evidence of possession is such that the symptoms of the disease or weakness would recur at more or less frequent intervals. It is therefore not surprising to find that those who are possessed of supernatural, nervous, or other disturbances regarded as a class apart—a class of peculiar sanctity. This offers in part an explanation of the origin and power of the medicine-man on one side of his functions—as healer, wonder-worker, and prophet—and on the other side of the relation with the spirits are expected to have special power over them and special knowledge of their will (see J. G. Frazer, The Belief in Immortality, I., London, 1913, p. 15).

The Bathong are said to have been exercised for possession after a period of initiation himself became a medicine-man and exorcist (Junod, ii. 4361). The Melanau woman who has been under the influence of the toh, when she has undergone the full
In the Sandwich islands the god spoke through the king Bills, loc. cit., and all the gods converse with one through the medium of the priest, who announced the will of the deity with the influence of the sacerdotal office. In the offices of priest and chief were combined. If, however, the chief was of high rank, it was considered derogatory to his dignity that he should become possessed (f. Thomson, Fijians, London, 1868, p. 159).

5. The spirit helper.—As a result of the seclusion which for many years had been initiated both in Siberia and in N. America, the shaman became a permanent or semipermanent spirit or helper which usually appears to him in the form of some animal. When he becomes possessed subsequently, it is by the intermediation of this helper that he comes into relation with the spirit world.

In the Siberian stances, the shaman being a skilled ventriloquist, the voices of the spirits come from all sides of the room as well as from the ceiling. The spirits speak with their own voices, unless they happen to be wolf, fox, or raven, which can speak in the language of man. Sometimes the shaman himself does not understand the language; it may be a mixture of Koryak, Yakut, and Yukaghir, and it may have to be translated for the benefit of sustained shamans. One Tungus shaman having Koryak spirits, they spoke through him in that tongue. The Asiatie Eskimos have a spirit language analogous to that of the Eskimos of Alaska and Eastern N. America. On the other hand, a Chukchi shamanism, while in a state of possession, in which she produced small pebbles from a large pebble with no apparent connection, which the shaman declared she alone was able to answer questions except by signs, because, if it was said, she would reveal the knowledge of her own language (Czaplicka, pp. 231, 233).

6. Voluntary possession.—The theory of possession is not applied solely to those intermittent manifestations of the personality to which it owes its origin. It could hardly be expected of those who are subject to attacks should not take advantage of the power of awe and terror aroused by their supposed relation to the spirit world. But, as a crisis of their disease cannot be removed, the outpouring takes the form of a voluntary aid when their advice may be sought or their assistance invoked by the ordinary member of the community, possession is superinduced voluntarily by an artificial stimulus. The fact that in the majority of cases possession is not a morbid state due to purely natural causes, but is artificially induced, as well as the comparative certainty and facility with which the state of exaltation is attained, has caused the possession of many cases to be expected.

The vase, Citizens in the expression of the eyes. More probably it is due to a highly-strung or nervous temperament (see especially writers quoted in Czaplicka, loc. cit.).

Various means are employed to superinduce the state of possession. These are usually of such a character as might be expected to set up a state of automatism in the chief actor, and, where possession is not confined to the central figure, to stir up a sympathetic state of excitement in the bystanders. Of the forms of action, with a strong rhythmic appeal is a prominent feature in the preliminary ceremonies.

The Venda form of possession is preceded by a dance in which the shamans, as a species of votive process, go round the offerings; the dance increases in speed until the sacrifice takes place. In one dance in which there were two principal performances, the second performed by the chief, who had already become possessed, waved a cloth in front of him. This cloth was held by various of the dancers, who had not yet have entered the first dancer, and presumably by the action of waving the cloth in front of the second it was also transmitted to him (C. G. and B. Z. Solignmann, p. 226). In Borneo the Kayan medicine-women, in the course of the exercise of the
evil spirit for the cure of disease, whirr round until they fall in a faint (Hose-McDougall, ii. 133). The smoke or the_fting which the most part of the
shaman's outfit is the magic drum, on which he beats at first softly, and then as the disease increases.
The shamans of the Chukchi and the Asiatic Eskimo sing while beating the drum, and responses are given by an answering chorus. In another case considered by the latter members of the shaman's family (Czapski, p. 230 ff.). The Samoyed shaman holds in one hand two arrows, from the points of which a transport of the anodyne power is felt in the case of the patient. They
beats the hoes rhythmically as he sings (ib. p. 238). In the case of the Sieroszewski, a certain common ceremony for exorcising the spirit of possession—a ceremony which consisted chiefly of an ory of noise made by drums, rattles, etc., round the subject, seems to have been used as a form of treatment. The patient
poses a song, usually in Zulu, by the repetition of which subsequentc can be roused or spurred to a state of ex-
which he is compelled to make himself. In the case of a
man, quoted in Czapski, p. 235).
The action of other means employed is more obvious. Intoxicants of various kinds are used.
poisons to obtain an intoxicating effect (W. W. Gill, Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific,
, London, 1876, p. 75). In Bali incense is inhaled by the seer of the individual, and worn around the neck (F. A. Liefrinck, quoted in GIT, pt. i., The Magic Art, i. 379).
Smoke from the foliage of a sacred tree or plant was sometimes used.
Among the tribes of the Hindustan the priestess veiled her head and washed it with smoked smoke. Sandalwood was used. Smoke from the sacred
cedar until seized with convulsions (J. Reddihop, Tribes of the Pacific, ii. 252) was used by the inhabitants of Ats-
and was fumigated with laurel, while the Boucanelians ate
(lit. Quot. Rom., 112). In Uganda tobacco was smoked (A. Braun, Das Land des Andau, p. 122). Among the Mentawai of this Baganda, JRAI xxvi, (1905) 45). Chukchi and Tungus shamans smoked pipes containing narcotic tobacco; the Yakuts also
smoked a brandy (centennial arrow); if a clean break is made, the animal to be shot will be a female, but, if the edge is jagged, it will be a male (C. G. and R. Z. Seeligman, pp. 221, 223). In Bali it was held that, when the pérnax had been taken to the temple and had been raised to a proper pitch of excitement by the incantation, the power of groups of mystical and wondrous
surrounded him, his soul left his body, which was then at the disposal of the deity. He was regarded as a god and as such
untouched with the power of the oracles (F. A. Liefrinck, quoted in GIT, pt. i., The Magic Art, i. 379).
The belief that the subject spoke no longer with his own voice, but with that of the deity, or of the object used by peculiarities of diction and intonation. The utterance
may be imbrittent or the quality of the voice may be changed.
The Patagonian shaman, when he has worked himself into a frenzy by drumming and rattle, speaks in a low mournful
voice (Falkner, loc. cit.). In the Sandwich Islands the god gives utterance through the priest to shrill cries and sounds violent and indistinct (Eilles, pp. 234, 235). In Guinea the fleshless women sniffs and gasps and her responses are given in a shrill whistling
voice (Eilles, pp. 234, 235). In the case of the Tahitians already mentioned, the shaman, by his skill in ventril-
qismus, was able to convince his audience of the presence of his
in the figures of animals of various kinds and in an animal form, which they uttered. In the case of those animals which spoke with the human voice their utterance was distin-
guished by a peculiar timbre (Czapski, p. 284).

(b) Propitiation.—These abnorma manifestations may also be evoked in order to propitiate spiritual
powers or to enter into communion with those
powers or they may even become an act of worship.
This aspect of the belief is very apparent in the pantomime
dances of the Veddas, which form the most important element in their
ritual. The Veddas, who have a prominent figure in the
and the central figure, should become possessed by the spirits invoked.
the Veddas, however, is the matter especially in the success of the food supply, by propitiating the spirits of the recently dead and those spirits who are specially
the Veddas, the great fear and the greatest interest; these
dances are of the greatest interest; their details throw much light on similar dances elsewhere and on the belief
generally. The details of the ceremony, and
especially the eating of the offerings after its termination by all present, point to an attempt thoroughly to unite the spirit in a community of membership with the group and thus to secure the same degree of protection against attacks of disease as if the bundles, both the convener and the vehicle of materialization. The dances take place around offerings to the gods (spirits of the dead) in the form of dances and music. Exorcising the disease, summoning the spirit, is signaled by the paka invoked. It is important for the performer to be assured by the shaman, but only by some vehicle, an eude, wrapper, cloth, or other object held in his hand, or the leaves of a runner of beans, that the desired spirit is present and that the sparrowhawk, the bird of prey, may be striped when the dance is over in order that the spirits may be sold in the neighborhood longer than is thought possible. What is added to the paka is to approve of the offering: this is suggested by the shaman bending over the bowl containing offerings for the spirits and even securing it to the great malice of the spirit (P. Z. Seligmann, JEB xxxviii. 374).

In such dances as these the object of the dancer is to eure or to aver disease by appeasing or propitiating the spirits responsible, and in these cases possession is only one of the means, though it may be the most important, by which the goodwill of the spirits is secured and made manifest.

In Cambodia in the time of an epidemic the villagers will seek a rite of exorcism known as kong po (occasionally to sacrifice a temple, and then, when he is possessed by the god, ask him to ward off the plague from their village (J. Moun, Le Rapport de Cambodge, 1908, l. 177).

But, while in this case and in other cases-e.g., the bori quoted above-spiritual exorcism is recognized, the exact relation of the spirit to the patient is not clearly expressed. When, however, as regards a group in which possessing spirits, the obvious aim of the exorcist is to drive out the possessing influence. Such is the case in the Thonga form of possession, when the object of the exorcist is to master the spirit by learning its name, and thus ascribing power to drive it away. It is possible to trace the development of the idea of the relation of possession and disease through various stages. The exorcist as among the Bathonga, Zulus, Kayans, and many other peoples, some already mentioned, is usually one who has himself or herself suffered from possession, and therefore may be supposed to stand in a peculiar relation to the spirits. Even when disease is attributed to a material cause, a pebble or bone introduced by magical means into the body, the assistance of the deity may be invoked through his agent.

In Poso in Central Celebes, when the priestess is consulted in a case of disease, she becomes possessed and it is the god who speaks to her. He, moreover, and not the exorcist, makes the exorcism to drive out the evil from the patient (GB. pt. i, The Magic Art, i. 379 f., quoting A. C. Kruij)

The intervention may be less direct and the god or spirit may be doing nothing more than indicate the measures prophylactic or therapeutic that will relieve the patient, as among the Aikikyn (Routledge, p. 241). On the other hand, a logical development is to summon a stronger spirit, to possess the exorcist and drive out the malignant spirit.

This is the object of the elaborate rite of the Melanous of Borneo. If a woman who possesses has gone through the complete rite of exorcism known as beyah, she herself becomes an exorcist and can cast out devils from others. This rite is not a simple exorcism, but is divided into several parts. It is taken to a cave in the mountains, where the medicine is prepared to summon the evil spirits to take possession of the medicine-woman, three or four of whom are present. In the course of the ceremony the devils are invited to come and are invited to enter the patient and then to take possession. In Bali, when the divinity had seized the possessed person, his body became immaterial and therefore invulnerable, and the weapon could not hurt him. The Indian devil-dancer cut and lacerated his flesh until the blood gushed forth, and his disease disappeared. The Siberian observers consider this an effect of slight of hand, at most a scratch being responsible for the blood shown (Czaplinska, p. 235).
POSSSESSION (Greek and Roman)

E. N. FALLAIZE.

The conception of divine possession—the incarnation of a god in a human form—prevailed extensively in the earlier stages of religious history. It may be that, as evidenced by the practices of Australian savages, this consciousness in states of excitement of an internal but overshadowing force is felt without relation to a personal god (J. E. Harrison, Themis, Cambridge, 1912, p. 65); but such considerations are inapplicable to the Greeks of the historical age. When the body of the priest or celebrant was thrown into a trancelike state, possessed by the god, all his acts and words were not merely prompted by but proceeded from the god himself. The devotee identified himself with the god and affected to exercise the divine functions. Illustrations may be drawn from the possessions of savage Tribesmen, such as the seadme men of the Dakotas or the Maoir tokungas (A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, i. 1121 f.). The best of the Greek instances is the giving of the name Bacchus to those who participated as worshipers in the orgiastic cult of Dionysus (schoo! Aristoph., Eup. 460); and the impersonations of the Curetes, who took part in the Cretan mysteries of Zagreus (Eur.frag. 472), were similar to those enacted by the enthusiastic followers of the god at Eleusis or Delphi, place the patient inside a state of overmastering religious possession by the tiger-god, when he imitates the actions and voice of that animal in movement, in eating, and in running about. To the Greeks these phenomena were ascribed at times to the conflict between the mortal and the malignant spirit and staked it after it has taken refuge in jars of wine or other receptacles placed for the purpose (Skeat, pp. 450-444).

8. Possession of animals and inanimate objects.

—Finally it may be noted that possession is not confined to human beings.

The Todas believe that gods sometimes possess their buffaloes (W. H. Rose in Reports, 1866, p. 417). This may be compared with the belief that disease may be transferred to cattle. When the cattle of the Brahman suffers from an epidemic, it is the custom to secure by means of a ceremony the transfer of the disease to one member of the herd which is then driven out for sacrifice as scapegoat (G. Roscoe.

The Brahman: A Cow Tribe of Ekoh in the Uganda Protectorate," JRAS xxvii. [1907] 111). The Yakat shaman sometimes frightens away disease, driving it off by uttering words and blowing, but sometimes it is transferred to cattle, which are then sacrificed. The dance which forms part of the ceremony is said to be symbolic of their journey to the sky, and in olden days, it is said, there were shamans who themselves ascended to heaven in the form of a Buffalo, and sometimes of a Big-wild (Lung. 

Among the Malays, in a species of spiritualistic performance after invocation and offerings, spirits are made to take possession of devotees in the form of a face-trap, and make them go through the motions of a dance. A parallel may be observed in the tendency to the spirit automatism of the shamans of the Reindeer Chukchi. Their spirits are said to be very miscellaneous. Invisible hands turn everything in the tents upside down, the object being to make the spirits known to the spectators. When the spectators try to touch the spirit, they resent it and may kill the shaman by stabbing him or breaking his head (Chaplicka, p. 232).

Literature.—This is sufficiently quoted throughout.
sacred garlands from her head, and overthrows the holy vessels of the temple in feverish efforts to escape from the wrath of the god.

The notion of the entrance of the divine and withdrawal of the physical sovereign of the seer recurs in Ov. Fast. vi. 557 ff., where Ino consults Carmenites, the prophetic mother of Evander; and the reluctance of the seer to yield to the overpowering strength of the god is illustrated by Cic. de Div. ii. 100, 101.

"A gap leads the path, and the prophetic vision still my soul, and with me their dizzy prelude" (Aesch. Ag. 1214 ff.).

Those who would avail themselves of the prophet's insight must encounter his natural tendency to resist by binding him with the severest of manacles. To the latter class, besides the instances already mentioned, may be assigned the vision of Hecate and Cybele (Eur. Bacch. 296). The former, who belong to an earlier and indigenous stratum of thought, and whose form of divination is that of the Nemesis (συμφατητος), and the Muses (ψυχωδής τος). The Muses (v.g.) are merely a subdivision of the Nymphs (ΦΗ. i. 36); and the Nymphs themselves, of whom the Sphragites of Citheroon may be cited as typical (Pans. ix. 9; II. ii. 10, pose Nyximai (συμφατητος)."

Beside the inspiration of the diviner by Apollo, he names the Bacchic frenzy of Dionysus, with which he couples the orgiastic ecstasies of Cybele and Pan, the poets' frenzy inspired by the Muses, the warlike frenzy of Ares, and what he calls the supreme and last word of love. It must be remembered that Plutarch was writing as a philosopher and man of letters; for in popular estimation the inspiration of the seer was essentially distinct from the rest. Although Apollo had no monopoly of divination, the preceding functionaries of the leading oracles, such as the Pythia at Delphi and the Sibyl of Erythrae, passed increasingly into his service. Among the exceptions may be mentioned Erato, prophetess of Pan at the time (Pall. t. 109, οἱ Νεμείς, ψυχωδής τος), and the diviners who prophesied at the temple of Artemis Sarpedonida in Cilicia (Strabo, p. 676).

The entrance into the ecstatic condition was not effected without the co-operation of the seer himself, and various methods are attributed to him to put him into communion with the god. The drinking of wine, supposed to contain the vital essence of the god, was practised by the priests at the shrine of Dionysus among the Thracian Ligynai (Macroh. 1. 21), and the ministers of the Cyprians at the Cerynaean Colophon was served by a priest drawn from a particular class, who, although utterly ignorant of letters, was able, after drinking the water of a secret spring, to give utterance to oracles composed in formal verse (Tat. Acha. ii. 34). A similar potency was ascribed to the waters of the Delphian Cassotis (Pans. x. xxiv. 7) and of the sacred well at Hysik in Bœotia (ib. ix. ii. 1). The mystical power of the water might be manifested otherwise, as at the oracle of Apollo Thyrsus near Cyanee and Lycian. When spring snows showed to any one looking into it whatever he wished to see (ib. vii. xxi. 15).

The priestess of Apollo Diridrotas at Argos became inspired by drinking the blood of a lamb which had been sacrificed (ib. ii. xxiv. 1), and this may reasonably be supposed, as a preliminary to the exercise of her prophetic power, the priestess of Earth at Ægina in Achaea was accustomed to drink the blood of a bull (HN xxviii. 147). The cruelty of the conception that the eating of the flesh of a prophet's victim secured to him the prophetic glory by way of corporeal assimilation is illustrated in the remarkable statement of Porphyry (de Abst. ii. 48) that those who wish to become possessed of a prophetic spirit swallow the most effective parts of similarly endowed animals, such as the hearts, livers, and livers. The temple of Apollo at Delphi occupied the site of an old Earth-oracle, which was placed over a deep chasm with a narrow outlet. Here the Pythia, seated on a tripod above the outlet, received the orphic vapours which would be raised by her inhalation of the sweet water, and from the utterance of the answers appropriate to the need of the inquirers (Strabo, p. 419; Cic. de Div. i. 79; Phiny, H.N. ii. 290). Herodotus relates (vii. 111) that at a Thracian oracle of Dionysus belonging to the Persians, and situated among the loftiest peaks, a priestess of the religious order of the Bessi pronounced the oracles in the same manner as the Pythia, i.e. in a condition of ecstatic rapture—but by how much he does not explain. When the oracle was at Athens, at Delphi the supremacy of Apollo was acknowledged by his priestess, when, before entering upon her duties, she chewed laurel-leaves (Lucian, Bis Anc. 1) or was fumigated with their smoke (Plut. Pyth. Or. 6, p. 397 A). Similarly, the Bacchic frenzy was believed to be imparted by the ivy which the Bacchanales ate (Plut. Quaest. Rom. 112, p. 291 A). The Thrice of M. Parnassus were conceived either as actually having the form of bees or as winged females with a bee's body from the waist; in this case they were taken by the bees to utter true prophecy when they had fed on fresh honey and were inspired by its intoxicating madness (Horn. Hygim. Hor. 561 f.; with Allen and Sitek's (London, 1904) Appendix, p. 313). Sometimes intracellular is the capacity of the Sibyl's sexual union: Numa exercised prophetic power in his capacity as the husband of Egeria (Plut. Numa, 8); and Apollo was said to have espoused not only Cassandra, but also the Sibyl Herophile (Pans. x. viii. 2) and the priestess at Patara in Lydia (Herod. i. 182).

Whether Theoclymenus in the Odyssey (xx. 350) is described as under the influence of inspiration has been disputed; but Callinus and Helenus speak the words that Apollo puts into their mouth (II. i. 385, vii. 53), and the story of Cassandra is a clear proof that the phenomenon was familiar to the writers of the Homeric epics. From an early date the constitution of Lycurgus was believed to have been inspired from heaven, whether Lycurgus himself, or the prophet Sibyl Muthus was the direct medium for conveying the divine message (Plato, Log. 691 E), or it was formally commissioned by the Pythian oracle (Herod. i. 65). The sayings of inspired prophets began to be collected and recorded about the middle of the 6th cent., and the religious movement of the 6th cent., to which reference has already been made. The prophet Amphipnius encouraged Pisistratus with an oracle immediately before his victory at Pallene (Herod. i. 62), and Oinomaeus, the founder of the Orphic community at Athens, who lived at the court of
the tyrant, was charged with the preparation of a collection of the oracles attributed to Museus, and was subsequently banished for interpreting it with his own compositions (ib. vii. 6). Besides the oracles of Museus the most notorious were those assigned to Baktis—originally the generic term for a seer, whence a Baktis was held to be the soul of a body of divinity or divinity itself. Collections of oracles were not merely preserved among the state records, but circulated freely among the public without any official endorsement. In fact, the calling of an oracle-monger to the market-place, the persistent attack on those who traded on the credulity and superstition of the masses; and the extent of the evil may be measured by the violence with which Diopeithes and others of the same class are denounced by Aristophanes (Eq. 1085, etc.). Another impostor of the same period was Eurycles the ventrilouquist, who claimed to be inspired by an indwelling demon (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Grecian]). In later ages the belief in demons, fostered even among cultivated circles by the adherence to it of the Stoic philosophy, kept alive the notion that the demon-cloud could inform and stimulate the human seer. When pressed to account for the failure of the Pythian oracle to maintain its former reputation, Chrysippus (ii. 1215 [Arn.]) was content to explain that the oracles had become less accurate in the locality, which presupposes another inspiration to the priestess by means of the exhalations rising from the ground, had decayed through lapse of time. The Stoic theories of the universal immanence of the divine πνεύμα, and of the harmonious co-ordination of every part of the world (ii. 546 [Arn.]), seemed to give a scientific sanction to the popular belief in the inspiration of the professional diviners (ii. 1511 [Arn.]).

A position of special eminence was accorded to the Sibyls, whose earliest mention is to be found in Heraclitus:

'The Sibyl with raving voice speaks words that have no part in laughter or in rich apparel or in agitations. Yet she prevails; for is the god who drives her.' (frag. 62, in H. Diels, Fragmenta der Vorschriften, i, 94).

The name is believed to be of Semitic origin, and to bear the meaning 'seized by the god' (Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 927). It will be observed that in Heraclitus, as in Aristotle (Pax, 1065) and Phaedrus (356 b), the name is a loan-phrase of more than one Sibyl: and there is very little doubt that her original home—i.e. from the Greek point of view—was at Erythrae on the west coast of Asia Minor (Paus. x. xii. 7). In the later authorities several Sibyls are mentioned, so that the name, once introduced, seems to have spread over the Greek world (cf. Livy, i. 7). One of the most famous was the Sibyl of Cumae introduced by Vergil into the narrative of Æn. vi., and it was she who, according to the legend, brought the Sibylline books to King Tarquin.

The idea of possession may be traced also in the ritual of the dream-oracle. The dream itself was a divine message sent to the sleeper in concrete form (Hom. Od. iv. 790 ff.), and clear evidence is wanting that the dream was anything but working of a demonic being within the body of the sleeping himself. On the contrary, it is the normal belief of savages that the soul of the sleeper passes out of his body during sleep (GB, pt. ii., Tabou and Whitehead, 265). Later, in classical times, and there are some indications that a similar view was adopted by the Greeks (Cic. de Divin. i. 30, etc.). Nevertheless, the custom whereby inquirers were wont to spread beneath them the skin of the sacrificial victim before seeking sleep in the temple—a custom which is well attested for the shrine of Apollinaris in Attica, and for other places (Frazier, on Paus. i. xxxiv. 5)—shows that the revelation of the dream required for its transmission the establishment of a special relation between the worshipper and the god. It has also been suggested that the sleeping on the bare earth attested for ordinary persons (Lucian, Neopyg. 7), as well as for the Seili of Dodona (Hom. H. xvi. 255), was intended to assist the entrance into the spiritual state of divinity or divinity itself. At the temple of Dionysus at Amphipolis in Phocis the god was said to announce cures for sickness in dreams, not directly, but using the priest as his inspired mouth-piece (Paus. x. xxxiii. 11). Further, inscriptive evidence seems to prove the existence of a class of inspired persons (e›xovi), who superintended the incubation rites at various dream-oracles in Egypt and Syria (Gruppe, p. 928).

The Greek poets always spoke of themselves and of others inspired (ἄπειρος ἀρρήτος cf. Hom. Od. iv. 17; Pind. frag. 160; Bacchyl. viii. 3). This was not so much a metaphor as a survival, since the origin of the conception is to be referred to a primitive era in which the functions of poet and seer were not yet differentiated. The early evidence for Archaic prophecy is not for a prophet, poet, doctor, diviner, and wizard; but the gradual emergence of the various arts and sciences continually stripped him of his attributes (Hallerday, pp. 57, 75). Hence, even in the earliest of our literary records, poetry and divination appear as distinct arts; and in the 5th cent. the sense of their original connexion had so entirely disappeared that it was almost a paradox for Democritus to declare that no good poetry was possible without a mental ardour and inspiration akin to magic (frags. 17, 18 [Diels]). Similarly, the Platonic Socrates asserted that poets compose their songs not by virtue of any wisdom or skill, but owing to a kind of natural inspiration, like that of seers and prophets (Apoll. 22 C, Ion, 533 E). Inspiration had come to be a general notion covering many different kinds of activity which seemed to spring from some transcendent or pre-eminent ability. It was in accordance with this habit of thought that Plato (in Phaedrus) held that Pluralism, acquirement of various characteristics, spoke of all wisdom as inspired (Olf. ix. 28, xi. 10). Since it was the characteristic of seers, as being merely the mouth-pieces of the god, to utter what they did not understand, Plato concluded that statesmen, who, though often successful in their speeches and policies, were equally ignorant of the real meaning of their words, must be guided by divine inspiration (Men. 99 C, D). Again, the wisdom of the philosopher may be described as enthusiasm in the fullest sense; for, though derived by the masses as dogate, it is derived from constant association with the divine (Phaedr. 249 D).

Roman religion has been so much overlaid with Greek innovations, particularly in so far as our evidence is concerned, that it is generally difficult to discover old Italian beliefs which have not been contaminated with foreign associations. The early date of this Greek influence may be gauged by the legend which refers the first acquisition of religious ordinances by the Anewel regal period, and by the authentic statement that they were first consulted in the year 496 B.C. (Dion. Hal. vi. 17). It is certain, however, that prophetic inspiration must have been as familiar to the Romans as to the Greeks, and that it must be everywhere else, and it is unnecessary in this place to do more than refer to some scanty traces of native divination which occasionally meet us in Latin literature. Besides the Sibylline books, we
read of collections of oracles attributed to Marcus and Publicius (Cic. de Divin. i. 115, ii. 113). Of the latter nothing further is known, but the carving or inscription of the Fausnus (or Phaunos) may be trusted, contained allusions to Greek myths, and must have been of comparatively late origin. To take another illustration, there is no doubt that Faunus was a native Italian wood-spirit, although he was constantly assimilated to the Orphic writers. Moreover, Faunus (in the plural) are well- evidenced as the semi-divine occupants of oracular springs. Ennius, in a well-known line, refers to the verses in which Fauns or prophets chanted of old,  

"Quomodo deum, Deum, et numinem, quaesumus, ' 

vestigibus Faunii" (Vahlen, Leipz., 1854). Vergil described the visit of Latinius to the dream-oracle of Faunus at Albanum, where a sacred spring in the midst of a dark grove emitted sulphurous fumes (Enn. vii. 81 ff.). This character of Faunus is confirmed by the tradition that his wife was named Fatua, and that she foretold the future in the frenzy of divine inspiration (Justin, xiii. 1. 8). He himself also bore the title Fatuaus, which, though connected by modern philosophers (K. Brugmann, Comparative Grammar, Eng. tr., Leipzig, 1885, p. 151; W. M. Lindsay, Latin Drama (Oxford, 1894, p. 324) with fa- · , to speak,' was understood by the ancients as descriptive of the inspired madness of the seer (Plin. HN xxvii. 107). In his mantic capacity Faunus was associated with Picus, the wood-jaguar, and his prophetess Psyche (Plut. Num. 15; see also Harrison, Themis, p. 106 ff.).


A. C. PEARSON

POSESSION (Indian).—The question of the possession of spirits in the case of the medium, who in a state of hysteria mutters incoherent words which are interpreted as oracles, and of persons in an abnormal condition, as at puberty, pregnancy, and the like, has been discussed in art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Indian), vol. iv. p. 604 ff. In the present article some points hitherto unnoticed are considered.

1. Possession at domestic rites.—Cases of possession at domestic rites.

(a) Death.—The practice of the Paniyans of Madras is typical: A man enters with his legs girt with bells, the music of which, being struck upon the hollowed necks of sticks which he presents at the time of a death. He advances with short steps, rolling his eyes and staggering and fro, saving the air with two short sticks which he holds in his hands, and thus works himself into a frenzied state of inspiration, while the mourners walk and ask why the dead has been taken from them. Presently a convulsive shiver attacks the medium, who staggers more violently, and at last falls on the ground. He tries to support himself by holding one of the poles of the funeral shroud, while he gasps out disjointed sentences which are taken to be the words of the god.

The object here is to ascertain the fate of the spirit of the dead man, and to discover the cause of his death, which may be due to some misconduct on the part of his relatives—witchcraft, sorcery, or the like. In another form of the rite in the same direction is the invocation from the necromancer to the deity who is supposed to be responsible for the death.

Here three masked dancers—one representing the tribal god, and the other two warlike or disturbing spirits—come in communication with the deity who is supposed to be responsible for the death.

They dance in a circle and the man who represents the tribal god steps on the feet of the deity, and then the dancer on his own face. The man representing the goddess then seats himself on a stool, and, facing the assemblage, admonishes them as to their future conduct (E. Thurston, Oates and Tribes of S. India, Madras, 1900, vi. 67, 69).

This communication with the spirit of a person lately dead is illustrated by the practice of the Tiyans of Madras.

A girl becomes possessed by the spirit, and talks and acts, as it is said, just like the person who has lately died, calling the children, who are present, and friends by name, and giving commands for the future conduct of the surviving members of the family. (Afterward, she descends from earthly trammels, and attains heavenly bliss' (ib. vii. 91).

(b) Marriage.—The Gollas of Madras at their marriages worship Gangā, the goddess of the river Ganges.

They draw coloured figures on the floor of the house and during the preparation of these some people, more particularly boys and those of feeble mind, are excluded from the house, as none of the Gollas will take them if it is otherwise. The figures before the rite of removing the evil eye from them had been performed in the presence of the lively and incense sticks. The figure of Gangā, and a cock is sacrificed, its neck being wrung by three men who perform the rite prostrate themselves before the goddess and salute her. One of them attempts to persuade, and the spectators exclaim that he is about to become possessed by the spirit of an ancestor. Taking up a piece of matchwood, he is supposed to draw a square figure, and the man representing the ancestor announces that the marriage will be fortunate; in other words, the family ancestor sanctions the union of the couple (ib. ii. 365).

2. Possession among Muhammadans.—The cult of spirits is a later addition to the orthodox form of Islam, but it is inevitable in India where so many of the converts are drawn from animistic tribes and races. Among people of this class the spirit-searing power of the tombs of certain saints and martyrs is prominent.

The shrine of Mirān Sāyīd 'Ali, at Unjā in N. Gujarāt, is famous for its power of compelling persons attacked by spirits. When the madman is brought to the shrine, hisIFYQICN is taken with him accommodation in one of the open rooms or outhouses of the shrine. In the evening he takes his place beside the railing of the saint's grave and is given a cup of water from the shrine well or cistern. If he is really spirit-possessed, the spirit manifests itself by turning him to sickle and toasting a case of a woman, to fling her hair about and roll her eyes. If after one of these draughts of water from the shrine is un- duced, the aliment is supposed to be constitutional, and the remedy prescribed is the external or internal use of the leaves of the tree which grows near the saint's grave. This is said to be a variety elsewhere unknown, but to have grown from a piece of wood which the saint used to clean his teeth—an idea which savours of Buddhism (PCH, ii. 881 L.). In more serious cases the patient seems to be dragged by some unseen force, writhing and ravaging as if he were undergoing chastisement. At last he wakes up, his faculties restored, and the spirit is said to have been cast out.

If after a second draught of water the spirit remains un- duced, the aliment is supposed to be constitutional, and the remedy prescribed is the external or internal use of the leaves of the tree which grows near the saint's grave. This is said to be a variety elsewhere unknown, but to have grown from a piece of wood which the saint used to clean his teeth—an idea which savours of Buddhism (PCH, ii. 881 L.). In more serious cases the patient seems to be dragged by some unseen force, writhing and ravaging as if he were undergoing chastisement. At last he wakes up, his faculties restored, and the spirit is said to have been cast out.
POSSSESSION (Japanese)—Kangokori, which is a contraction of kami, 'god,' and kokoro, a word implying the idea of 'possession,' means literally 'god-attachment,' and expresses the idea of the passive attitude of a man under a superior influence which takes possession of him. The Japanese also use two words of Chinese origin to denote inspiration, shintaku and takaune, both of which imply the idea of divine revelation—of a communication made by divinity by means of an inspired man as intermediary. In pure Japanese the latter idea is also rendered by the expression kami no shirase, 'information of the god.'

1. In ancient literature.—This supernatural phenomenon is described in the most ancient Shintō documents. One of the most important mythological narratives found in the Kojiki is the story of Uzume (the Dread Female of Heaven), who is a sort of prophetess. It is she who, by a sacred dance before the rock cavern in which the sun-goddess has hidden, finally lends her to reappear and lighten the world again. In this connection an expression is employed in the Kojiki (komugakari-shite, 'accomplishing divine possession') which is not very clear, and may be taken in the sense of feigned possession (this is the sense adopted by R. H. Chamberlain, Kojiki, Tokyo, 1906, p. 69, n. 32); but the corresponding passage in the Nihon-gi rather seems to indicate that it is real possession (see Nihon-gi, Shukai ed., i. 40; and cf. tr. by W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 44). Moreover, Uzume is regarded as the mythical ancestor of the sarume (monkey-women), who performed religious dances (koyura) at court; and the divinely-inspired utterance which, according to the Nihon-gi, she pronounced in front of the celestial cavern (and which, according to another version, consisted only of the words kokomo, takaune, kokonomai—simply the numerals from one to ten) is the prototype of the revelations of the miho ('august child'), young priestesses attached to the principal Shintō temples, who dance the koyura to this day and sometimes act as mediums, particularly at Ise.

Another and more characteristic case of possession is furnished by the prelude to the story of the expedition of the emperor Jingō, the first legendary conqueror of Korea. The scene, which is one of ancient grandeur, is thus described in the Kojiki:

'The Empress, Her Augustness Princess Oikinaga-tarashi (the ancient name of the empress), was at that time divinely possessed. So shadowy is the ever-varying Chinese dwelling at the palace of Kasashi in Takushiy (Kyushu), is about to unite the Land of Kumaso, the Heavenly Sovereign place. It is thus natural. During one of its long, with six strings), and the Prime Minister, the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court (so-naka), requested the divinity to come down and beheld the Empress, who, when possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward, in that land there lie a number of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign of Lord of Heaven, and it depends on His will and pleasure whether the woman shall be with child or not. But if perchance she should bring forth any of them, it is fortunate, and they turn real infidels. Should she not have a child, she concludes that it is Augustness's (kami) possession, and she adds: 'Information to her, as sometimes happened, simply on account of her supreme rank (cf. Kojiki, 384, f. 4.), but has been supposed by the native commentator Motoori, the prime minister made an exceptional use of the title here, because at the moment she was divinely possessed. However this may be, both this narrative and that of the death of the emperor Jingō (364) and the corresponding passage in the Nihon-gi (i. 225 f.) which shows that the interrogation of the gods in a sacred place, with a lute accompaniment, in order to know their names and desires, was a form of divination regularly employed in the most ancient Shintō, and we see also that this practice admitted of the presence of two persons, the one, in a state of possession, serving as a medium, and the other entrusted with the asking of the necessary questions, and also, no doubt, with the giving of the answers. But the Shinto priests of Delphi interpreted the unintelligible words of the pythians.

2. Development and modification by Buddhism.—After these fundamental narratives of the sacred books, mention might be made of many other cases of inspiration in the course of Japanese history. Without relating them here in detail, we may draw from them two observations of a general kind. (1) Any persons whatever may be possessed as subjects of divination. They may be men (e.g., Nihon-gi, i. 225, 231 f., ii. 317 f.), particularly inferior priests (ii. 76 f., 318), or women (i. 152, 221), especially priestesses (i. 176), or even children (i. 163). (2) We find that the objects of inspiration are usually the oracles of a god who demands a cult either for himself (e.g., Nihon-gi, i. 221, f. 154 f.), or rather god (i. 391 f.), or who complains that his already existing cult is neglected (i. 52, ii. 77, 318), asks for the erection of a new temple (i. 176, ii. 77), or specifies the particular deification in that other reincarnation, the Deity's voice, which he will not go to the road one'" (i.e., Hades). Hereupon the Prime Minister, the noble Take-uchi, said: 'I am filled with awe, my Heavenly Sovereign! Continue playing thy great august lute. Then he slowly drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead (Kojiki, 284 f.; cf. Nihon-gi, ii. 170). After the tragic death of the emperor, which was the punishment for his impiety, the empress and her prime minister, alarmed and dismayed, perform the ceremonies of the Great Purification of the country; then Take-uchi tries to obtain a new inscription for the god.

The Noble Take-uchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instructions was somewhat altered, and Take-uchi was exactly,' Altogether this land is a land to be ruled over by the august child in thine Augustness's august womb.' (The deities now speak to, as well as through, the empress.) Then the Noble Take-uchi said: 'I am filled with awe, my Great Deities! The august child in this Deity's womb, will it be a male child or a female child? The Deities replied, saying: 'It is a male child.' Then (the Noble Take-uchi) requested more particularly, (saying): 'I wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose words have now instructed us.' Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: 'It is in the august doing of the Great-Augustness's Second-Augustness's Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing-Male and Surface-Possessing-Male (three of the deities born at the time of the creation), a thing of the august Deity's at Hades, etc. . . . (Kojiki, 286 f.)' Whereupon these divinities reveal the offerings and mysterious rites by means of which the crossing of the sea and the conquest of Korea will be successful to the king and the land.
It is true that this document ordered the local authorities to report to the central government all authentic predictions. But later, when, in 1848, a bonze of Lee, after a thorough investigation of the affair, found that the medium was a glittering sword, which a young boy, divinely inspired, declared to be one of the three imperial insignia—the sacred sword lost in 1814 at the great naval battle of Dan-no-ura—the court refused to recognize it as such. This sword being one of the most important parts in the ancient Shintō, it tends afterwards to become rather a popular proceeding, more and more neglected by the official religion.

On the other hand, however, Buddhism lays hold of, and often avails itself of, its politics and its 'pious expedients' (hōen), i.e. cleverly appropriaing Shintō by representing its gods as incarnations of its own saints. Thus, in the 8th cent., the priest Gyōgi, having prayed seven days and seven nights under a tree near the great temple of Ise, receives an oracle the result of which is that the sun-goddess must be identified with Vairochana, a Buddhist personification of spiritual illumination and purity. At the same time this foreign influence brought about a dissociation of the priests, a fact which pure Shintō did not know. Henceforth the gods teach kindness, charity towards the poor, righteousness, purity of heart—all Buddhist and Confucian virtues. Even Hachiman, the terrible god, is given a share in his pious functions on his mendicants and lepers, for ants and crickets. A glance through the odd collection of oracles of the Wa Bongo ('Japanese Analects,' 1699), of which Aston gives an analysis (Shinto, London, 1905, pp. 384–737), will make one realize this transformation. It is a mixture of foreign ideas, and gives rise into the gods of various Shintō temples, which contradict not only each other but all that we know of these Japanese gods. At the same time, however, there are in many cases conceptions of a much higher moral level than that of the old indigenous religions.

3. Present-day practice.—At the present day possession is represented chiefly by popular practices of which the principal element is hypnotism. It is certain that this phenomenon was the basis of 241–270 possession, although the above documents do not describe it minutely. Nervous phenomena in general played a large part in Shintō, and gave birth especially to some curious beliefs and legends founded on dissociation of personality (see Hervor, Anthony: 'Japanese Letters to European Friends,' F. P., 1910, pp. 58, 134, etc.). Hysteria was also well known to the early Japanese, who treated it by massage (see W. N. Whitney, 'Notes on the History of Medical Progress in Japan,' in T.A.S.J., xi., pt. iv. [Tokyo, 1885] 351). This state of things being understood, it is not astonishing to find that in our day the hypnotic crisis constitutes the essential point of the spiritual séances so well described by Percival Lowell ('Esoteric Shinto,' in T.A.S.J. xi., [1886] 106–135, 152–175, xxi. 1 [1894] 1-26, and Occult Japan, Boston, 1895).

In a purified place a small group of believers assemble, of whom the principal personalities are the nak-za (middling-sect), i.e. the medium, and the nak-za (front-sect), who directs the ceremony and interprets the medium himself. It is easy to recognize in these two modern roles those which were more anciently known in the Shintō ceremonies, in the battle between the Shinto gods and foreign divinities, possessed Empress Jingō and her minister Take-uchi. After various preliminary procedures (which are, in many cases, understood and purchased by the employment, as accompaniment to the song, of the shakuhachi, a staff to the end of which metal rings are fixed), the medium (or nak-za, as it is often called in customary cases), the nak-za sits down, closes his eyes and receives from the nak-za the gōeri, i.e. a wand adorned with strips of paper upon which the sacred engravings of Shintō are inscribed. When there is singing, and the descent of the god (kami-otokoshī) is awaited. This being suddenly accomplished, the nak-za gets quivers in his hands, and gradually trembles more and more until the man enters into a state of convulsion. In some cases his eyes remain half-closed; in others, they open, and when the crisis subsides into a permanent trembling, and the nak-za, not being able to continue the peculiar motions, becomes a god, and the nak-za, bowing respectfully, first asks his name, and then puts some questions to him, to which the god answers. When this is done, the nak-za, after a last prayer, resumes him by striking him on the back. After that one of the audience offers him a cup of water, which he drinks off, and then goes to dress the god's body and take care of him. It may be added that, even in some forms of inspiration in which hypnotism does not play the principal part, the nak-za, who is the shaman of the Shinto, the soothsayer allows himself to be put into a certain nervous state, marked by a violent contraction of the face, foaming of the lips, and trembling of the whole body. The present writer has seen a man in this state of traditional delirium in the exercise of his prophetic office, who was ordinarily quite gentle—the famous soothsayer Takashima (cf. DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 804).

4. Possession by human spirits.—There is another kind of possession, in which it is not gods that are invoked, but human spirits, either of living men, or, more frequently, of the dead, and especially of deceased relatives. These evocations are practised also by means of hypnotism, by possession called kōkō-ichō ('prophetic state'). The substitute of the possessors, they do not appear in the primitive documents unless just as any other animals, and Aston is wrong (Nihonki, i. 59, n. 10) in including their enchantments among the calamities (azuaka) which required ritual purification. He has confused two aspects of the Japanese fox, which must be all the more carefully distinguished because they are in direct opposition to each other. If the fox holds a place in Shintō, it is only on account of its gradual identification with the god Inari, or the Man of the Rice, who is himself associated with Uka no Mi-tama, the 'August Spirit of Food,' a hypostasis of the goddess of food, Ukomichi. It is only in Buddhism that he is regarded as an agent of possession; and then he appears not as a badger, but as his spiritual manifestation, the contraband of the dōmon.1 The traditional badger (tanuki, which in fact is not a real badger, but a small black fox, the canis procyonides) also appears only in popular superstitions, just as do the moyini, a kind of badger mentioned in some tales of the Nihonki (l. 184, ii. 125).

A famous story in Japan is that of the badger in a monastery which assumed the shape of a tea-kettle, and, by its fantastic gambols, amazed and astounded all the priests. When they sold it to a coppersmith, the animal took its own shape again, and made the fortune of its new master, who exhibited it as an animal both curious and agreeable. (A. R. Mitford, Tales of Old Japan, London, 1858, p. 175.) That these popular beliefs persist even to-day is shown by a well-known anecdote.

In 1869 a phantom train suddenly appeared on the engine driver's line from Tokyō to Yokohama. After a desperate pursuit the phantom train was overtaken, and in it a large bound crushes to pieces under the wheels of the real locomotive.

It must also be mentioned that, besides persons possessed by the fox, there are others who possess the fox (kitsune-mochi) and can, like the fox himself, employ charms against their enemies. In the old province of Izumo whole families exist who are supposed to have invisible foxes protecting them; but these families are regarded with a general feeling of repulsion, and it is only other families also possessing the fox who will agree to becoming married to them by marriage. Lastly, it may be recalled in this connexion that the soul of the dead fox is sometimes employed in a kind of secondary divination practised by the kitsune-tsukushi (see DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 803).

LITERATURE.—The literature is cited throughout the article.

MICHEL REYON.

POSESSION (Semitic and Christian).—Among the Semitic peoples, as among the other peoples of the world, there survived from the animistic stage of culture the belief that a spirit can take possession of a person either for good or for evil. This will be made more clear by passing in review the facts in detail.

1. Babylonia and Assyria.—Among the ancient Babylonians the idea of possession in its complete form survived only in the case of evil spirits, though some attenuated traces of the conception that the spirit of a god might take possession of a man are also found. In every period of Babylonian history it was believed that sickness was caused by a demon which entered into persons and took possession of them. This conception is reflected in the oldest Babylonian religions text known, an incantation inscribed on a foundation cylinder of the time of the dynasty of Akkad, about 2500-2400 B.C., now in the University Museum in Philadelphia. The cylinder is fragmentary, the beginning being broken away. But in one of the early columns the demon is addressed thus:

"The light of the city,—in the light of the city they are. The darkness of the city,—in the darkness of the city they are. The people of the city,—among the people of the city they are."

In a later column we read:

"Enil declares to him: "Gone is the sickness from the face of the land."
As a protector he removed it,—Enil's are they,—As a protector he removed it."

It is clear from this text that sickness was a demon, but a demon that Enil could expel. The beneficent god was more powerful than the demon.

The Babylonians distinguished one demon from another just as a modern physician distinguishes one germ from another. Ashakku was the demon of a wasting disease, perhaps a form of tuberculosis. Akkhazzu, the "seizer," was the demon of liver troubles. Labartu, who was pictured as a monster with swine sucking at her breasts, attacked women in childbirth and their infant children. Toothache was supposed to be caused by a demon that was identified with a worm. This is made clear by the following text:

"After Ann [had created the heavens]
The heavens created the earth,
The earth created the rivers,
The rivers created the canals,
The canals created the marsh,
The marsh created the worm."

"Then came the worm weeping before Shamash;
Before Ea came her." (Tafel 50)

"What will thou give me for my food?
What will thou give me as mine to destroy?"

"I will give thee (Ea) and soft pomegranates (?)?
Me! What are these ripe figs (?) to me? And soft pomegranates (Tafel 50)?"

"I lift me up, between the teeth and the jaw-bone set me, that I may destroy the blood of the teeth, and ruin their strength, and grasp the prong and seize the root."

As disease was possession by a demon, so cure consisted of expelling the demon from the body. This is most clearly shown in an incantation text in which the demon is addressed thus:

"O! Get out! Far away! Far away! Turn thy body! Out! Far away! From my body go out! From my body far away! From my body, for shame! From my body perish, From my body turn! From my body thy body! Into my body do not return! To my body do not approach! In my body do not press!
By Shamash, the mighty, he exorcized!
By Marduk, chief exorciser of the gods, he exorcized!
By the fire-god, who burns you, he exorcized!
From my body be ye separated!"

It was a common belief that demons of sickness might enter the body through theagency of other people. Such bewitchment or the casting of a spell of death on another was an easy way of avenging real or supposed injuries. So frequent were attempts to bewitch personal enemies, and so potent were the spells or charms believed to be, that the second section of the Code of Hammurabi is directed against the practice. It is taken up under its Auspicious Names in which men are accused of a capital crime, and one who was accused of practising such arts was compelled by the law to purge himself by the ordeal of plunging into the sacred river. If he could swim out, he was innocent.

This belief in bewitchment is recognized in a number of the incantations, as in the following:

"An evil curse, like a demon, rests upon the man, A voice, a wretchedness has fallen upon him, A voice not good has fallen upon him, An evil curse, a ban of pestilence! That man an evil curse has slaughtered like a lamb; His god has retired from his body, His prayer-answering goddess stands aside, The voice, the wretchedness covers him like a garment, It overwhelms him.
Marduk, take him into the house of Ea, his father, he entered and spoke: "My father, an evil curse, like a demon, has fallen on a man."
A second time he said to him: "What that man should do I do not know. By what may he be saved?"
Ea answered his son Marduk:
"My son, what dost thou not know? What can I add to thee? Marduk, what dost thou not know? What can I add to thee? What I know, thou knowest.
Go to him, my son Marduk, To the house of holy cleansing take him, His ban loose, his ban break! The restless evil of his body, Whether it be curse of his father, Or curse of his mother, Or curse of his elder brother, Or curse of a pest-demon, Or curse of a man unknown, Like an onion may it be peeled off, Like a date may it be cut off, Like a palm may it be broken off! O curse, by Heaven he be exorcized! By the Earth he be exorcized!"

This text makes it clear that, when the demon took possession of a person, the god or goddess (in other words, good spirits) was believed to withdraw. A similar conception prevailed among the Hebrews.


In order to exorcise the demon not only words but symbolic acts were employed. The incantation from which the last quotation comes is continued by a series of sections, each devoted to a symbolic casting into the fire of different kinds of material—an onion, a date, a palm-raceme, a little flower, a potsherd, a piece of leather. The portion of which accompanied the use of the onion reads:

'A this onion is peeled and cast into the fire,
The devouring flame seizes it.
In a garden it will never be planted.
Amid pools and irrigating-ditches will not be placed,
It is not struck to become dry.
It's stalk will not shrivel, it will never see the sun.
Unto the feast of a god or a king will not approach,
Save as the outstretched one, the torn, the torture, the bewildled man.
The sickness, sighing, sin, misdeed, wrong, and transgression,
My sickness which in my body, my flesh, my members dwells.
As this onion is peeled and
On this day the devouring flame seizes it.
May the curse be removed! May I see light!

Similar utterances accompanied the burning of other materials. Thus did the Babylonians believe in the possession of evil demons prevail that, at least in later times, the whole life of Babylonia was pervaded by the fear of them. This is proved by the extent and variety of the incantation literature. This need not be more fully quoted here, as the above is the literal translation of one or two of the extracts given above. The rest of it presents in different ways and with a variety of outward symbols endless variations of this theme.

Because of the difficulties of life in the Babylonian climate, struggle, sickness, and pain were more common than exultant joy. Perhaps it was for this reason that, while belief in the possession of demons was developed to a pseudo-science, there is almost no trace of a belief in the possession of a man, woman, child, or god by a demon. But, among the men who accomplished unusual deeds recognized that their power was not their own—that it came to them from the gods. As a rule, however, they did not claim possession of the gods, but held that each god had imparted to them some special attribute of his as a gift.

Thus Lagash, the first to carry the Babylonian arms to the Mediterranean coast (c. 2500 B.C.), claims that intelligence was imparted to the god or god or goddess of part of the fortress city to the king of Lagash, made similar claims. Eannatum also relates a more immediate amplification of the process. When his son, Naram-Sin, raided the fertile plains of Uruk and carried off the crop which was of such value to the men of Lagash, Eannatum fell on his head. Naram-Sin, however, had been dealing in the possession of important crisis. Thereupon Ningirsu appeared to him, apparently in a dream (we cannot be sure, since the text is broken) and gave him the desired guidance and power. Filled with enthusiasm because of this communion with his god, Eannatum west forth and completely subdued his enemies.

Five or six centuries after Eannatum, Gudea, another ruler of Lagash, had a similar experience. The overflow of the rivers had failed, and a famine had resulted. Naturally the ruler was most anxious. Two gods appeared to him in a dream and told him to rebuild the temple of Eninnu, which he proceeded to do. Eridu Gudea believed that the rebuilding of the temple of his god was the purpose of the divine intelligence imparted to him, for he boasts that he introduced by his superior understanding a new type of temple architecture.

This method of gaining divine power continued down to the end of the Assyrian period, though in a somewhat attenuated form. In the time of Ashurbanipal, c. 668, when the king was once invading Elam, both he and his troops were in trouble on account of the river Irudi being in flood. Ashurbanipal prayed, and the gods answered, but it was not the king to whom the goddess appeared in a dream, but a seer. The vision came by proxy.

Perhaps it was because of the heightening of this conception—that gods occasionally appeared to their devoted followers and empowered them to unusual deeds—into a belief that these exceptional men were possessed by the gods or by divine powers that led to the delineation of a few Babylonian rulers as strange, even otherworldly. One of the puzzles of the Babylonian history why Naram-Sin, Gudea, Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin claimed to be gods. Granted that the last two may have inherited the title from Dungi, why should it have been accorded spontaneously to a king of Babylon by other kings and not to a number of others equally great? None of the theories previously put forward (such as Egyptian influence or the possession of the shrine of Nippur) is adequate. A more probable hypothesis would seem to be that for some reason Naram-Sin, Gudea, and Dungi were believed to be possessed of the divine powers.

2. Phoenicia.—While most of the Phoenician literature has perished, interesting evidence of Phoenician possession in later times comes from the extracts of an Egyptian document known as the 'Report of Wenamon,' an Egyptian who was sent to Byblos (Gebal) in Phoenicia in the reign of Ramses II. (1188-1090 B.C.). It was a troubled period of history, and Wenamon's adventures, being robbed at Dor on his way to Phoenicia, and driven by adverse winds to Cyprus on his way home. Fortunately he lived to narrate his experiences, not the least of which occurred at Byblos itself.

The king of Byblos, Zakar-Baal, was at first unfriendly. This part of the narrative runs:

'I spent nineteen days in his [harbour], and he continually sent to me, to obtain my [harbour] in [my] name.'

Now, when he sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his noble servants, he threw him frenzied, so that he said:

"Bring [the god] his [harbour].
Bring this message of Ammon who hath him, Send him and let him go."'

The god' in this passage refer to an image of the Theban god Ammon called Ammon of-the-way—a kind of travelling Ammon which Wenamon had with him. Wenamon continues:

'Now, while the frenzied [youth] continued in frenzy during this night, I found a ship for Egypt, and I loaded all my belongings into it.'

He then relates how, as he was about to flee, Zakar-Baal, at the command of the god through the frenzied youth, sent and recalled Wenamon.

The whole incident shows that the Phoenicians believed in possession by a god, and that what was uttered by one so possessed was a divine command that should be given the strictest heed. It is a conception of prophecy familiar to students of the OT.

3. Israel.—The OT affords much evidence that the belief in possession in Israel in the early days of her history was identical with that in Phoenicia. A classical instance of this is Balaam.

The king of Moab sent for him to curse Israel. Balaam strongly desired to comply; to comply meant rich rewards. But, according to the E account, Jabalmet Balaam in the way, and 'put a word in Balaam's mouth' (Nu 22:18). Balaam so took possession of Balaam that in spite of his descendants' blessed Israel. The J document says of his experience, 'The spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he uttered his prophetic message. That Balaam had the ecstatic experience of the Byblite youth is clearly shown by the poems attributed to him. One of these describes him as the man

'1 What seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Fallin down and having his eyes open' (2140)—

clearly a description of the frenzied or ecstatic state. The powerlessness of Balaam when thus possessed by the divine spirit is expressed in the lines:

'How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed?
And how shall I defy him, whom Jehovah hath not defied?' (238).

A still more potent example of the view that pro-


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place is the result of ecstatic possession is afforded by the case of King Saul.

According to the narrative in 1 S 10:6, when David fled for protection from Saul and David described Saul as standing back. And when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them, the spirit of God came upon David also, and he prophesied. The experiment was repeated three times, with the same effect that some one else had to return to tell Saul what had happened. Finally Saul himself started to go and fetch David, and prophesied, and came upon Saul all that day. And he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naim in Ramah. And he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down, and died. He would have been killed all that day, but that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?

It is clear from this story that the prophetic frenzy in the case of Saul rendered him unconscious or, at any rate, possessed of the spirit, so that he became regardless of the ordinary proprieties of dress. Not only is it possible to obtain stronger evidence of possession, but it is made clear that Samuel's prophecy was also of this order. Indeed ribba, 'I prophesied,' is repeated, and he went on with the words he had uttered out under the influence of the power that possessed him.

That this was still the conception of prophecy in the time of Elisha is shown by the narrative in 2 K 4:5, 9. In an account of the campaign of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom against Moab. Elisha accompanied the expedition, and, when the prophet was asked for a oracle concerning whether or not they should make war, he was called for a minaret to play before him. As the minaret played, 'the hand of Jehawa came upon him,' i.e., the prophetic ecstasy was induced, and he gave the desired oracle.

From this type of prophecy the literary prophets of later time clearly differentiated themselves. Amos declared: 'I am no nabi!' (71). We find in this period no trace of possession by demons, for in Hebrew thought the spirits were not yet differentiated into good and bad. They were still non-spiritual.

The good and evil were represented as men or as gods or as evil according as Jehovah sent them on missions that were for the benefit or for the injury of mankind. This is shown by the narrative in 1 K 22, in which the prophet Micaiah explains the fact, that the sons of the court of Ahab differed from him, because Jehovah had sent forth a spirit to be a lying spirit in the mouths of these prophets.

The case of King Saul was of the same type. We find in his melancholy or insanity explained thus: 'Now the spirit of Jehovah had departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him' (1 S 16:14). The evil spirit came from Jehovah, just as the spirit of Jehovah did, but it was evil because its effects were different. Just as in Babylonian mythology the god and goddess were thought to depart before the demon could come into the man, so the spirit of Jehovah departed before the evil spirit entered into Saul. His possession by this spirit was believed to be the cause of his darkened reason.

The idea of possession appears also to have included the belief that a person could be possessed of the spirit of a departed person. Thus a necromancer is described as saul ob, 'the possessor of an ob.' The meaning of ob is obscure, but apparently it refers to the spirit of the dead. Thus in 1 S 28, where Saul consulted a woman who possessed an ob, the spirit of Samuel seemed to possess her, for she spoke as though she were Samuel. Necromancers were also called yidde'oni, and they were described as those 'who drink - and mutter'—possibly because they spoke in the voices of the dead.

In the time after the Exile the literature affords little trace of the conception of possession by the spirit of God. God had become in the theology of the time exalted and remote. Prophets continued to speak, but, as in the case of Zechariah, they received their messages through angels. Eventually even prophecy died out and apocalyptic took its place. It is possible that in this it is the one case in which the God, once nigh, but now most remote, had formerly vanished from men. In such an age the idea of divine possession became impossible.

In this period the belief in demons was fully developed (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Heb.)). Apparently the older view that men might be possessed of a supernatural being continued, but it was inferred in all such cases that the patient was possessed of a demon and not by the spirit of God. While there is no direct evidence on this point in the literature, the prevalence of the belief in demoniacal possession by the people of Palestine that is reflected in the NT is sufficient proof. It is predicted in Zec 13:2 that in future, when all prophecy, his father, and his mother that begat him, shall thrust him through when he prophesieth.' This prediction belongs to the latest of the Hebrew prophecies. Was it not uttered because possession was now coming to be regarded as always possession of the devil? See, further, PROPHECY (Hebrew).

4. Arabia.—The beliefs of the early Arabs concerning spirits and possession were similar to those of early Israel. The Arabs believed in a great mass of spirits. There were jinn, or genii, (the more common term) and also demons, or shaitans, which latter were often represented as hairy and often as having the form of an ostrich or a snake. It was believed that, when a jinni was killed, a solid corpse was left behind. Nevertheless the jinni had the power to appear and disappear, to assume temporarily any form that pleased them. They are usually spoken of collectively, and were not individualized. Similarly they were originally non-ethical. Whether they were good or bad depended upon the attitude that for the time being they assumed towards men. They were generally supposed to inhabit desolate places and to be unsociable in nature. Their powers were superhuman and they were capable of taking possession of men.

Poets were supposed to owe their power to such possession.

E.g., it is related of Hassân ibn Thabit, a devoted follower of Muhammad who was very useful to the Prophet in replies in a sort of love song to a fairy who attacks upon him, that while he was still a young man, before the rise of Islam, he met one day in a street of Medina a female jinni, who leap'd upon him and compelled him to write three verses of her initiation into the versifier's art. Thereafter he was a poet, but each poem came to him as the result of inspiration from the jinni.3

The separateness of the poets from other men greatly impressed the Arabs.

3 From time to time, too, in the intense nervous susceptibility of the Arab race in the keen desert air, there fell upon him [the poet] cataleptic rigors, swoons, and dreams, from which he returned with strange words in his mouth.2

4 So the poets, when under inspiration, were believed to be under the power of jinn. This gave them great distinction. They were, before Islam, often the leaders and representatives of these tribes. Honour was accorded to them, not from appreciation of intellectual endowment or of artistic genius, but because of the power, or possession of the spirit of jinn, from Muhammad by the angel Gabriel.4 In...
Arabian thought only the Prophet experienced angelic possession. Beside the poet (sha'ir), and below him, was the kāhin, or soothsayer, and below him the arrāf, a kind of diviner. These, too, were under the influence of the jinn, but in a less exalted way. They were trusted by the Meccans as the keepers of the sacred sanctuary, while the arrāfīs, like Samuel, told where lost articles might be found. Nevertheless the kāhīns usually cast their oracles in verse. Their inspiration came, however, in the sanctuary, while that of the poet came as freely as the air of heaven. The ecstatic inspiration of the kāhin is interestingly set forth in the following account from the Kūbāl-al-Aghānī, vii. 66, of the approach of the Banu Asad to Inurul-Qais: 1

"Then the Banu Asad advanced until, when they were a day's journey from Thāmān, their kāhin, who was 'Awf ibn Rāhīb, prophesied [a prophetic fit came upon him] and said unto them, "O my servants!" They said, "With Thee! O our Lord!" He said, "Who is the king, the ruddy one, the all-conqueror, the unconquered, among canals and rivers?"
"He is the soul, with no clamor by his head! He! his blood is scattered wide! He, tomorrow, is the first of the striped and spoiled!" Thereupon they entered Salma, and, said: "If my heart and soul were not disquieted, I would tell you that he is Hūjr openly!"
"He will not be sought beyond the grave. But, if Allah desires, he will not be sought the day had not risen upon them when they came upon the army of Hūjr, and charged upon his tent."

This passage describes the oncoming of the jinni, which closely resembles those in which we know in Phoenicia and in Israel; it proceeds to tell us graphically what the kāhin uttered and how it was fulfilled. It reveals clearly to us the Arabian notions of possession. The speaker bears witness to the fact that his soul was disquieted by a power not its own.

Muhammad, when first his ecstatic revelations came to him, believed that he was possessed by a jinni, and only gradually came to the conviction that it was a divine revelation. He seems to have been subject to the ecstatic disturbances, and began his career as a prophet in this way. Later he was compelled to simulate such states in order to keep up the illusion of his followers. It was accordingly natural that, when he began to preach, the jinni, which closely resembled those of which we know in Phoenicia and in Israel, and in Egypt, as in Babylonia, the conception that a person might be possessed by supernatural powers was confined largely to belief in demonic possession. All disease was accounted for in this way, and, although a kind of medical science developed in Egypt to some degree of physicians, there were other notions of illness than in many countries, not only did this conception of demonic possession lie behind it, but the administration of purely medical remedies was, to the latest time, accompanied by the recitation of incantation which, as we have observed, it was supposed to have power over the disease-giving spirit.

One of the clearest expressions of this view is found in a tale 2 invented at the end of the XXth dynasty of some fictitious events that are said to have transpired in the reign of Ramses II.

That king is said to have married, among others, a princess of Bakhtan. Afterwards the king of Bakhtan sent to Ramses, saying that Behetshef, another daughter of his, was very ill, and begged that an Egyptian physician might be sent to heal her. The most skilful physician went, but found her possessed of a spirit, and could do nothing. Evidently he laboured in vain for a long time, for nine years later the father sent again for aid. This time a charmed statue of the god Khons, called Bakhtan's grandson, was sent. This Khons proceeded to Bakhtan, touched the prince, and the mother immediately said, "As for me, I am one of those of the Gospels, he did not depart in silence. He said: 'Welcome! thou great god who drivest out rebels; the city of Bakhtan is thine, its infants, its women, i.e., my slaves. I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy thy heart concerning the matter of thy journey. Let thy majesty be pleased to command that a feast be given in my honour by the princes of Bakhtan.' The god then nodded to his priest saying: 'It behoves that the prince of Bakhtan make a rich offering to this spirit.'

As Naville has pointed out, this story was intended as an advertisement of the god Khons to the Egyptians. It reflects Egyptian ideas, setting forth in a detailed way their conceptions of possession. A god who advertised such cures hoped to have an opportunity to treat many similar patients in Egypt.

That similar ideas of possession underlay the Egyptian conception of disease is shown by the incantations that were to be spoken at the administration of certain prescriptions.

With a fermentation of honey and other ingredients, e.g., one to a swallow, 3 has disclosed and departed, which that has no fruit. It has gone away, that which has no arms. Turn this (or) that; (or) make this (or) that. 4

The king is to be purified (by) the mouth and (by) the face of the son of Osiris. The magic of my magic is the protection of my members. Thy evil shall not arise in my body nor any monster in my way. 5

The words were to be spoken over frankincense herbs. They were to be cooked, mashed, and applied thereto. In like manner, when the king was to be anointed, the ament-priest was to be present with his implements—statue, bird-catcher's staff, and the kind of a flower in the mouth of the ament-priest (he who) drinks the beer. I have brought it to drive out the in-sen-god, the male death, the female death, which is in my body, etc.

The demons of disease were supposed to be always lurking about, watching for an opportunity to attack. This belief made life a constant terror. No mother could lay a child to rest without invoking unseen powers to spare the little one from malice and disease that lurked in every dark corner. The child was to be brought through the open door as the gloom of night gathered, to prostrate the little ones with sickness. One can almost hear the voice of the mother as she said: 6

"Run out, thou who comest in darkness, who enterest in stealthily and makest the face turn backward, who losest that for which he came. Run out, thou who comest in darkness, who enterest in stealthily, but hidest behind her, be the face turned backward, who losest that for which she came."

The demons might come under the guise of friends in order to gain access to the child. Hence the mother would say: 7

"Comest thou to kiss the child? I will not let thee kiss him. Comest thou to soothe (him)? I will not let thee soothe him."

1 See E. Naville, The Old Egyptian Faith, pp. 250-258.
3 Ib. p. 141.
4 See Macdonald, p. 34 ff.
5 See Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 591.
Comest thou to harm him? I will not let thee harm him. Comest thou to take him away? I will not let thee take him away. The danger from demons not only accompanied one throughout this life, but also followed one into the hereafter. Hence the charms that had been sent to protect one here were applied to the life beyond. In time of the empire the folk-charm invaded the Book of the Dead, where it forms the 'Chapter of not Permitting a Man's Heart to be Taken Away from Him in the Nether World.'

While belief in possession by demons developed to an elaborate system in Egypt, belief in possession by gods left little trace. In one of the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom King Unis is represented as practising on the gods a kind of cannibalism, in order to possess himself of their powers. The passage reads:

'King Unis is one who eats men and lives on gods, Lord of messengers, who [dispatches] his messages; it is "Grazer-of-Forelocks" living in Reheb, who binds them for King Unis, It is the serpent 'Splendid-Head' who watches them for him and repels them for him, it is "He-who-is-upon-the-Willow's" who swallows them, It is "Punisher-of-All-Evil-doers" who steals them for King Unis. He has exchanged for him the evil entrails, He is a messenger whom he [King Unis] sends to [punish].

Shemun eats them up for King Unis, and cooks for him a portion of them.

In his evening kettles (or "a his evening kettles = meal").

King Unis is he who eats their charred, and devours their glorious ones (souls).

He has taken the hearts of the gods; He has eaten the Red, He has swallowed the Green.

King Unis is nourished on satisfied organs, He is satisfied, living on their hearts and their charms.

Their charms are in his belly.
The dignities of King Unis are not taken away from him; He hath swallowed the knowledge of every god.

Lo, their (the gods') soul is in the belly of King Unis, Lo, their soul is with King Unis.'

This text, which incidentally reveals the cannibalism that lay behind Egyptian civilization, was written in the time of intelligence, power, and divine qualities of King Unis. It reverses the usual idea of possession, however. The gods did not possess him, but he possessed them. How all Egyptian kings came to be regarded as gods we cannot draw any conjecture, but evidently one pathway by which this came was this cannibalistic conception of possession.

In the Egyptian priesthood there was an order of prophets, but their particular functions are obscure. They appear to have differed little from the other priests in character. So far as appears, their functions did not depend, like those of the prophets of early Israel, upon ecstatic experiences.

6. Possession in the Gospels.—There is considerable evidence in the Gospels that, in spite of the slighting manner in which, in the New Testament, the subject is treated, belief in the possession of demons survived among the peasantry of Palestine, and was often supposed to be the cause of disease. Thus it is regarded as the cause of dumbness (Mt 9\(^2\), Lk 11\(^4\)), of deafness, dumbness, and epilepsy (Mt 12\(^5\), Mk 9\(^5\)), of dumbness and blindness (Mt 12\(^2\)), of curvature of the spine (Lk 13\(^1\)), and epilepsy (Mk 1\(^6\)).

Ascription of these diseases to unclean spirits is not uniformly made; they are sometimes spoken of metaphorically (Mt 15\(^9\), Mk 7\(^13\), Lk 18\(^9\)). In some passages possession and these diseases are enumerated as separate things (Mt 10\(^8\), Mk 1\(^2\), Lk 6\(^7\), 7\(^1\), 1\(^3\)). It would seem that, among some, knowledge of the nature of physical disease had progressed far enough to be distinguished from possession, though this was not universal. Once, at least, the old! He most commonly attributed to demoniac possession. This belief still prevails in Palestine.

The present writer once came upon a group of men near Bethania (the surrounding village of Bethany) painting at him and shouting. At an opportune moment one behind him dropped his club and caught the hands of the man in the center, piniong them behind him. When the writer asked the cause, he was informed that the man was mazum, 'possessed of a jinn.'

It is indicated in the Gospels that in the time of Christ there were professional exorcists who cast out demons (Mt 12\(^2\)). Jesus, too, cast them out. Some of his most marvellous cures were of this nature. Attempts have been made by some theologians to prove that Jesus did not Himself believe in demoniac possession, but accommodated Himself to the views of His patients and their friends. There is no evidence for this view and much against it. He made the validity of the belief the basis of argument with others, assumed that certain Pharisees espoused the demoniac beliefs, and, as the demons, and it would be so, could do so (Mt 12\(^2\), Lk 11\(^4\)). He also assumed that, after expulsion, the existence of the demons was real, and that they could still do harm (Mk 5\(^8\)). His humanity was real, and He fully shared the beliefs of His contemporaries upon this point.

7. The Apostolic Age.—In the Gospels possession appears to be confined to demons; in the rest of the NT we hear mainly of being possessed of the Spirit, though references to demoniacal possession are not wanting. This change was brought about by the experience of the day of Pentecost (Ac 2) when the disciples were so possessed of the Spirit that they spoke ecstactically and the beholders thought them drunken. A later historian under stood that this speaking, which was called glossolalia, 'speaking-tongues,' was the ability to speak foreign languages (v.\(^9\)), but the narrative Nevertheless contains evidence that this was a misunderstanding (v.\(^1\)). The disciples were thrown into an ecstasy, and they were exalted and the demons were taken out of themselves. We learn from St. Paul (1 Co 12 and 14) that this type of public utterance was in his time exalted above all other types. His discussion of the subject also makes the nature of the phenomenon quite clear. One who 'spoke in a tongue' spoke with his spirit, but his understanding was unintelligible (1 Co 14\(^1\); the hearers did not understand (14\(^2\)); those out of sympathy, when they witnessed such utterances, naturally called the speakers mad (14\(^3\)). Paul, with his acquaintance with non-Christian literature, rated more highly than this speaking in a tongue, but so popular was it that possession that even he could not but treat it with great consideration. 'He not drunken with wine, wherein is riot but be filled with the Spirit' (Eph 5\(^1\)) could have been written only in an age when complete fullness of the Spirit was supposed to produce effects similar to the drinking of wine. The greatest enemies of the Christians were still thought to be demons and their work, the possession of the bearer of the spirit (29). The militant disciple wrestled 'against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (6\(^9\)). It is implied that these controlled, if they did not possess, men. One instance of such possession was presented in the Philippian slave girl who possessed 'a spirit of Python' (Ac 16\(^10\)).
Not only did the Phoenicians believe her possessed, but St. Paul did also, for he addressed the spirit in exorcizing it (16th).

8. The Montanists.—In the 2nd cent. the ecstatic type of prophecy was revived by Montanus in Phrygia, who became the champion of the prophetic ministry. Eusebius, quoting an unnamed informant, says:

'He was carried away in spirit, and wrought up into a certain kind of frenzy and irregular ecstasy, raving, and speaking and uttering words, which was contrary to the institutions that had prevailed in the Church.'

This is the report of an unsympathetic critic, but among the few sayings of Montanus that have come down to us is one that confirms the view that he was subject to the phenomenon of possession. It runs:

'Man is like a lyre, and I (the Holy Spirit) play him like a plectrum. Man sleepeth; I (the Holy Spirit) am awake.'

The Church had lost the fire of enthusiasm that made such possession possible, and cast out Montanus and his followers who were heretics. Nevertheless, they lingered in Phrygia until in the 6th cent. they were forcibly exterminated. To what extent the ecstatic experiences were repeated by the followers of Montanus after the 2nd cent. we do not know.

9. The Church and possession.—The condemnation and rejection registered the belief of the Church that possession of the Holy Spirit in this extraordinary way was no longer possible—a view that was maintained by all the Church until the Reformation and is still maintained by all except some smaller sections of Protestantism. Belief in the possession of demons was still maintained and, as time passed, was intensified. The presence of this belief in the early centuries clearly moulded certain features of the ritual of the Church. Thus, according to the Roman usage, a catechumen, preparatory to baptism, first presented himself to the priest, who breathed upon him (i.e., performed the act of insufflation) and recited a prayer of exorcism with his hand extended over the candidate's head. A part of the petition was: 'Break all the chains of Satan by which he has been bound.' The insufflation typified the reception of the Holy Spirit whereby the evil spirit was driven out. In the Gallican ritual the exorcism came first, thenunction, and finally the conclusion of the service of this ritual reads: 'I approach thee, thou most unclean, damned spirit.' The liturgy of the East contains similar ceremonies of exorcism and insufflation. The insufflation was a symbolic repetition of the act of Jesus when He breathed on His disciples and said: 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit' (Jn 20:22). Apparently it was believed that the candidate, who as a sinner had been possessed of Satan before, now became possessed of the Holy Spirit. Such possession was but an attenuated form, so far as outward manifestations were concerned, of that of earlier time. The belief that insufflation imparted such possession extended to oil and water, for, in the consecration of these, the priest breathed on them.

Exorcism and possession of the Spirit took this symbolic form, belief in demoniacal possession continued in its original vigour. In W. Europe it was gradually intensified by the survival of pagan beliefs, stories, and practices. Many of these were condemned by the Church; nevertheless, all those not so consecrated were regarded as of the devil. He was supposed to possess those who practised arts which had been banned by the Church. Witches who practised them were in league with him or possessed of him. When in the 15th cent. exorcism began to spring up, it was natural for ecclesiastics to regard them as in league with the evil one. Thus in 1223 Gregory IX promulgated a letter exhorting a crusade against the Stedingers, a sect in Friesland and Lower Saxony, in which he accused them of worshipping and having intercourse with a spirit of darkness. In 1303 John XXII complained, in two letters, that both he and many members of his flock were in danger of their lives by reason of the arts of sorcerers. Finally Innocent VIII. in 1484 promulgated his famous bull, In mortem artis satanicarum, in which he accused many persons of both sexes of mixing with devils and injuring by their conjurations unborn children, young animals, all sorts of crops, inflicting all kinds of pains and sickness on people and animals, preventing men from procreation and women from conception, and making them recant their Christian faith. He appointed Heinrich Krämer (Inquisitor) and Jakob Sprenger to be prime inquisitors to rid the land of such. Sprenger had written De Malleficiis Maleficarum ("Witch Hammer," 1489, Cologne, 1529) which, with the papal bull, precipitated a long drawn battle against witches, who were believed to be in league with Satan or possessed of him. The movement spread to England, where in the reign of Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, a large number of persons were executed at the end of the 17th cent. on suspicion of exercising demoniacal powers. Of course the clergy supported the crusade on both sides of the Atlantic. How many lost their lives in consequence of this dread belief cannot now be ascertained.

Although the increase of scientific knowledge has stopped the execution of people on such charges, the belief in demoniacal possession dies hard. Several cases were reported among the peasantry of Germany in the early part of the 19th cent., vouched for by accredited doctors and clergymen.

10. Possession and revivals.—With the spread of experimental religion as distinguished from ecclesiastical religion since the Reformation there has been a recurrence of ecstatic experiences. The ecstatic experiences are the work of the Holy Spirit—a kind of possession. Such ecstacies occurred at times under the preaching of the early Friends in the 17th cent. in England, and were interpreted as manifestations of the power of the Holy Spirit. They manifested themselves again in the 18th cent. in England under the preaching of Wesley, and in Massachusetts under the ministry of Jonathan Edwards. They accompanied the Scottish-Irish revival in Kentucky in 1800-03 and the revival in Ulster in 1809. They may still sometimes be seen in the meetings of the American Negroes. Enthusiastic revivalists have down to recent times regarded them as striking evidences of divine visitation, though the wisest of them, such as Jonathan Edwards, lost faith in them. Wesley's judgment finally tended in the same direction. Under Finney and Moody common sense asserted itself and evangelism rose to a more healthy plane, though such phenomena still sometimes appear. Science has taught us over that the appearance due to disordered nerves and the primitive belief in possession that has survived so long is fading away.

1 V. Rydberg, The Magic of the Middle Ages, pp. 175-200.


4 A. M. Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, ch. iv.

5 Ib. ch. viii.

6 Ib. ch. viii.

7 Ib. ch. vi.

16th.
POVERTY


POSTS.—See POLES AND POSTS.

POTTAWATOMIES. —See ALGONQUINS (Prairie Tribes), vol. i, p. 325.

POVERTY.—1. Definition.—In the Poor Law Commissioners' Report of 1834 poverty is defined as the state of one who, in order to obtain mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour. This the Commissioners distinguish from indigence, by which they understand the state of a person unable to labour, or unable to obtain, in return for his labour, the means of subsistence. Probably B. Seebohm Rowntree's definition (Poverty: A Study of Town Life) is more satisfactory: families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the necessary commodities for the maintenance of their personal and family physical efficiency may be described as living in 'primary' poverty. This he distinguishes from 'secondary' poverty, under which come those families whose earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of mere physical efficiency, if it were not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful. If this definition of poverty is accepted, indigence or destitution is included under 'primary' poverty.

2. History.—This is of a very restricted nature, and is practically limited to the history of destitution, or extreme poverty. Even at the present day the information available concerning poverty is very slight, as scientific investigations have been made only in comparatively recent years, and the results vary so much that it is impossible to generalize. The only attempt to compare conditions in this country at two different periods is that of Robert Giffen. We give his conclusions, whilst bringing the facts up to date.

For 1845, the first year for which we have income-tax returns, Giffen estimated the income of the country to be £2,625,000,000, of which £2,500,000,000 was paid to persons over with £25,000,000 to 250,000 persons, or, including their families, by 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 persons. The £25,000,000 was shared by about 25,600,000 persons. The income-tax paying class had about £250 per head, while the rest of the country had about £10 per head. For 1898 Leo G. Chiroza. Money estimated the income of the country to be £21,844,000,000, of which £20,000,000,000 belonged to those having incomes of £50,000 and £50,000,000 to persons with under £100 per annum. The £20,000,000,000 was shared by 1,100,000 persons, or, including their families, by 5,500,000 persons. The £25,000,000 was shared by about 39,600,000 persons. The income-tax paying class had about £165 per head as compared with £10 per head in 1845. Other figures which bear out the contention that the income-tax paying class has increased much more rapidly than the non-income-tax paying class are those relating to the value of estates passing at death.

In 1838, 25,368 probates were granted, the average amount per estate being £1018. In 1905, 67,234 probates were granted, the average amount per estate being £4600. The increase in the number of estates (16% per cent) was much greater than the increase in the population (20% per cent), so that the wealth of the country was becoming more diffused, or, in other words, a growing proportion of the population was leaving estates.

The figures relating to the consumption of communications and conveniences necessary consumed by the masses confirm the improved conditions of the bulk of the population. The following table gives the quantities of the principal imported and excisable articles retained for home consumption per annum in the United Kingdom in the years 1840 and 1911.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Currants and raisins</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Sugar</th>
<th>Tea</th>
<th>Tobacco</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1-45 lbs.</td>
<td>0-90</td>
<td>1-87</td>
<td>0-12</td>
<td>0-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>43 lbs.</td>
<td>1-59</td>
<td>2-97</td>
<td>1-22</td>
<td>0-24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The great increase in the consumption of currants, raisins, rice, sugar, tea, and tobacco can be accounted for only by the much greater use that is made of them by the bulk of the population; and such greater use would not be possible but for the increased incomes at the disposal of the masses. Figures showing the growing incomes of the non-income-tax paying classes have already quoted and these may be supported by the Board of Trade index numbers of wages. If the general level of wages in 1850, taken as 100, then the figure for 1907 was 181-7, showing an increase of 81-7 per cent in 57 years (Cd. 4071, p. 44).

From the early part of the 19th century, until 1866 prices fell very considerably, and, though they have risen since, they were much lower shortly before the war than they were during most years of the 19th century. A few figures from Sauerbeck's average prices of all commodities may be quoted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average of 1867-77</th>
<th>1873-11</th>
<th>1880-82</th>
<th>1889-90</th>
<th>1897-98</th>
<th>1900-01</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the rise in incomes and the fall in prices, there can be little doubt that the masses were much better off. For the early 19th century, the average family income was over £10 per head and shared over 50 or 100 years previously. The growth of Savings Banks deposits (£229,000,000 in 1850 to £65,250,000 in 1911), of the accumulated funds of Friendly Societies (£14,000,000 in 1877 to £65,250,000 in 1908), and of the capital of Cooperative Societies (£8,500,000 in 1883 to £45,250,000 in 1909) are other indications of greater general prosperity.

3. Extent.—(a) The earliest investigation is that of Charles Booth, who conducted an inquiry into the poverty in London in 1886-88. By 'poor' he understood those who had a sufficiently regular, though bare, income, such as 18s.
to 21s. per week for a 'moderate family,' and by 'very poor,' those who from any cause fell much below this standard. Booth obtained his information from the London School Board visitors, who were in daily contact with the people and had considerable knowledge of the probabilities of the school children. He then assumed that the whole population was the same as the tested part, i.e. families with school children. When it is remembered that the part of the population which was not investigated included all the families with children above school age, and with no children, it will be realized that the condition of the bulk was better than the part tested, so that Booth's figures, in so far as they err, err on the dark side. In other words, conditions were probably not so bad as Booth's figures would suggest.

Booth divided the population into 8 classes:

A. The lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers, and semi-criminal.
B. Casual earnings—very poor.
C. Intersessional earnings—poor.
D. Small regular earnings—very much in the poverty line.
E. Regular standard earnings—above the poverty line.
F. Higher class labour.
G. Lower middle class.
H. Upper middle class.

As the result of his investigations he divides the population among these classes as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. lowest</td>
<td>3,616</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. (very poor)</td>
<td>31,824</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. and D. (poor)</td>
<td>938,293</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. and F. (working class, comfortable and above)</td>
<td>2,166,502</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. and H. (middle class and above)</td>
<td>749,320</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmates of institutions</td>
<td>4,929,170</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Booth's inquiry, 30.7 per cent of the population of London were living in poverty in 1887. This may be taken to include what Rowntree calls 'secondary' as well as 'primary' poverty. That nearly one-third of the inhabitants of London were living in poverty appears very startling, yet the investigations in other towns seem to bear out the probabilities indicated by this figure.

(6) Sebohn Rowntree conducted his investigations into the extent of poverty in York in 1899. As the population at that time was about 75,000, it was possible to make a house-to-house inquiry into the income of every working family. Particulars were obtained concerning 11,560 families consisting of 46,754 persons. The population was divided into 7 classes:

A. Total family income under 15s. for a moderate family.
B. Total family income 15s. and under 21s. for a moderate family.
C. Total family income 21s. and under 30s. for a moderate family.
D. Total family income over 30s.
E. Domestic servants.
F. Servant-keeping class.
G. Persons in institutions.

By means of this classification, it was possible to obtain a family consisting of father, mother, and two to four children. In classifying, allowance was made for families which were smaller or larger.

On this basis Rowntree divided the population as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. 1,937</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. 4,492</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. 15,710</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. 24,306</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. 4,396</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. 21,830</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 2,052</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75,312</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rowntree, instead of adopting Booth's somewhat rough and ready method of saying that all families with less than a certain weekly income were living in poverty, sought to establish a scientific poverty line. He estimated the minimum necessary expenditure for the maintenance of more physical health and then ascertained whether each family had sufficient earnings to pay for the requisite food, housing accommodation, and household sundries.

With regard to food, he took as the basis of his calculation the diet adopted at the York Workhouse, but excluded butcher meat, as this diminished the cost without reducing the allowance of protein, fats, and carbohydrates below the minimum requisite for physical efficiency. The weekly cost of this diet in 1899 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Average expenditure per week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men and Women</td>
<td>Child under 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child.</td>
<td>Child. 3-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s. 4d.</td>
<td>2s. 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s. 5d.</td>
<td>2s. 7d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s. 6d.</td>
<td>2s. 1d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s. 7d.</td>
<td>2s. 1d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average for adults, 3s.; average for children, 2s. 3d.

With regard to rent, the actual sums paid for rent were taken as the necessary minimum rent expenditure.

With regard to household sundries, Rowntree allowed 1s. 10d. (1/4 bag [140 lbs.] at 1s. 3d.) for coal, 6d. for adults and 5d. for children for clothing, and 2d. per head for all other sundries. Thus a table was established showing the minimum necessary expenditure per week for various sizes, e.g., a family of father, mother, and three children would require 21s. 8d. made up as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food: 2 at 3s. and 3 at 2s. 3d.</td>
<td>2s. 3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent:</td>
<td>4s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household sundries: coal: 2 at 6d. and 3 at 5d.</td>
<td>1s. 10d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sundries: 5 at 2d.</td>
<td>2s. 10d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the earnings of every family were examined by this table, it was ascertained that 1463 families, comprising 7230 persons, were living in 'primary' poverty. This was equal to 9.91 per cent of the whole population of the city and to 15.46 per cent of the working-class population. The number of persons living in 'secondary' poverty was ascertained from the number of persons living in 'primary' poverty from the total number of persons living in poverty, the latter number being an estimate of the investigator, formed by his noting down evidences of poverty during his house-to-house investigation. By this method it was found that families comprising 20,302 persons, equal to 27.84 per cent of the population of the city, were living in poverty. Of these 7230 persons, or 9.91 per cent of the population, were living in 'primary' poverty and 15.97, or 17.86 per cent of the population, in 'secondary' poverty. According to this inquiry, the percentage of the population of York living in poverty (27.84) was only a little less than that in London (30.7). In the case of the towns mentioned below a similar comparison cannot be made, as the extent of 'primary' poverty alone has been investigated.

(c) An investigation at Northampton was made by A. R. Burnett-Hurst in July 1913. There, as also at Warrington, Stanley, and Reading, the system adopted was to investigate the conditions prevailing in some 5 per cent of the households and to generalize from these. Further, in each of these cases it was necessary to make allowance for the rise in the general level of prices between 1890 and 1913 before using Rowntree's poverty line figures. Thus the York food allowance of 3s. for adults and 2s. 4d. for children became 3s. 6d. and 2s. 7d. respectively. Fourpence was added for State insurance, and the expenditure on coal was adjusted to meet local conditions.
POVERTY

In Northampton, of the 693 working-class families investigated 57 were below the poverty line. These were equivalent to 8.2 per cent of the working-class households of the town and to 6.4 per cent of all households. These 57 families contained 9 per cent of the working-class population which fell within the scope of the inquiry. In York 15.46 per cent of the working-class population was living below the poverty line in 1908. (d) Burnett-Hurst's inquiry at Warrington was conducted in the early autumn of 1913. Of the 640 working-class families investigated 78 were below the poverty line. These were equivalent to 12.25 per cent of the working-class households and to 11.5 per cent of all households. These 78 families contained 14.7 per cent of the working-class population which fell within the scope of the inquiry.

(c) The mining village of Stanley, in the Durham coalfield, was investigated by Burnett-Hurst in July 1913. Of the 203 working-class families whose circumstances were inquired into 12, containing 6 per cent of the working-class population investigated, were below the poverty line.

(f) A. L. Bowley conducted an investigation in Reading in the autumn of 1912. 128 families of the 622 investigated were below the poverty line. This is equivalent to 20.6 per cent of the working-class households and to 15.6 per cent of all households. The 128 households below the poverty line contained 29 per cent of the population which fell within the scope of the inquiry.

(g) An investigation of quite a different character into the extent of poverty in the United Kingdom has been made on two occasions by Leo G. Chiozza Money. His first inquiry related to 1903 and his second to 1908. As the income-tax returns constituted the basis of his inquiry, he divides the population into three groups, with £150 and £700 as the dividing lines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1903</th>
<th>1908</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons with incomes of £700 per annum and their families</td>
<td>1,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons with incomes between £109 and £700 per annum and their families</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons with incomes of less than £100 per annum and their families</td>
<td>37,250,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(h) The statistics relating to pauperism enable us to gauge destitution or extreme poverty, which must not be confused with poverty as defined by Rowntree. The average daily number of paupers in receipt of relief in the United Kingdom at the beginning of 1914 was 933,163, or 20.3 per 1000 of the population.

(i) On 26th Dec. 1913 there were 982,292 old age pensions payable in the United Kingdom. Of these, 582,928 were paid in England and Wales, 297,702 in Scotland, and 199,302 in Ireland. Of the total number of persons in England and Wales who are over 70 years of age three-fifths are old age pensioners, i.e. persons whose incomes are less than £51 10s. per annum.

4. Causes.—All these investigators of poverty have analyzed its immediate causes, and their conclusions are given below.

(c) Booth analyzed 4076 cases of the poor and very poor in London, known to selected School Board visitors, and summarized the results as follows:

- Loafers: 60 or 1.6 per cent
- Questions of employment—
  - Casual work, low pay, irregular earnings: 25.46 and 624
  - Questions of habit—
  - Imbecility and thievery: 13,6
  - Questions of circumstances:—
  - Large families and illness: 917 and 22.5

4076 100.0

(b) Rowntree analyzed the causes of 'primary' poverty under somewhat different headings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate cause of 'primary' poverty.</th>
<th>No. of households affected.</th>
<th>No. of persons affected.</th>
<th>Percentage of total population living in 'primary' poverty.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death of chief wage-earner.</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>15.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness or old age of chief wage-earner</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief wage-earner out of work.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregularity of work.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largeness of family, i.e. more than 6 children in regular work but low wages</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>1,602</td>
<td>22.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>640</td>
<td>3,756</td>
<td>51.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,405</td>
<td>7,230</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The information collected by Bowley and Burnett-Hurst in Northampton, Warrington, and Reading may be summarized in one table; the figures for Stanley are omitted, being too small to express in percentages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate cause of poverty.</th>
<th>Percentage of households below the lowdown standard.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief wage-earner dead.</td>
<td>21 6 14 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. ill or old.</td>
<td>14 1 11 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. out of work.</td>
<td>3 2 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. irregularly employed.</td>
<td>3 4 4 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do. regularly employed:</td>
<td>21 22 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage insufficient for 3 children or less</td>
<td>9 38 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage insufficient for 3 but family more than 3</td>
<td>35 27 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 100 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of each of the five towns where the immediate causes of poverty have been analyzed the predominant cause is the same, viz. low wages, frequently in conjunction with large families. In York (1890) 10 per cent of the adult males earned under 20s. a week and 26 per cent earned between 20s. and 24s. In Northampton (1913) 13 per cent of the adult males earned under 20s. a week and 14 per cent earned between 20s. and 24s. In Warrington (1913) 27.5 per cent of the adult males earned under 20s. a week and 28.5 per cent earned between 20s. and 24s. In Reading (1912) 15 per
the adult male population earned under 20s, a week and 35-5 per cent earned between 20s.
and 24s. When from one quarter to one half of the adult male population of these towns was earning less than 24s. a week, it is not astonishing that poverty was present.

The growth of population has undoubtedly a serious influence on the general extent of poverty in old countries. Sooner or later increasing supplies of food and minerals can be obtained only at increased cost in the production of goods. As the population of a country grows and the supply of labour as a consequence increases, the productive capacity of the country grows, but not in the same proportion as the population. For a time this tendency may be overcome by new inventions, the accumulation of more capital, and the greater efficiency of the workers; under these circumstances an advance in the general welfare of the community may be achieved, in spite of the increase of population. This has probably been the case in this country during the past hundred years or so, but we cannot look to similar conditions continuing indefinitely in the future.

5. Present system of dealing with poverty.—At the present time in this country there are various methods, public and private, but not too well co-ordinated, for dealing with poverty. Most are palliative in character and only too few are remedial. This, however, is hardly astonishing, seeing how difficult the problem is.

(1) Public methods.—(1) The poor relief granted by Boards of Guardians or Poor Law Boards must be mentioned first. Nearly £18,000,000 per annum are being spent by these bodies in the United Kingdom, but they assist no one unless he or she is absolutely destitute, so that their help is accorded only to a small proportion of the poor. Out-relief, which with certain exceptions is not granted to able-bodied persons, is generally very inadequate. Indoor relief, on the other hand, is very costly, and not infrequently has the effect of making persons relieved into more or less permanent paupers, by bringing them into contact with some of the least desirable guests of the Guardians. Undoubtedly, the most satisfactory work done by the Guardians is that done in their children's homes and in their hospitals.

(2) Under the Old Age Pension Act, 1908, every person of British nationality and twelve years' residence within the United Kingdom whose income is not more than £10s. is entitled, subject to certain small exceptions, on attaining the age of 70 to a pension of 5s. a week from the Exchequer. At the present time about a million persons benefit by this Act at a cost to the community of some £13,000,000. As the result of the passing of this Act, the number of paupers in England and Wales over 70 years of age has greatly diminished. It was 229,474 on 31st March 1906, whereas it had fallen to 57,948 on 31st Jan. 1914.

(3) The Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, provides for the establishment of Distress Committees which, if satisfied that an applicant is a person honestly desirous of obtaining work, but unable to do so from exceptional causes over which he has no control, and that his case is capable of more suitable treatment under the Act than under the Poor Law, can endeavour to obtain work for him or themselves undertake to assist him. This assistance may take the form of (a) aiding emigration, or (b) providing or contributing towards the provision of temporary work. The Distress Committees have dealt with only a very limited number of the unemployed; in 1912-13 the applicants for relief in England and Wales numbered 45,381, and of these 30,682 were found qualified for assistance. The majority of the applicants were general or casual labourers.

(4) A far greater number of unemployed are dealt with by Labour Exchanges, established under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1905. It was found that 4423 Exchanges were open. During 1913 the total number of individuals who applied to the Exchanges for employment was 1,671,671, the total number of registrations being 2,985,893. During the year there were 27,260,000 days work, the number of vacancies filled being 291,853.

(5) Another attempt to minimize the consequences of unemployment, and indirectly of poverty, has been the introduction of compulsory insurance against unemployment in certain trades, under pt. II. of the National Insurance Act, 1911, since amended by the National Insurance Act, 1914. The principal industries concerned are building, shipbuilding, works of construction, engineering, iron-founding, and the construction of vehicles. On 17th Jan. 1914 the number of workpeople insured was 2,282,324. The total amount of unemployment benefit paid to workpeople during 1913 was £497,725.

(6) The compulsory health insurance established by pt. I. of the National Insurance Act, 1911, since amended by the National Insurance Act, 1913, should ultimately have a considerable effect in increasing the welfare of the population, as ill-health undoubtedly lies at the bottom of a good deal of inefficiency, and the consequent low wages. A return made in February 1914 stated that there were 13,759,400 insured persons in the United Kingdom, of whom 360,000 were deposit contributors.

(7) The most direct effort to raise the low level of wages which is at the bottom of so much poverty was made when the Trade Boards Act, 1909, was passed. The Act applied at first only to the four trades specified in the schedule—tailoring, cardboard box-making, machine-made lace, and chain-making—but the list may be extended by Provisional Order, confirmed by Act of Parliament. In 1913 the Act was applied to four new trades—shirt-making, sugar confectionery and food-preserving, low-ware, and linen and cotton embroidery. For each trade or branch of a trade one or more Trade Boards are to be established. The duties of a Trade Board include the fixing of minimum time and piece rates.

Investigations into the working of the Act have been made by the national board of chain-making and tailoring trades by R. H. Tawney, and in the box-making trade by Miss M. E. Bulkeley, under the auspices of the Ratan Tata Foundation of which Tawney is director. The following table relating to the wages earned by mastermen and journeymen chain-makers, before and after the establishment of minimum rates, gives some indication of the work of a Trade Board:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weekly wages</th>
<th>Mastermen</th>
<th>Journeymen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 15s.</td>
<td>56s. 7d.</td>
<td>61s. 3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15s. and under 20s.</td>
<td>58s. 6d.</td>
<td>59s. 3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20s. and under 22s.</td>
<td>94s. 4d.</td>
<td>90s. 9d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22s. and under 30s.</td>
<td>17s. 10d.</td>
<td>30s. 0d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30s. and over.</td>
<td>10s. 0d.</td>
<td>10s. 0d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) Of the persons who fall below the poverty line there can be little doubt that the school children and infants constitute the majority and that they are the worst sufferers. As a result of their investigations Bowley and Burnett-Hurst
inform us that in Northampton just under one-sixth of the school children and just over one-sixth of the infants, in Warrington a quarter of the school children and almost a quarter of the infants, in Reading nearly half the school children and 45 per cent of the infants belonging to working-class families are living in households in primary poverty.

The direct efforts of the State to remedy these conditions in England and Wales are connected with the feeding and the medical inspection of school children.

(a) The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, which permits rates to be spent on the provision of food, is optional, and its adoption by Local Education Authorities is by no means universal. In many cases the authorities have contented themselves with making arrangements with voluntary agencies. In 1911–12, out of 522 Local Education Authorities in England and Wales, 131 were making some provision for feeding school children. Of these, 64 were spending rates on the provision of food. In 1908–9, £67,924 from the rates, and £85,690 in all, were spent in the provision of meals by Local Education Authorities. In 1911–12 the corresponding figures were £151,763 and £157,127.

The number of meals provided in 1911 was 8,487,824 in London and 7,634,395 in the rest of England and Wales. Both these figures show a small decrease on the previous year. The total number of children fed is given in the returns for 1911 as 124,655. The number is apparently too low; and Miss Bulkeley, in her investigation under the Ratan Tata Foundation, estimates that the total number of children who were fed at some time or other during the year was about 250,000 out of a total school population of 5,357,657. The Education Act of 1906 removed the chief financial restrictions imposed by the earlier Act, and provides for an Exchequer grant which may amount to half the local authority's expenditure. It is hoped that this grant will prove a stimulus to increased provision of school meals and a means by which the Board of Education can level up the conditions under which the provision is made.

(b) The School Medical Service was set up under the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907. The medical inspection of all children attending public elementary schools is obligatory, but their treatment is optional. In 1913–14 there were 541 school medical officers in England and Wales, and in addition there were 578 officers appointed for special work, especially dentistry. In 277 out of the 317 Elementary Education Areas in England and Wales school nurses had been appointed. Medical treatment was provided by 241 out of the 517 authorities. The treatment is generally limited to minor ailments, uncleanliness, ring-worm, and other common skin-diseases of children, defective eyesight or hearing, some external affections of the eyes and ears, and various temporary conditions of the mouth (including teeth), nose, and throat.

Private methods. — These vary greatly in character. There is much individual charity, people who are well-to-do helping those who are less fortunate. In many cases it is the poor who help the very poor, who are thereby the relatives of merely neighbours. Further, there are many charitable foundations and institutions whose funds are obtained from endowments or subscriptions, or from both these sources, such as Dr. Rowntree's, under which the Children's Homes, the Charity Organization Society and the Guilds of Help that exist in several towns; these organizations exist with the special object of investigating cases of poverty and helping them or bringing them into touch with some means of help. At times of unusual distress, such as is caused by a famine or a coal-miners' disaster, a special fund is often raised to meet the emergency. Many trade unions, although not charitable organizations, relieve distress by the payment of out-of-work benefits.

How many people in the grip of poverty are helped by private efforts, and how much money is spent in this way, it is impossible to say. Definite information with regard to public efforts to alleviate poverty is very difficult to obtain. The ideal of public and private methods should undoubtedly be gradually to reduce the amount of poverty by abolishing the ultimate causes of poverty. That many of the efforts are not remedial, but merely palliative, must be admitted. Further, no expenditure of money, however lavish, no raising of wages, no bettering of urban and rural housing accommodation, no improving of sanitary conditions, in fact, no material improvements alone, can hope to achieve permanent results, unless they are accompanied by certain other changes in the character of the people. Thrift, sobriety, tidiness, and cleanliness—these and other virtues must be developed, if people are to reap the full benefits of any improvements that are effected. Much, in fact, could be achieved by moral development alone, and it is of the greatest importance to realize this, as material improvements at a time of high prices and great national impoverishment due to the war are hardly likely to be forthcoming in any large measure in the immediate future.

DOUGLAS KNOOP.

POWER.—The definition of power, or potency, and the distinction of power into active and passive are not clearly given by Aristotle. In this respect, later writers, as Hobbes and Locke, have done little more than repeat Aristotle.

In Met. (iv) v. 12 Aristotle distinguishes three senses of the term:—

1. "Potency" means (1) a source of movement or change, which is in another thing than the thing moved or in the same thing qua other, e.g. the art of building is a potency which is not in the thing built, while the art of healing, which is a potency, might be in the man healed, but not in him qua healed.

2. "Potency" then means the source, in general, of changes, of change in another thing or in the same thing qua other, and also the source of a thing's being moved by another.

3. "Potency" is equivalent to "power" or "energy" in the Aristotelian sense. It is a power to do something, a power to be, a power to exist, a power to act. It is a quality, or rather a principle, in virtue of which the patient suffers anything, we call it "capable of suffering"; and this we do sometimes if it suffers anything, sometimes not, and if it suffers anything, only if it suffers but only if it suffers a change for the better.—(2) The capacity of performing this well or according to intention; for something is said to be capable of suffering another thing, but not well or not as they intend, that they cannot speak or hear, 18. 9. 16. They are thus very similar, and both are similar to the idea of which things are absolutely impassive or unchangeable, or not easily changed for the worse, are called potencies; for things are thus absolutely impassive and inert and in general destroyed not by having a potency but by not having one and by lacking something, and things are impassive in such degree as they are scarcely or slightly affected by them, because of a "potency" and because they "can" do something they lack. (3) "Power" is a term of the same positive sense as "potency."—W. D. Ross, in Works of Aristotle, tr. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross, vol. viii. Oxford, 1905.)
POWER

In *Met.* (viii.) i. 1, having mentioned these different kinds of potency, Aristotle says:

"Obviously, then, in a sense the potency of acting and of being acted on, and the potency to give and to receive, is not capable either because it can be acted on or because something else can be acted on. The cause of this is as follows: for the one in the thing acted on; it is because it contains a certain motive principle, and because even the matter is a motive principle, and the one motive principle is active in a thing by one, another by another; for that which is only is indivisible, and that which yields in a particular way can be divided, and that which yields in various ways is indivisible. But the other potency is in the agent, e.g. heat and the art of building are present, one effects heat and the other builds heat. 'And some people take the art of building as the thing that can build. And so in so far as an thing is an organic unity, it cannot be acted on by itself; for it is one and not two different things.' (fr. Ross; cf. Reid's *Works*, ed. Hamilton, p. 519, note.)"

Aristotle also refers to the use of the term in geometry, and says that it is due to analogy.

The foregoing quotations contain a cause of the general idea of all that has been subsequently written, but also anticipations of what is suggested by the most recent results of science.

The language of Hobbes is not essentially different from that of Aristotle. He takes all causes to be powers. Hence this power is confined by Hobbes to what Aristotle regards as only one sense of the word 'power.'

"All motion," says Hobbes, "consists in motion only; 'there is no other kind of motion, except in a thing which is passive.' Power, the power of the agent, and the efficient cause are the same thing. But they are considered with this difference, that cause is so called in respect of the effect, and power in respect of the cause: so that the effect to be produced hereafter; so that cause respects the past, power the future. Also the power of the agent is that which is commonly called *active power*.' Power of the patient, passive power, material cause are, he says, the same thing, 'but with this different consideration, that in the patient, in power, the future, is respected.' The power of the agent and patient together he styles *entire or plenary power.* It is the same thing with entire cause—"the aggregate of all the accidents, as well as in the agent as in the patient, which are requisite for the production of the effect" (ib. i. 127,1.).

The language of Hobbes reminds us of J. S. Mill's account of the cause of action. Mill's account gives power the more material and objective character that it has in Hobbes, whereas Hobbes makes power the consequence of different conditions, positive and negative taken together, which being realized, the consequent invariably follows. To Mill, however, the distinction of agent and patient is illusory, whereas Hobbes follows Aristotle in retaining it.

Neither in Hobbes nor in Mill do we find any satisfactory account of power as a substantive phenomenon. This question remains by Locke, who uses language, in some respects, similar to that of Hobbes, but not so objective.

"Power also is another of those simple ideas which we receive from sensation and reflection: for, observing in ourselves that we are sometimes moved, sometimes at rest; the effects, also, that natural bodies are able to produce in one another, occurring every moment to our senses, we both these ways get the idea of power* (Essays, vii. v., 8.)."

The idea of power is best understood as the mind being every day informed by the sensations of the body, or by a train of ideas of those sensations, we are informed of those effects which we have without, and taking notice how one comes to an end, and ceases to be, and another begins to exist which was not before: and if we then observe what causes us to observe a constant change of its ideas, sometimes by the impression of the senses, and sometimes by the exercise of the understanding, and by the determination of its own choice; and concluding from what it has so constantly observed to have been, that the like changes will for the future be obtained in like ways; considers in one thing the possibility of having any of its simple ideas changed; and in another the possibility of making the change of its ideas by causes by which the thing to which it has power... . The power we consider is in reference to the change of perceivable ideas; for we cannot observe any alteration to be made in the thing itself, nor have any idea of the cause of change of its sensible ideas; nor conceive any alteration to be made in the thing, but by conjecturing a change of some of its ideas* (ib. ii. xii. i.)."

In these sentences we come face to face with the psychological and epistemological problems which, in modern times, circle round the meaning of the term. Apart from these questions, power is to Locke, as to Aristotle and Hobbes, active and passive.

"Power, thus considered, is two-fold; viz., as able to make, or as able to receive, or both, as may be called active, and the other passive power" (ib. ii. xii. 3.).

He suggests that matter may be wholly destitute of active power, as its author, God, is truly above all passive power, and that created spirits alone are capable of both active and passive power. He also suggests that the closest kind of active power is got from spirit, from reflexion on the operations of our minds, from which only we have the ideas of thinking and of the beginning of motion. These ideas of Locke lead inevitably to the question whether the relative importance of these ideas, which we seem to be conscious to control our own thoughts and actions has to power considered as existing in the external world.

It is not unusual to evade the powers thus raised by distinguishing different senses of the word 'power,' by saying that, when we use 'power' in the psychological sense, as an apparent phenomenon of our inner consciousness, the sense is quite different from and unrelated to such usage in the natural and mechanical sense; 'mecanical powers' are spoken of, or 'power' as the rate of doing work per unit of time, or, again, as implied in the phrase 'potential energy'; or in the theory of potential introduced into electrical science by G. Green in 1828. The question as to the total discrimination of these different senses from the psychological cannot be determined a priori, by mere introspection. We, therefore, propose to consider: (1) the psychological data from which the concept of power is derived; (2) the scientific use of the term; (3) the psychological connexion (if any) which exists between the psychological concept and the scientific use; and (4) the epistemological value of the concept.

The psychological origin.—The passage quoted above shows Locke was early taken exception to by Hume.

'I believe,' says Hume, 'the most general and most popular explication of this matter, is to say, that finding from experience, that there are several new productions in matter, such as the motions and variations of body, and concluding that there must somewhere be a power capable of producing them, we arrive at last by this reasoning at the idea of power and efficacy. But to be convinced that this explication is more popular than philosophical, we need but reflect upon two very obvious principles. First, That reason alone can never give rise to any original idea, and secondly, that reason, as distinguished from experience, can never make us conclude, that a cause or productive quality is absolutely requisite to every beginning of existence' (T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, new ed., London, 1909, i. 452).

In the Inquiry concerning Human Understanding, he says:

'From the first appearance of an object, we never can conceive anything about it, which is so remote from the power or energy of any cause discoverable by the mind, we could foresee the effect, even without experience; and might, at first, proceedings with respect perhaps, observe the operation of it, by more than sight of reasoning' (sect. vii. pt. 1.)

Hume then inquires whether this idea is derived from reflexion on the operations of our minds, and that it is copied from the imagination—e.g., an act of volition. His conclusion is:

'In the motion of our bodies follows upon the command of our will. Of this we are every moment conscious. But the means, by which the motion is generated in us, we know not; it is an extraordinary operation; of this we are so far from being
immediately conscious, that it must for ever escape our most diligent search, if we are to discover the true causes. To this extent, they seem entirely loose and separate. One event follows another; but how far the bond of connection is to be seen between these events, or whether there is any bond, is a question we have no idea of. We have no idea of any connection or power at all, and that these words are absolutely without any meaning, when employed either in philosophical discourses or common life (ib. sect. vii. pt. 2).

These views regarding power were accepted and repeated by Thomas Brown. "We give the name of cause to the object which we believe to be the inevitable antecedent of a particular change; we give the name of effect to the result which follows the cause, and the relation itself, when considered abstractly, we denominate power in the object that is the inevitable antecedent,—susceptibility in the object that exhibits, in its change, the inevitable consequent. We say of fire, that it has the power of melting all metals that are susceptible of fusion by fire,—but, in all this variety of words, we mean nothing more than our belief, that when a solid metal is subjected for a certain time to the application of a strong heat, it will begin afterwards to exist in that different state which is termed liquidity,—that, in all past time, in the same circumstances, it would have exhibited a similar change; and shall do so in the same circumstances in all future time!" (Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect, p. 152).

The analysis of Hume and Brown reduces the idea of power, efficiency, necessary connexion, considered as a subjective phenomenon, to an illusion.

"The sequence of events called Cause and Effect," says James Mill, "men were not contented with the Cause and the Effect; they imagined a third, called Force or Power, which was supposed to be the bond of connexion between the Cause, and the true and immediate cause of the Effect" (A treatise of the Phenomena of the Human Mind, new ed., London, 1888, p. 335).

In opposition to Hume's opinion, Reid held that reason might give rise to a new original idea; in what way it is difficult to say.

In a previous paper, I said that in what way we first get the notion or idea of power. It is neither an object of sense nor of consciousness. We see events, one succeeding another; but we see not the connexion or reason of the connexion. We are conscious of the operations of our minds; but power is not an operation of mind. If we had no notions but such as are furnished by the external senses, and by consciousness, it seems to be impossible that we should ever have any conception of power (Works, ed. Hamilton, p. 140). "Our conception of power is relative to its exertions or effects ('p. 531)." From the consciousness of our own activity, seems to be derived not only the clearest, but the most proper and true notion of activity, or the exertion of active power ('p. 523).

The view expressed in these and other passages, and already suggested by Locke, that the concept of man is derived solely from the consciousness of our own exertions, occurs frequently in subsequent philosophy. In its most significant form it seeks to derive the notion of power from the consciousness of our voluntary activities and, in particular, our motor energies. This view had been already anticipated by Hume (Inquiry, sect. vii.), and his arguments are repeated by Hamilton (Lectures on Metaphysics, Edinburgh and London, 1839, ii. 391 f., Reid's Works, p. 869 f.). To escape the force of Hume's arguments, H. H. Robinson (Prolegomena Logicæ, Oxford, 1890, p. 151, Metaphysics, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 269) and V. Cousin (Fragmenta philosophicae, Paris, 1826, preface) were led to seek an immediate intuition of power in mind as determining itself in a mental action without there being any connection with a sensation wholly spiritual. Quite recently an attempt has been made to prove experimentally such purely mental determination. Such mental determination seems equivalent to the flat of William James's Principles of Psychology (1890, ii. 561). But, just in so far as the element of effort is eliminated, the experience becomes correspondingly unfruitful as the source of the origin of our notion of power.

H. of effort, and in particular of muscular effort, is retained as an integral part of our volitional consciousness, we encounter a grave difficulty. The experiment of D. Ferrier (Functions of the Brain, London, 1880, p. 386) seems to show that the consciousness of effort is an adiherent, not an effluent, sensation, and dependent in every case upon some muscular contraction. Ferrier's argument was powerfully pressed by Hugo Münsterberg, in Die Willenshandlung (Freiburg, 1888, pp. 73, 82, quoted by James, i. 565); nor does it now appear possible to uphold the position formerly held by Hamilton, Bain, and Wundt, that we have a direct consciousness of effort, or energy expended, accompanying the innervation of the motor nerves. Muscular adiherent sensations are as complete as the relations of noise, and smell. Thus P. G. Tait (Dynamics, London, 1885, p. 354) regards the idea of force as corresponding to some process going on outside us, but quite different from the sensation which suggests it. If this view is sustained, a philosophy like that of Maine de Biran or Schopenhauer, which seeks to interpret the universe in analogy with will force, is excluded.

In his Metaphysics Lotze says:

"These effects or actions of [things], which proceed from them and are sense-simul to us, are no doubt only motions and themselves neither red nor sweet; but what is there to prevent us from attributing to them a redness of feeling, which makes a noise and sweetness arise, as our sensation, in our souls, which also attaches as a quality to the things themselves?" (Metaphysic, p. 505).

It is true that telephones do not telegraph, but what are conversations established by them but responses to causes, and to the perception of sounds, which are themselves the means of the application of energy? Thus we have the means of bringing into existence sensations, or at least ideas, which do not of themselves belong to us.

The objectivity of the qualities of sensation has been maintained by J. H. von Kühnemann (Katechismus der Metaphysik, Leipzig, 1876, p. 402), and W. H. Schwarzwald (Das Wahrnehmungsproblem, Leipzig, 1892, p. 70), and apparently by Bergson (Matter and Memory, Eng. tr., London, 1911, p. 49 ff.).

Wundt long ago recognized that his argument against the specific energies of the nerves, according to which the quality of sensation does not belong originally to the nerves, but is due to the action upon them of the normal stimulus, involves, as a consequence, that the sensation is brought nearer to the stimulus and made dependent upon it. This has been so strongly written by modern writers that it may still be possible to interpret the feeling of effort or force objectively, even though it be mediated by a sensory, not a motor, nerve. The objectivity of our perception of force does not really depend upon the separation of two processes, the reciprocal outgoing, but depends upon the nature of the impression which is thereby conveyed. Here a difference presents itself. In the case of other impressions the phenomenon disclosed to consciousness seems purely subjective. In the perception of force we are confronted with a transient phenomenon. At whatever point the transition into sensuous consciousness takes place, the nature of force is to exist and to be perceived only as coming from without, just as we feel at the point of the pen the resistance of the paper over which it moves. This is what Hamilton means by the 'quasi-primary phasia' of the secundo-primary qualities (Reid's Works, note D, § 2). His analysis of the apperception is correct, even if he be wrong in designating it to a locomotive faculty instead of to the muscular sense. It is also implied in Reid's 'relative notion'.

2. The scientific use of power.—If a force is applied in order to produce a resistance, no meaning is fixed by what time-rate the force acts or the force so applied has been called the 'power,' and that independently of any mechanical advantage gained. Power in this sense is now called the effort.

When, by use of a simple machine, mechanical advantage is gained, the mechanical advantage through which this advantage is obtained has been called a 'power,' as in the phrase 'the mechanical powers,'
applied to the lever, the wheel and axle, the inclined plane, the wedge, the movable pulley, and the screw. Such a machine is not a force or power in itself, but only a contrivance for concentrating force on a particular resistance. Since the work that the lever, wheel, etc., does is equal to that done upon it, it is not itself a power in the sense of doing work.

Power is the rate of doing work, or the quantity of work the agent can perform in a given time.

If it can be shown that the power, or actio agentis, of a material agent stands to the object upon which it acts in a relation analogous to that which governs the relations of the material and spiritual generally, we shall have a confirmation of the foregoing theories of the perception of force.

3. Metaphysical connexion of the subjective and objective aspects of power.—The well-known law of Fechner, that the increase of sensation is as the logarithm of the stimulus, is commonly discussed as a purely phenomenal law—a formula to which the facts of our sensitive consciousness rather curiously happen to conform. As such it has been regarded rather contemptuously by James. In recent years attempts have been made to give it a new life by applying it also to the inorganic world. To Fechner himself it was something infinitely more than such a mere phenomenal rule. It was no less than a fundamental law, governing the relations of the physical to the psychical, and the psychical to the physical. It was closely connected with Fechner's psycho-physical parallelism. Fechner's doctrine was quite different from ordinary psycho-physical parallelism. The latter endeavours to find for each mental state, and each fragment thereof, its underlying physical equivalent (e.g., Ulisseberg, Aufgaben und Methoden der Psychologie, Leipzig, 1891). Fechner, on the other hand, saw clearly that to a single mental unity a distinguishable material multiplicity may correspond (Zeit. f. ges. Physiol., 2, 1892). This is quite in accordance with his law. Here it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that, if in the physical world energy increases as the square of the velocity, in the psychical world the resistance to the stimulus increases as the square root of the stimulus.

4. Epistemological conclusion.—If there is thus in the relations of the spiritual and physical something like that which holds between potential energy, depending upon configuration, and movement, and the physical act, with its specific force, in that which on other grounds has been called 'potential' (J. Clerk Maxwell, Theory of Heat, new ed., London, 1894, p. 91), it is a reasonable inference to say that it is just the very nature of this power which as 'quasi-primary phasis' we experience in our muscular activities, and that the secundo-primal qualities are experienced in an objective sense.


GEORGE J. STOKES.

POWER OF THE KEYS.—This term is derived from the promise of our Lord to St. Peter: 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 16:19). In Jewish literature the key is a symbol of authority (cf. Mal. 3:1; G. Dalman, Words of Jesus, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1902, p. 213). Here the expression contains a manifest reference to Is 22:22. In that passage the prophet announces that 'the key of the house of David' is to be taken from the unworthy Shemua and given to Elieinik; in other words, the latter is to be appointed the king's minister, and to govern the kingdom in his name. 'The Kingdom of Heaven' is the term ordinarily employed by our Lord to signify the Church which He had come to re-establish among men, the society of those who accepted His claims. Thus the promise, it would seem, can have but one meaning: Peter is to be Christ's vicegerent to rule the Church on His behalf. It is true that a few recent writers have sought to give another sense to the passage by connecting it with our Lord's words to the scribes: 'Ye have taken away the key of knowledge' (Lk 11:52). They suppose that scribes were instituted to office by the ceremonial delivery of a key, and conclude that the words addressed to Peter signify no more than that he is a scribe fully instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven. The contention is devoid of all probability, for there is no evidence for any such ceremony of institution. The natural interpretation of the expression as employed in Lk 11 is simply that the scribes had prevented all access to the knowledge of the way of salvation (cf. A. Plummer, 'St. Luke's', in ICC, Edinburgh, 1898, p. 314).

The nature of the key therefore is indicated by Peter is said to have received the keys. The key is a symbol of the power of the Church, and Peter is indicated by what follows: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' It seems generally admitted that the power of binding and loosing (q.v.) signifies primarily the gift of legislative authority. In theological literature, however, from Patristic times to the present day, the term has commonly been employed to denote the judicial power exercised by the Church in regard to the forgiveness of sins. This use is not without justification. In every State supreme legislative authority carries with it supreme judicial authority; the one is the corollary of the other. Hence, when Christ constituted St. Peter and subsequently (Mt 18:18) the whole apostolic college legislators of His kingdom, He thereby made them likewise his judges. But the judicial power which is proper to the Church must in the nature of things differ very greatly from that exercised by a civil government. The function of the judicial power is the temporal welfare of its citizens; hence it takes cognizance only of external acts and not of the internal motive ('De internis non judicat praetor'). The Church, on the other hand, exists for the salvation of the human soul. In her judicial capacity she must deal with sin as such, and must be authorized to remit it or refuse remission as the case may demand. This power, as the traditional theology of the Church has always taught, was granted in express terms on a subsequent occasion (Jn 20:22).

In Patristic literature we find two interpretations of the promise of the keys. Neither of the two, however, gives us quite the full force of the Hebrew metaphor. Thus several of the fathers, while recognizing, with very considerable justice, an exceptional favour marking him out as the chief of the Twelve, understand the privilege as having reference not to the Church militant but to the celestial Kingdom. Our Lord, they hold, foretold that it was to the power of the Church's officers to receive the keys of the just and to cast them out; the word of the just into beatitude and exclude the unworthy, and by this prerogative constituted him the prince of the apostles. St. Ambrose of Amasea writes as follows:

He receives by this promise the keys of the kingdom, and becomes lord of the gates thereof, so as to open them to whom he will, and to close them to those against whom they should justly be shut (Rom. viii. in SS. Pet. et Paul. [PG xlii], 360).

St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of 'the Prince of the Apostles, the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven
orien, and extravagantes, aliam scientiae chief on Lombardus, absolution that inferred Ambros. nouncing authority To penance, Serm. Juris cxlix. it denies find entirely of the 1087]). with that replied is in kej's struggle granted 7 1014; thereupon Syrus, xvii., de 1349]). the Church's intended corepons in ecclesiastical power to say, all metaphor in Christ's words. But the exercise was that the metaphor implied the gift of supreme authority in general, and restricted its meaning entirely to the sacrament of penance. Thus we find Augustine so completely identifying the keys with the power of absolution that he expressly denies that the gift was possessed by Peter. It was bestowed, he says, no less on all the Twelve, and it is in virtue of this gift that the Church, wherever it is found, exercises the right to forgive sins (Serm. exil. 7 [PL xxxviii. 802]; for other examples see Annales Capit. xiii. 3; PL serm. excciii. 3 [PL xxxix. 1711]; Hilary, in Matt. xvi. 7 [PL ix. 1010]; Origen, in Matt. xii. 14 [PL xiii. 1014]; Conc. Gh. Eph. Act iiii. [Hardoni, i. 1477]). This explanation of the passage leads naturally to the question why, if the power conferred belonged to all the apostles, the keys were committed to Peter alone. To this it is replied that thereby is signalized Peter's pre-eminence among the apostles (Origen, in Matt. xiii. 31 [PL xvi. 419]; Hilary, in Matt. xiii. 31 [PL xxxviii. 1499]). Stress is further laid on the consideration that in giving the keys to the chief apostle alone Christ designed to make it clear that the Church is in her essence one (August. loc. cit.; Optatus, de Schismate Donat. vii. 3 [PL xi. 1087]).

The Scholastic theologians of the 12th and 13th centuries, when they treat of the sacrament of penance, devote a special section to 'de Clavis,' in which they examine the nature of the power of absolution (Husik, in Matt. exil. vi. 14 [PL cxlvii. 1592]; Rolandus, Sententiae, p. 264 [ed. A. M. Giel, Freiburg im Br., 1891]; Petrus Lombardus, Lib. Sent. iv. 18 [PL excli. 883]; Petrus Patavienis, Sent. iii. 16 [PL cxcvii. 1067], etc.); they thereby divide and potesates—*the clavis scientiae* and *the clavis potestas*. The original source of this curious distinction is apparently the Glossa interlinearia of Anselm of Laon, where it occurs in the comment on Mt 16 (PL cxlii. 1390). The idea of a *clavis scientiae* is most probably connected with Lk 112, to the objection that many who are not priests possess scientia Thomas Aquinas replies that the clavis scientiae is not knowledge as such, but the authority he inquires judicially previously to pronouncing judgment (Summa Theol. Suppl. qu. 17, art. 3, ad 2). It appears, however, from a passage in a decree of John XXII, which deals incidentally with this point that some theologians at least rejected this distinction of the *clavis scientiae* and *clavis potestas* as an artificial refinement (Corpus Juris Canonici: Extravagantes, xiv. 5, 'Quia Quorundam').

Towards the end of the 13th century, a new interpretation makes its appearance. At this period the struggle between the empire and the papacy was at its height, and on either side the pen was hardly less active than the sword. The imperial legists claimed for the emperor complete supremacy over the ecclesiastical order; and the canonists replied by maintaining that the pope as Christ's vice-regent possessed direct authority over secular princes, that it lay with him to appoint them, and, if need be, to depose them. Christ's gift of the keys to Peter was employed to support this contention. It was asserted that the gift was bestowed on Peter alone, but of two; and that this symbolized Peter's supremacy alike over spirituals and over temporals. The first, it would seem, to employ this argument was the famous canonist Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis) (1274), who writes: 'Idea etiam Dominus dominorum non sine causa dixit Petro: Et tibi dabo claves regni coeles: et, nota, non dixit clavibus sed clavis; dixit autem quae quidem præterigit et solvat quod spirituallam; aliquam quas utatur quod temporaliam' (Summa Aurea, lib. iv. cit. 'Quel filii sint legitimi,' n. 10).

The same claim was made in the 12th century. To Henry of Lussac († 1252) and Alvarus l'Aiglaüs († 1353) (de Planctu Ecclesiae, 13). It is perhaps not to be wondered at that, at a period when Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jandun were advocating their revolutionary theories, the controversy of the opposite school should have fallen into exaggerations on their side. On the other hand, the theologians who denied that the pope possessed direct authority over secular princes called attention to the fact that it was the keys of the kingdom of heaven that Christ gave to Peter in the kingdom, that Christ gave to His apostle (cf. Cornelius a Lapidice, *in loc.*).

Since the 16th century, Roman Catholic theologians appear to be practically unanimous in their understanding of the passage. By the gift of the keys, they hold, is signified ecclesiastical authority in its widest scope. This authority is multiple, and embraces (1) the power of order, exercised in regard to sacrifice and sacrament, (2) the power to forgive sins, and (3) the power of jurisdiction, in virtue of which the Church rules and legislatés for the faithful. This authority was conferred in its fullness on Peter and his successors. It was, however, to be shared by others in due measure, though always in dependence on the chief pastor. Thus the pope is the supreme ruler and teacher of the Church. Yet all bishops and priests possess the power of order; and they receive in due degree authority to teach, and in most cases some measure of jurisdiction. The church, from the beginning, has been exercising the powers of order and of jurisdiction. This is, however, but one aspect of the gift signified under the metaphor of the keys of the Kingdom of heaven.

Lorenzo Guerre Suarez, De Præsidii aev., 4 (ed. 1856-61, xxiii. 385); R. Bellarmine, Contrariorum de Rom. Pont., Ingolstadt, 1601, 1. 1. 121.; P. Macedo, De Claudibus Petri, Rome, 1616, 4 (ed. Amstledag, 1857); F. W. L. Kirschen, *in Waterweitz, Kirchenlexikon*, x. (Freiburg im Br., 1897) 1834; Cornélius a Lapidice, *Comment. in Serm. Sacr., Lyons, 1672, xv. 370; G. H. Joyce, *Pradhana—Pragmatism*.—Praghmiss or Pragmatism has come into use since 1868, when the word first occurred in William James's pamphlet on Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results, as the technical name for a tendency which can be traced throughout the history of philosophy, but has only of late grown self-conscious, systematic, and general. The term had been coined twenty years before by
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C. S. Peirce (without regard to the existing, but obsolete, word 'pragmatic') in order to express the scientific need of testing the meaning and value of our conceptions and terms by their use, i.e. by applying them to the things which they were supposed to stand for, instead of allowing their own mere import to rest upon the mere claim of any one to attest their truth without more ado. He insisted, therefore, that the truth (and indeed the meaning) of every conception depended on the difference which it made in a scientific situation, and that the conceptions which failed to make any such difference led, and systematically denied that it could be determined in any a priori way. Thus every 'truth' became a question of empirical observation and scientific experiment. This critical method was, however, widely understood to mean practical consequences in the way of action alone, and so pragmatism was regarded as a sort of 'practicalism,' and as a disparagement of 'theoretic' truth which was a direct insult to all who cultivated the latter. But, though many pragmatists emphasized the importance of bringing fine-spun theorizing to some sort of definite test, and showed that in point of fact practical consequences frequently formed such a test, this interpretation of pragmatism is unfortunately not generally admitted by them. Rather, the word is derived from πράγματα ('things') not from πράξις ('action'). It is seriously misleading scientifically, unless it is fully understood that 'practical' is taken by pragmatism in a very wide sense, yes, it is ordinarly called 'theoretic,' for which in practice means 'in use for any purpose,' for which every thought is essentially an act, and the test of a thought may be another thought to which it leads in some physiological, psychological, or ethical way. The absolute or ultimateness of the traditional antithesis between 'theory' and 'practice,' and relies for its justification on the fact that everything that we think and do has first to be willed, and has ultimately some biological value as a vital adaptation, successful or the reverse. The controversial significance of this critical and empirical attitude towards doctrines and beliefs lies, of course, in the wide prevalence of credulity and dogmatism, which cannot bear questioning. It is self-evident, however, that questioning may arise in various contexts and in various ways, each of which will constitute an approach to pragmatism which can be used independently of the rest. Hence what is really a very simple and logical form may become a perplexity of doctrines. It will be best, therefore, first to survey the problems that most obviously demand pragmatic treatment in ordinary life and in the various sciences, in order to appreciate the solutions which pragmatism offers, remembering always that this treatment is ultimately logical, i.e. if 'logic' be taken in a sufficiently wide sense.

1. The problems leading to pragmatism.—(1) The question of aesthetics. It has often been noticed that deceptiveness of deceptive appearances, that things are not all what they seem, that not everything is real or true that claims to be, that not all 'facts' are facts, that not every form of words has a meaning, that much which passes for profundity is unmeaning nonsense, that, though all things are real in some sense (seeing that they can be talked about), they are very frequently not so in the sense in which they profess to be; in short, that the intellectual world is pervaded and overthrown by errors, lies, fictions, and illusions. It is recognized, therefore, quite a simple level of reflexion that precautions must be taken, and the needs of (a) determining the meaning, and (b) testing the truth, of assertions make themselves felt. A method is demanded for distinguishing the meaningful from the meaningless, the true from the false, the real from the unreal. It is also extensively known that our ability to form conceptions and to lay down definitions is not decisive of their real value and that in certain sciences they will apply to reality in a successful and fruitful way or that reality will conform to them.

(2) The everyday problems of practical knowing reappear in logic and the theory of knowledge as the pretense of error and the questions about the definition and 'criterion' of truth, the 'import' of propositions, the 'reference to reality' of judgments, the formal 'validity' of proof, and the absolute truth or relativity of knowledge. But their treatment has always been vague and inadequate, because it has not been perceived that they are all concerned with one and the same central difficulty of knowledge and with the problem of logical values.

(3) Similarly, logic has never succeeded in determining its relations to psychology in a comprehensive and consistent way. It has professed to be somehow 'independent' of psychology and to be entitled to regulate the course of actual thought; yet it could never quite deny that all logical processes occur in a psychological setting, and are derived from the cognitive operations of human minds. These, however, are found to differ widely from the ideas of pure thought which logic constructs and contemplates. It appears that all actual thought is full of 'non-intellectual' factors; it is action in which two elements interpenetrate, selective, and its understanding presupposes a study of the effects of interest, attention, desire, bias, satisfaction. But, while the actual thought is thus dependent on, and expressive of, its environment, the thinker's thought is hitherto permitted to abstract from personality. Hence there arises an acute problem of how to correlate the theories of logic with the facts of human psychology, and to determine what effect the actual nature of thought should have on its 'ideal.' For, even though this effect may be considered wholly deleterious, it is ineradicable; all truths are, and must be, on one side matters of belief. Moreover, the discrepancy between the facts and the theories of knowing is hardly less true of the fact that the false is the basis of belief. Nearly all psychological theories still abstract from the biological and functional import of the psychic processes which they describe and classify; their descriptions are in terms of 'faculties' and 'elements,' which are creatures of abstraction used not only to the objects of immediate experience. They consequently overlook that all mental functioning must be understood as a reaction of the total organism, that beliefs are essentially rules for action, and that valuations occur as the stimuli to thought as well as to action.

(4) This occurrence of valuations connects pragmatism with the one science that has hitherto professed concern with value-judgments, viz. ethics. The peculiar nature of the latter is that different kinds of value, ethical, esthetic, logical, and economic, have in common a relativity, to their several purposes in the first place, and ultimately to the final end of action, 'the good.' They are all means to intrinsically valuable ends ('goods'), and as such are valuable only because of or useful. It notices (b) that any 'true' asserted about any 'real' is a latent value—both because it is the achievement of a purpose and because it is selected from a number of competitors and preferred as the best of them. Similarly, 'the right' is recognized in a relation logically in a position of superiority to other claimants to reality. Thus the 'true' and the 'real' have to be viewed as forms of the 'good,' and as satisfactions of desire. It is evident, however, that goods,
ends, and values may come into conflict with one another, and that intricate problems arise when we ask how much beauty or moral goodness will make a true or falsified set of scientific evidence for a belief, or how intolerable a 'truth' may be before it is rejected as incredible.

(5) Such problems have long agitated the philosophy of religion and familiarized it with the argument of the pragmatist's 'truth' and the principle of affirmation. The latter, indeed, that most men, especially when excited, regard the unsupported satisfactoriness of a belief, and their mere 'will to believe' it, as sufficient proof of its truth; but it is not true that it applies merely to its indirect and its direct verification no more here than elsewhere, and observes that religious beliefs also are in fact tested, though not perhaps as systematically as they might be, by their 'working.' Still it does not simply dismiss 'faith' as a source of error along with the traditional rationalism. For the faith attitude or 'will to believe' appears to it to have important cognitive functions. It may be, psychologically, a necessary condition of the discovery, not only of religious, but also of scientific, truth. It is, moreover, an attitude which may be (1) objectively justified. For the 'principles' which every system of knowledge assumes are not to be understood either as mere generalizations from experience or as sheer necessities of thought; they seem to be intelligible only as 'possible' for it, and its disposition to act on faith, before they are 'proved' by the subsequent working of the science. Nor, on the other hand, does it seem proper to regard a belief as established merely because it evokes a strong will to believe. The truth is that the religious questionnaires to the sort and amount of evidence required by a postulate of faith are peculiarly difficult.

2. The pragmatist handling of these problems.

(1) The problem of meaning.—Pragmatism contends that alleged meanings, to be tested, must be applied or used, and therupon valued or revalued according as they work well or ill. Of all the formulae for defining pragmatism none is better than 'meaning depends on application,' which condemns the absolute distinction between theory and practice and the entire separation between 'true' and 'applied' science (e.g. in mathematics). Thus inapplicable notions (like unknowable and absolute truths and realities) are declared to be unmeaning. However, if two notions do not differ in their application, the distinction between them is said to be unmeaning; they are really identical and differ only in words—differences that make no difference are not worth making.

(2) The problem of truth.—Applying the same principle to alleged truths ('truth-claims'), we see that, since all assertions formally claim to be true, and mostly are not, truth-claim or formal truth is not what common sense and science mean by 'truth,' and that all claims have to be tested by their applications or 'consequences.' If they work well, their claim to truth-value is confirmed; if ill, it is doubted or rejected as false or erroneous. Hence the pragmatist formula, 'All truths are useful' and 'Genuine truth must work,' are corollaries to the method of testing the truth-claim. But it should be observed that these formulae are not formal definitions and so must not be treated as convertible; pragmatism does not affirm that whatever is useful acts is true. To assert this would be to commit the logical fallacy of existence out of a property, i.e. to assert that all errors, methodological assumptions, and other varieties of truth-claim, which are not generally called truths, and are the very things which pragmatism prides itself on distinguishing from genuine truths, are metaphysically true. Moreover, further, that the question what sort of 'working' is relevant to the truth of a claim is relative to the inquiry, and is often disputable. In general it must be left to the experts in the various subjects concerned. But in all subjects truth always remains relative to the state of knowledge, and even to the test of consistency known up to date can be used to test a truth-claim. Hence no amount of successful working ever leads to the complete verification of any truth, or renders it 'absolute'; further confirmation is always possible, and the 'truths' are absolute and immutable is quite in accord with the practice of the sciences; it leaves room for literally infinite improvement in the reigning 'truths,' and explains their continual changes. A truth is true only so long as it is the best to be had; it becomes false as soon as it can be bettered.

(3) The problem of truth and error is solved by regarding both as values, positive and negative, i.e. as success and failure relatively to a cognitive purpose. A bona fide truth-claim is always supposed by its maker to be as true as he can make it at the time; but it may nevertheless fail subsequently and be declared false, nor is its formal truth-claim any protection against this fate. Consequently for the evidence required, which may be (a) which is formal or absolute, or (b) any formally valid proof which renders its conclusion certain as a fact, in advance of observation. Successful verification never amounts to 'valid proof,' because it involves the question of fact and the object of investigation. The same conclusion follows from the formal defects of syllogistic reasoning. It is impossible to get any guarantee of the absolute truth of the premises used, because these cannot be truer than the sciences can make themselves, because 'self-evident' intuitions have always to be tested. Moreover, as Alfred Sidgwick was the first to point out, the 'truth' of a premise is ambiguous. A premise may be true in general and yet false for the special purpose in hand. When, therefore, it is used, a false conclusion is deduced. After the event this failure may be described as a 'fallacy of accident,' or as an 'ambiguity in the middle term'; but the potential flaw was imperceptible before, and can only be guarded against. Hence we can never know with certainty that a formally valid deduction will be true in fact, nor can we be absolutely assured in advance that a particular case of a rule, 'law,' or 'universal' will turn out to be one in actual fact.

As regards the psychological aspects of logic, pragmatism demands especially a recognition of the relation of thinking (5) to personality and (7) to doubt. Emphasis on the former has led to the systematic extension of pragmatism called humanism (q.v.), but it is evident that in logical theory also the traditional abstraction from the personal context and particular occasion of assertions must be called into question. In particular, the relation of meaning to purpose and context, the psychological impossibility of asserting truths which are thought to be useless, the selectiveness of human thought, the importance of interest in starting and of attention and relevance in conducting reasoning, and the massive, and still more the subtle, effects of bias and passion in distorting it, may be mentioned as implications of personality which have far-reaching (and unexplored) logical effects. The dependence of thought upon the stimulus of doubt has been specially elaborated by John Dewey. And with the development of the continual reconstruction of beliefs and the experimental nature of all judgment. (8) Dewey also emphasizes the biological function of thinking as an instrument of vital adaptation, and his name for pragmatism, 'instrumentalism,' is a radical application of Darwinism to psychology. But, though it is clear that pragmatism entails a
reform of psychology as well as of logic, and that it has had a certain effect in promoting psychological explanation in terms of 'function' rather than of structure, it cannot as yet claim to have led to the working out systematically of a non-intellectualist psychology.

Much the same may be said about the bearing of pragmatism on the ethical and religious values. It is certainly important, for pragmatism cannot but affect the factitious value which they have derived from their acceptance as absolute, immut- able, and infallible. Actually, however, they do not seem to be able to substantiate these claims, which are contradicted by the facts of their history, and they probably stand to gain more than they could lose by being humanized and brought into closer relation with the needs of life. It is also evident that, whereas the belief that truth, reality, and good are each one, absolute, immutable, and infallible was in principle bound to lead to dis- sensions between men each of whom believed that because he was right the others must be wrong, the pragmatist doctrine that truth, right, and good, being relative to circumstances though not less precious on this account, may be different for different men, and, moreover, may be developed by the continuous correction of errors and the sub- stitution of better and more satisfactory views for worse, is highly conducive to toleration and social harmony. Even so, it does not seem probable that on these points, or on any other, different temperaments so differently anything like universal agreement will ever be reached; but a convergence of opinion sufficient for social purposes is far more likely, if greater freedom to experiment in ways in living were granted, which we all are free to see for ourselves which methods are successful and satisfactory and which are practically sure to fail.

3. Pragmatism and absolutism.—It was natural that so distinctive and comprehensive an attitude as the pragmatic should be both controversial, especially as it was diametrically antithetical to the intellectualistic 'idealism' which conceived the essential function of intelligence as a static con- templation of 'eternal' truths and possessed great acute clarity for the mind, but more, moreover, be developed into a critical philosophy and by the continuous correction of errors and the sub- stitution of better and more satisfactory views for worse, is highly conducive to toleration and social harmony. Even so, it does not seem probable that on these points, or on any other, different temperaments so differently anything like universal agreement will ever be reached; but a convergence of opinion sufficient for social purposes is far more likely, if greater freedom to experiment in ways in living were granted, which we all are free to see for ourselves which methods are successful and satisfactory and which are practically sure to fail.

LITERATURE.—The literature of pragmatism is still largely scattered in the philosophic periodicals, especially in Mind and The Journal of Philosophy, as its history as an avowed doctrine begins in America, with William James's lecture on Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results at Berkeley, Calif., in 1896. James maintained that he was guided in this by a conversation with his friend C. S. Peirce, who had written on 'How to make our inferences inductive and incoherent.' The first publication of the pragmatic test of truth, in a paper dating from 1891. His epoch-making Principles of Psychology, 2 vols., 1890, also fully and forcefully expounds and illustrates the doctrine from which the other leaders derived it. After the movement had been begun by Peirce and James, it spread and multiplied itself, and was taken up, according to Peirce in his Pragmatism, do. 1907, The Meaning of Truth, do. 1909, A Pluralistic Universe, do. 1909, the unfinished Some Problems of Philosophy, 1912, and the text of Essays in Radical Empiricism, do. 1912. The applications of pragmatism to logic were made in America by John Dewey, his pupils, and by others especially the reliance of knowledge upon doubt and the need for reconstructing beliefs in a spirit of criticism, Chicago, 1903, How We Think, Boston, 1910, The Influence of Darwinism on Philosophy, New York, 1910, Essays in Experimental Logic, Chicago, 1916, Creative Intelligence, New York, 1917. In England, Sidgwick had worked out a pragmatic logic independ- ently (Distinction and the Criticism of Beliefs, London, 1892, The Use of Reason, London, 1897, The Logic of Science, London, 1905, Elementary Logic, Cambridge, 1909). F. C. S. Schiller's writings elaborate chiefly the epistemological, logical, and polemical sides of pragmatism, in 'Actions as Postulates' (in Personal Idealism, ed. H. Burt, London, 1912, Mr. James's Philosophy: A Review of Gian's Logical Theory, London, 1907, do. 1912, the new ed. of Riddles of the Sphinx, London, 1910, and Formal Logic, do. 1912. As simple introductions, D. L. Macquarrie's Pragmatism, London, 1909, and William James, do. 1914, may be recommended; the full history of pragmatism has been written by F. C. S. Schiller, Pragmatism, Muller, De Kenniseen van het Anglo-Amerikaansch Pragmati- smear, The Hague, 1913. The validity of the pragmatic argu- ment from sensation and the corresponding principle 'works' was upheld (s a propos of A. J. Balfour's Foundations of Belief) by A. Seth (Pringle-Pattison, Man's Place in the Cosmos, Edinburgh, 1897). Other pragmatist, books of value are A. W. Moore, Pragmatism and its Critics, Chico, 1910; E. Miller, The Unanimity of the Will and the Function of Religion, London, 1904, J. H. Boodin, Truth and Reality, do. 1911. For the religious applica- tions of pragmatism cf. James, Varieties of Religious Experi- ence, London, 1902; W. Inge, The Open Hand, London, 1904, Leo Crotendin, do. 1906; I. King, The Development of Allied, do. 1910.

ABROAD pragmatism has great affinities with the French anti- intellectualistic of Henri Bergson and his school (especially Le Roy and Willock) and the critical science of procedure by M. Poincaré, E. Bourgous, M. Milhaud, P. Duhem, etc. In Germany, the same may be said of the theories of knowledge of C. W. Nietzsche's The Will to Power, Eng., 2 vols., London, 1897-98, 8). Valinger (Die Philosophie des Alten O. Berlin, 1911), E. Mach (Zur Analyse der Erscheinungen, Jenae, 1911), and W. Wind (Die Ideenwelt der jüngsten Zeit, Berlin, 1908). In the way of criticism of pragmatism nothing systematic has yet been accomplished. The best of the criticisms is that of B. A. W. Russell, Philosophical Essays, London, 1910; L. J. Walker, Stonyhurst Manual on Theories of Knowledge, do. 1910; W. Kneale, The History of Analytical Philoso- thest, Dublin, 1910; J. B. Pratt, What is Pragmatism, New York, 1909; R. B. Perry, Present Philosophical Tendencies, do. 191; W. Caldwell, Pragmatism and Idealism, London, 1915. A. Schinz, Antipragmatism, do. 1910, is of value as a display of the emotional reaction elicited by pragmatism, and F. H. Bradley, Essays in Truth and Reality, Oxford, 1914, as a record of the reluctant, but in the end decisive, concessions to which idealistic absolutism has been driven (cf. Schiller's art. in Mind, no. 95 [1915]).

F. C. S. SCHILLER.

PRAISE.—See HYMNS, WORSHIP.

PRAKRITI.—See PRADHĀNA, SANKHYA, NATURE (Hindu).

PRANATHIS.—This is the name of an Indian sect founded by Pranath, or Prānātha, in the early part of the 8th century A.D. He was born at Katūśīradh, and came from Kāṭhūrīradh. After long wanderings over W. India he reached Bundel- khand, and settled near Pānnak with a large following of disciples. During his stay there he indicated the Prannathia faith to the local people as the Hindu faith (r 1732), the local Rājā, who became his disciple. Prannath founded an eclectic religion combining the best elements of Islam and Hinduism. He was the author of at least sixteen works written in a strange jargon, a mixture of Hindi, Sindhi,
Gujarāt, Arabic, and Sanskrit, by no means easy to understand. Growes (‘The Sect of the Prān
tāthis’, JAS 18, xviii. pt. i) has edited and translated
one of these—the Jaiyānāt-māna, or ‘Account of the
Day of Judgment.’ Verse 28 ff. of this give a
picture of the teacher of the sect, wearing a girdle
(According to the Hindi) the Kalik (incarnation of Visu
will make an end of the Kali Yuga. The Gospel says
that Christ is the head of that all, and that He will come
do justice. The Jews say that Moses is the greatest, and that all will
be saved through him. All follow different customs, and each
preaches the Gita in the name of his own master. Thus (by guarant
signing they fix upon different names; but the end of all is the
same, the Supreme God.

One of the names of this Supreme God is Dhūn, and
hence the Prānātthis also call themselves ‘Dhinis.’

Prānātthadisallowedtheuseofintoxicating
drugs, tobacco, wine, meat, and unlawful visits to
women, and preached peace and charity. He
prohibited idolatry, but at the present day one of
his books, called the Gita Darśana, is permitted
in the temple at Pannā. All else that is seen at his
shrines here and elsewhere is a small bed with a
curtain on it, called Prānātth’s seat. In 1764
Murtūja Ḥusain saw the bed with a stool on each
side, and described it as a place of worship. Prānātthu,
nowhere found in the Kāth, is also described on
the other a copy of the Hindi Parānās, with
learned men of both religions in attendance ready
to give profitable answers to all inquirers. Most
of the replies made to him involved the unity of
God.

There are only a few hundred followers of this
cult in modern times. Most of them live at Pannā,
and others are found in small numbers in the
United Provinces and in Nepal. Those of Bundel-
khand bury their dead at Pannā. Elsewhere they
burn the body and use the relict bones.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, Sketch of the Religious Sects of the
Hindus, in Works, ed. R. Rost, London, 1861-77, i. 351; F. C. Conder
(‘The Sect of the Prānātthais’, JAS 18, xlviii. (1879) pt. i, pp. 201, 171, reprint in Mathur, a District Memoir, Aliabād, 1879, p. 211; Jagadāś Prāskād Tiwāri, Juvenile
Hist. of Charakari, by a Native Servant of the State, Benares,
1856, p. 12 ff.; C. E. Curd, Gasteur of Bundelkhand, Lucknow,
1879, p. 196; Lali Kāth, Chaitā Prakāsa, Calcutta,
1880 and Benares, 1881, chap. 21, reproduces the
account of Prānātth’s dealings with Charakari. Murtūja Ḥusain,
Aliabād, wrote the Jñāna-prabhava, a work on the
Jainism. In this is described the author’s visit to Pannā about the
year 1764, with a full description of the Prānāttah’s and their
(660) of the lithographed ed., Lucknow.

G. A. GRIESON.

PRAPATTI-MĀRGĀ.— Prapattimārgā was a
development of the Indian Bhakti-mārgā (q.v.)
which took its rise in S. India in the 13th cent.
A.D. Bhakti connotes active love and devotion to
the adorable, while prapattī is simply passive
surrender. There are two schools of Vaisnavā
thought in S. India. The Vaiḍaḷagari, of the
country north of, say, Conjeevāram, lays stress on
bhakti, and the Teṅgālar, of the country south of
that town, on prapattī. The attitude of a follower
of the Vaiḍaḷagari school is compared to that of a
baby monkey, which is carried about and pro-
tected by its mother, but nevertheless has to cling
to her, while that of a follower of the Teṅgālar
school is compared to the passive surrender of a
kitten carried about in its mother’s mouth. They
are hence nicknamed the ‘monkey-school’ (mar-
kaṭa-nūyāya) and ‘cat-school’ (māpurā-nūyāya)
respectively. The corresponding idea of god-
servitude in these two cases are, respectively, sa-
hūtaka-kṛpa, or ‘grace sought,’ and nīr-hūtaka-
kṛpa, or ‘grace unsought,’ which may be compared with the ‘co-operative grace’ and ‘irresistible
grace’ in the western Church.

A man who has adopted the prapattimārga is
called a prāpanna, ‘refugee,’ or ‘suppliant,’ and
he may be either dṛṣṭa, ‘patient,’ or ārtha, ‘im-
patient.’ A patient suppliant is one who lives an
ordinary life, straight in thought, speech, and
deed. An impudent suppliant is one whom prap-
attī has caused to lose the ordinary life and
everything connecting him with this world, and
who, impudent of salvation, beseeches and beseeges
God to bring him to Him. The idea of the teachers of the prapattimārga is that the active concentration upon
and adoration of God demanded by the bhakti-mārga
is a means of salvation that tries the utmost
of strength and capacity of mortals, and is beyond
the power of the human soul to reach it and
therefore it has opened the way of prapatti, which demands merely
unconditional self-surrender, and is accessible to
all, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed.

Although essentially a creed of S. India, the
prapattimārga in later times found its way to
the Ganges Valley in the north, and gave consolation
to many pious souls afflicted by the tragedies that
overwhelmed Hindōstān in the 17th and 18th
centuries (cf. art. CHAKHAN Dāsī). A
And development of the ideas contained in
this doctrine is called ekaṭāyābhikānā, ‘resort to
a teacher or mediator.’ In this a mediator, tangibly
present and accessible, conducts the soul to God,
who is to many beyond the reach of human
endeavour and who has taken upon himself
the burden of the world. With one he reaches
downwards and rescues the proselyte soul from the
world of sin, and with the other he reaches upwards
and presents the soul, purified from earthly taint,
before the throne of the Adorant.

LITERATURE.—A. Gōvindākhyā and G. A. GRIESON, ‘The
Artha-paśivakās’ (texts and tr.), JAS, 1910, p. 605; ‘Teṅgālar and Vaiḍaḷagari’, ib. 1915, p. 171; A. Gōvindākhyā, ‘The
Vaiḍaḷagari and the Teṅgālar, a Study of the Dharma of the two
Provinces between Teṅgālar and Vaḍaḷagari’, ib. 1916, p. 1135.

PRĀRTHĀNA SAMĀJ.—The Prārthāna
Samāj is the Brahmān Samāj (q.v.) of the Bombay
Presidency, but it has noteworthy characteristics of
its own.

Through the final defeat of the Marathas in 1818
the Bombay Presidency, almost to its present
extent, came under direct British rule, and Mount-
stuart Elphinstone was the first governor. Under
settled government things began to improve;
Western education was introduced; with John
William Pinkerton came a fresh system of
methods; and, in consequence, the Indian mind
showed signs of awakening. About 1845 discussions
on religious and social questions began to agitate
both the Hindu and the Parsi communities in
Bombay. The Hindus first of all take the
earliest organization was a secret society, called
the Gupta Sabha, for the discussion of religious
questions. This was followed in 1849 by a larger
secret society, called the Paramahamsa Sabha,
which was meant to advance liberal ideas, both
social and religious, and above all to break down
caste. But in 1860 the matter was made public,
and the society broke up.

Yet liberal ideas were not thereby crushed, and
the movement was quickened by a visit which
Khāsha Chandrasekharji Samāj (see art. BRĀHMA SAMĀJ) paid to Bombay in 1864. Finally, in 1867, the
Prārthāna Samaj (i.e. ‘Prayer Society’) was
organized. There was no man of genius among those
who founded the society, but three strong men,
M. G. Rane (later Justice Ranade) and G. R.
Bhandarkar (now Sir G. G. Bhandarkar), the
well-known scholar. Ranade was the most in-
fuential leader the Samaj has had, and to this
day its teaching and activity bear the impress of his
spirit. The Samaj building was erected in Girgaum, Bombay, in 1874, and since then has been a focal point for Samaj activities in the city. In 1882 another young man, now Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, became a member of the Samaj. Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar, the former in Poona, the latter in Bombay, have been by far the most prominent men in the movement since Ranade's death in 1901. There have been no groups of vigorous missionaries connected with the Samaj such as built up Brähmaism in Bengal, but there have been individual workers who have done faithful service, notably S. P. Kelkar and V. R. Shinde, but nothing like what a round of their names long in the work. There are also a number of cultured laymen whose assistance must be valuable—K. Natarajan, V. A. Subhankar, N. G. Velinker, and others.

There is also a strong Samaj in Ahmadábād in the Gujarāti country, the first leader of which was Bhilālanthi Sarabāhī. Poona, Kīrkē, Kolhāpur, and Satārā, all in the Marāthi-speaking portion of the Presidency, have each a Samaj. Of the twenty-nine theistic societies in the Madras Presidency eighteen bear the name Prarthānā Samaj. The beliefs and teaching of the Samaj are very similar to those of the Saṅkhāra Brāhma Samaj of Calcutta. They are theists and opposed to idolatry, and as an accompaniment of the rejection of the Vedas and the doctrine of transmigration and kārma have been surrendered. While the thought and life of the Samaj are largely fed from Hindu theology and literature—the hymns of Tukārām, Nānādev, and other leaders of the bhakti school of Marāthi-land being much used—the teaching of Christianity, religions, moral, and social, has had quite as much influence as in the Brāhma Samaj. One striking difference, however, has to be noted: in the Saṅkhāra Brāhma Samaj and also in the New Dispensation section vows are taken by every full member whereby he promises to give up both caste and idolatry absolutely, while in the Prarthānā Samaj no such promises are made; and, though the leading members are as strict in these matters as any Brāhma could possibly be, there are others who belong to the Samaj and yet have banished neither idolatry nor caste from their homes. Thus the Bombay society stands nearer Hinduisim and has closer relations with the Brāhma Samaj.

The religious services of the Samaj are very similar to those of the Brāhma Samaj, the language being Marāthi in Bombay, Poona, and the other southern centres, but Gujarāti in Ahmadábād. Passages are read from the Hindu Scriptures, and hymns are sung. There are prayers and a sermon. The literature of the Samaj is partly in English, partly in the vernacular. Sermons and hymn-books are in the vernacular, and have a fair circulation. The literature in English is very scanty. Indeed, the weakness of the Samaj in theology is very notable, and was fully recognized by Ranade. Attempts are being made to produce books to enrich the teaching and the thought of the community, but the results are meagre.

Apart from the regular Sunday services, the religious activities of the Samaj are the Young Theists' Union, the Sunday School, the Postal Mission, and the Sabōdh Patrākha, an Anglo-Marāthi journal. The Students' Brotherhood, a sort of school, and the Y. M. C. A., which belong to several communities, owes much to the Samaj.

A good deal of educational and charitable work is carried on. In Bombay schools are maintained for the education of the Truth bearing children of the poor; the School of the Homeless; women; there is also an Orphanage, with a Foundling Asylum, and Distressed Widows' Refuge, at Pañjuburp.
the Law; they will not re-establish the decayed Church. These saints are named pratyekabuddhas (pracakka-buddhas, rjigs-rab-can-rgyud, private Buddhas). The Kāśyapa natives, unwillingly (senmarga), they desire their own peace (rāj-dr son gnyer, svadāntyarthaka); they rule themselves, not the others; it is themselves they bring to nirvāṇa (ekam dānam dāmenti paramārtapayanti).

1. The name and the nature of a Buddha," says Chandrakīrti, "belongs to three classes of persons, the śrāvakas, the pratyekabuddhas, and the incomparable perfect Buddhas. The name of Buddha is therefore suitable for the Śrāvakas and the pratyekabuddhas. These, owing to their merit, knowledge, and strength, are greater than the śrāvakas. But, as they lack the equipment of merit and knowledge for a long time for the sake of so wicked beings? Accordingly, this pratyekabuddhas made up his mind to obtain nirvāṇa as soon as possible (tathāgata nirvāṇa); he sat at the seat of his contemplation and passed away (the skandhas of the self), and soon realized bodhi, the pratyekabuddhas.

2. Bodhisattva and pratyekabuddha. — All pratyekabuddhas are not śrāvakas who have failed to obtained knowledge (bodhi, arhatship) during the duration of the Church. A bodhisattva may abandon his career of a bodhisattva and become a pratyekabuddha in order to obtain nirvāṇa sooner. As Kāśyapa Kātanāja, says Chandrakīrti, illustrates the leading motive of the pratyekabuddha:

A bodhisattva, being aware of a hideous crime (aṣṭaceto), he felt disgust in beholding these creatures and therefore left the perfect Buddha: "Impurusa are corrupt! Nay, they are very corrupt! Who would have the courage to work so for a long time for the sake of so wicked beings? Accordingly, this pratyekabuddha made up his mind to obtain nirvāṇa as soon as possible (the tathāgata nirvāṇa); he sat at the seat of his contemplation and passed away (the skandhas of the self), and soon realized bodhi, the pratyekabuddha.

The pratyekabuddha, when he enters the śrāvaka class, acquires the merit by giving to such a 'holy vessel' as a pratyekabuddha. Some pratyekabuddhas are known to display miraculous powers—a poor substitute for the Word, but a proof of their altruism.

3. Why pratyekabuddhas do not preach. — The pratyekabuddha possesses the bodhi, or the knowledge necessary to nirvāṇa, but he is not a perfect Buddha; he lacks omniscience, omnipotence, supreme compassion; and the reason is clear enough. There is an arhat who has worked hard, has had to work very hard, in an egotistical way (svakārttham), to compensate for the want of actual teaching; he has not followed the practice of the bodhisattva which assumes high compassion and creates omniscience and omnifactivity. But why does he not preach as śrāvakas, as even ordinary monks and laymen do? For he has both compassion and learning. The reason of his silence, of his incapacity for preaching and even speaking, is to be found in the special nature of his training. The pratyekabuddhas have led a lonely life for centuries, as 'solitary contemplative philosophers,' as 'hermits' (Kern); they have not met with laymen, monks, or other pratyekabuddhas; they have had neither teacher nor spiritual friends (kānyā-kamitra).

They have been living 'like a chinoeros' (bhagdadvāgkārtaka). The natural consequence of this solitary life, of this excessive distaste for 'human contact' (ānasārgya) in order to avoid 'attachment' (sāmśa), is that they are unable to preach the truth that they have discovered.

4. Sāsra and pratyekabuddhas. — There is little doubt that this theory of the pratyekabuddha, the hermit saint, arises from actual fact. The pratyekabuddhas are the old ideal of a solitary ascetic life—an ideal, that was flourishing before Śākyamuni came. Śākyamuni did not favour it; he, indeed, condemned the vow of silence, and did his best to encourage spiritual exercises in common —preaching, meditating, and doing good of many kinds. But he was shrewd enough to leave some scope to the more ascetic tendencies of his countrymen. Accordingly, after they had undergone some training (novitiate), monks were allowed to 'live in the forests, like the birds of prey.'

Hermits are supposed to have great magical power, and to be angry when troubled in their contemplations; the same is true of the pratyekabuddhas, and there are some legends to this effect.

5. The vehicle of the pratyekabuddha. — Owing to their asceticities and long meditations, the pratyekabuddhas are superior to the ordinary śrāvakas in power and in science. But do they acquire bodhi by the śrāvaka method? Both Mahāyānakumāras and Vījñānavādins state that the śrāvakas and the pratyekabuddhas are 'conveyed' to bodhi by the same vehicle.

The path of the pratyekabuddha is of the same nature (tuṣā-jātigatvam) as the path of the śrāvaka. The difference is that in their last birth, owing to their former exercise, they realize without a master the 'seven qualities' (śloka-dharmatā), the abandonment of all vices (bodhisattvabhānavā, i. v. 6; Munson, new ser., xiv. [901] 165). The Tibetans, following the Bouddhas, consider that in the śrāvakas and the pratyekabuddhas dependant origination. By hearing it, pondering over it, meditating on it, the śrāvakas and the other saints will obtain, according to their intentions, the perfection of their own state. But some of them (the pratyekabuddhas) do not obtain nirvāṇa in this life; they therefore will obtain it, without further exertion, in another life (Madhyamakācāra, p. 2; Munson, new ser., viii. 232; Chandrakīrti quotes Āryadeva, Sāktikāryavatāra, and Nagārjuna, Maitreya-yamānaka, xvii. 12).

On the other hand, Tibetan and Chinese authorities maintain that, while the śrāvakas meditate on the Four Truths (chatutārayaśaya), the pratyekabuddhas obtain their bodhi by meditating on 'dependent origination' (pratītya-upapādate). The Tibetan equivalents are 'who meditates on pratītya (vten bhcā bsam), on the 'understanding only the causes' (rkyun go gyste go bskyal). We are told that the proper way of such meditation is to look at the birth and decay of the leaves.

The present writer believes that this distinction is purely scholastic. Dependent origination is only the commentary of the Second Truth.

6. Mahāyāna criticism. — According to the Sāṅgāyana-saṁcāra (p. 44, and passim), there is not a śrāvaka-vehicle or a pratyekabuddha-vehicle. Śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas do not reach bodhi or nirvāṇa. They have to become bodhisattvas in order to enter into the Great Vehicle, which is the only vehicle.

The Prajñāpāramitā, on the contrary, maintains that it is not necessary to become a bodhisattva in order to reach bodhi. There is a śrāvaka-vehicle, a pratyekabuddha-vehicle (see Sūtra-sūtra, p. 86), etc. But one cannot avoid the question (p. 79).

It seems that the Valabhiṣṭas agree, the pratyekabuddhas 'who are living together (vargacārya); Kṣetra (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 62, n. 1) compares yogasiddhi in the Sattvikās with the śrāvakas.


9. See also the srātra quoted, Sākṣātmakāvatā, p. 97.
become a *bṛāvoka* and *pratyeka* by the mere understanding of the Four Truths or of dependent origination. Understanding of voidness (*śūnyatā*) is necessary.  

7. Technical details.—Many technical details are to be found in the Abhidharma and Vijnānava·da books, but the topic of the last incarnation of a future *pratyeka*.

The *chakravartin* (sovereign king) is conscious when descending into the maternal womb; then he becomes unconscious and is born unconscious. Although *pratyeka* remains conscious in the womb. The *bodhiśattva* at his last birth is conscious.


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**PRAYER (Introductory and Primitive).** — I. Origin and development.—In its simplest and most primitive form prayer is the expression of a desire, cast in the form of a request, in order to influence some force or power conceived as supernatural. Apart from the modern usage of the term, which connotes spiritual communion, it is usually understood to imply reverent address. It must be bessed, however, that in the primitive mind reverence is usually obscured by fear—all spirits, whether good or bad, are regarded as dangerous—while the idea of entreaty, though the ostensibly influence in determining the form, is largely coloured by a desire to compel or command. Genetically, prayer is related to the spell or charm; and it is frequently a matter of difficulty to determine whether a particular formula should be assigned to one category or to another. Although the form of the address may be of assistance—some writers have endeavoured to distinguish between spell and prayer by assigning to the latter those formulae which contain a vocative (see W. H. R. Rivers, *The Toda*, London, 1906, p. 272)—in the rudimentary forms the underlying psychological elements are hardly distinguishable. In performing a magical act the performer often supplements the mimetic action by indicating in a phrase or two what it is that he wishes to be done.

The Australian black-fellow who works magic against his enemy by pointing and stabbing with his spear says, 'Strike! kill!' to his simple command, 'Magic'. In another and more complex example the Maida medicine-man inflicts disease on the neighbouring villages by burning certain roots and blowing smoke towards them saying, 'Over there! Over there! Not here! To the other place! Do not come back this way. We are good. Make these people sick. Kill them; they are bad people!' (R. B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidas*, *Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, xvii. pl. 3 [1906] 238 f.). In form this is a direct command, but in spirit it differs hardly, if at all, from magical incantation.

A familiar process of magic is to work evil against an enemy by performing a ceremony over some part of the body, such as hair or a piece of nail, or some object which has been in intimate contact with the body, such as earth impressed with a footprint. The ceremony is accomplished as a rule by some formula.  

drying up, seems to be passing, if it has not already done so into the category of prayer.

The offering is made by the descendant of an inhabitant of the country, who, however, does not perform the full sacramental rite, which consists in placing part of the offerings in the temple, and then spitting it out, but merely spits without having placed anything in his mouth, and says, 'Let fish abound! Let them not be too much! Let there be enough of them to each and every one!'

Notwithstanding the form of the address and the circular nature of the offering, which give it a magical turn, the stress laid upon the ancestral connexion seems to indicate a more definite direction of the supplication than would be expected in an endeavour to compel a successful issue by magic alone. The offering of the type of the 'bambu' (M. Neunhâtel, 1912-13, ii. 70). Among the Veddâs of Ceylon many of the invocations which form a part of the ceremonial dances by which the favour of the spirits is secured are Sinhâlese charms which are meaningless to them and which are mere words of power. They appear clearly in the following instance of an invocation to the nāy gabu, the spirits of the dead:

'O father who went to that world, come to this world. Come quickly, O child of the 'bambu' from the spotted deer. Take this betel leaf. Come very quick. Come quickly. My mother wants to embrace you, you beast, you betel leaf. Take the betel leaf. To place the 'bambu', to place the spotted deer, come very quickly.' (G. C. and B. Z. Seligmann, The Veddâs, Cambridge, 1901, p. 377.)

Notwithstanding the change in mental attitude involved by the transition from spell to prayer, there is always a tendency for the latter to retain or to revert to the character of the former. The primitive mind clings firmly to the idea of control over power which is involved by the use of names or formula. Among the Todas, with whom ritual has almost overwhelmed religion, prayers are divided into two portions, of which the petition or prayer proper forms the second. The first part consists almost entirely of names known as kwârzam; it is made up of a number of clauses, each consisting of the name of an object of reverence followed by idth, 'for the sake of.' Much care is taken that this part of the prayer should not be omitted. It is evident in the following instance: It has been conjectured that the kwârzam was originally a form of supplication to the gods with which other words have come to be included. The objects of reverence named are of various kinds, including the names of gods, buffalo-cows, villages, dairies, and parts thereof. As in other cases—e.g., the Veddâ prayers, for which there is a special vocabulary—these things are referred to not by their ordinary names, but by special names (Rivers, pp. 216, 220). This formalisation of prayer which assimilates itself to a spell can be paralleled from the Avesta, in which the conception of the magical power of prayer is such that the mere repetition of the words, if correct, is sufficient for efficacy, and it is commanded that they should be repeated as a sort of preservation at fixed hours of the day (W. Geiger, Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times, Eng. tr., London, 1885-86, i. 71)—a use of 'vain repetition as the heathen do' which finds expression in an extreme assent into employment of the Buddhist prayer-wheel (q.v.).

2. Occasions on which prayer is offered.—It follows from the close genetic relationship between spell, or charm, and prayer that the latter, when first identified as such, is characterised by compulsion and to take on the character of an appeal for assistance, is employed interminably only.

It is said of the Baganda that, when everything goes smoothly and the family is in good health, a man does not trouble to pray or make offerings, but does so only in times of danger or sickness. He is then in the habit of offering sacrifices to the dead and praying was addressed to a stranger ghost to secure its assistance in case of sickness, or even if he were unwell, when he exhibited his power; Nagawanyi received offerings when the women desired children (J. Roscoe, The Baganda, London, 1896, ii. 373). It was customary for a man to give to his totem when he was in danger; e.g., a man who capitated at sea called on the shark-god, and a shark appeared and tossed him ashore. (See also the Fiji Islanders, J. E. T. Cunningham,primitive and religion, p. 46.)

Illness, when recognized as caused by a spirit, was another occasion which called for prayer, either to the spirit responsible, or to a spirit which possessed the power to heal.

Another occasion was the engraving of the dagong (medicine-man or -woman), before starting on the soul-hunt, is essentially a prayer for assistance addressed to Laki Temanam babu, and to his ancestors, to his totem, and to the general Fijian spirit. (Thomson, p. 357.)

Drought is a frequent occasion—especially in Africa—for prayer in connexion with rain-making ceremonies, as, e.g., among the Nyangâ and N'goni tribes, when the chief at the head of the whole community offers up prayer, accompanied by a professional priest and his predecessors and ancestors. Every village has its prayer-tree, usually a fig, standing in the open space, under which sacrifices are offered (A. Werner, Nations of British Central Africa, London, 1906, pp. 51, 53, 60).

A remarkable development of the theory of divine punishment which bears upon the efficacy of prayer as a remedial measure in case of drought is recorded among the Torajâs of Central Celebes.

The religious belief in cases of infestation is marked by torrential falls of rain. In cases of prolonged drought they simulate incest among their animals. A cock and a sow are killed laid side by side in an intimate embrace. The headman then prays, '0 gods above and gods below, if you have pity on us, and will that this year give rain, well we have here buried a cock and a sow in an intimate embrace, I.e., show your displeasure by sending storms,' etc. (J. Roscoe, p. 329; Junod, ii. 369.)

Although it cannot be said that among the more primitive races, with certain exceptions, there is any conception of prayer as anything more than a call in the hour of need and as occasion arises, there is an approximation to the idea of an organized ritual in the constant but irregularly recurring crises in which it is thought desirable to petition the spirits or deities for benefit or protection.

One of these is death or burial—a time when evil influences are most potent and are brought more intimately into touch with demons, both in the immediate household and at a distance. It relates the story of the first man and woman after the flood. Cambahan taught them how to bury the dead, and he should make prayers and offerings so that you may not be affected by any kind of disease ('A. Robertson, The Philippines, pt. i, The Mindanao Island, p. 279.) Philippine Pagan at the Philippines, pt. i, in the Asmat, p. 259.)

Among the Buguns a burial, a ceremony of which the traditional solemnity is indicated by the fact that the body is dug up and the deceased is specially addressed by the chief. The interment is one of the important occasions in the family ceremonial in which prayer was offered. Another way of appeasing the gods is to give children to the union. When a man departed on a journey, the medicine-man prepared a spell to protect the prayer (Roscoe, p. 329; Junod, ii. 369.) In the Philippines the native tribes spend a great part of their time in collecting animals with which they should make festival and secure their favour. They precede every action of any importance, such as the first bottling of a wine, the killing of a beast, the growing of crops, and, in particular, are part of the treatment of disease. In a feast preceding a journey to
It must be admitted, however, that these cases are exceptional and that, generally speaking, prayer is a refuge in time of crisis for purposes of protection or propitiation. The primitive attitude to prayer is of its eran & a form of intercourse with that which is deemed by the Solomon Islands belief that prayer is not available for all and sundry, but, to be acceptable to the power, ghost, or spirit addressed, it should be in a regular formal words known only to the person who is thought to be able to answer it. "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," London, 1914, p. 73). The belief is not universally held in the Solomon Islands—natural calls for help are made in time of danger or distress—but in so far as it is held it provides a kind of witchcraft with the esoteric magic of the medicine-man, from which the ordinary individual is debarr'd.

3. Powers to whom prayer is addressed.—It would be impossible to give here a complete account of the powers, spirits, deities, whatever they may be called, to whom prayers are addressed. It will be sufficient to indicate briefly the general principles upon which the primitive minds works in turning to higher powers for assistance. Prayer has been defined as the address of personal spirit to personal god, or as "acts of the prayerer..." (R. Grant White, 1907); however, at any rate in regard to the lower culture, by specifying terms of personality, appears to apply too precise a conception to what is in all probability a somewhat vague attitude of mind. There are, however, some cases in which the Australian black-fellow's phrase, 'Sticked Kill!' is perfectly definite in its intention of producing a result by setting certain forces into operation, but the attention is focused on power rather than personality, whether that of the speaker or that of some external divinity. Prayer, in fact, develops through the conception of powers, or, as some would prefer to call it, the Melanesian term, mana, rather than by an increasingly precise attribution of personality to the supernatural, a factor which comes into prominence only at a later stage. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the view that baser prayer on the analogy of human intercourse; for, while the form of spell and prayer may well be modelled on communal and entreaty, the idea of the relative strength of these powers at the command of different individuals is perfectly familiar to primitive experience. The regular method of combating magic is to control a stronger magic.

The Creeks, for example, determine their superiority, and among the Shuswup, if two shamans with equally powerful spirits tried to bewitch one another, both died, one dying more swiftly after his defeat. In the "Ticked Town," Mann, Amer. Anthropol. Assoc. B. (1909) 74; J. Toiles, "The Shuswup," Journ. N. Pacific Exped. B. 7 (1909), p. 625.

Failure to compel by magical ceremony a power adequate to the purpose would lead naturally to an attempt to secure the services of greater powers either through the expert—the medicine-man—or by propitiation and entreaty. In Uganda, when a ghost troubles a family, prayers and offerings are made to a stronger ghost to secure its assistance (Roscoe, p. 256).

The extent to which such powers are attributed to the higher gods varies from tribe to tribe, and the ordinary man to a person endowed with these powers differ in degree and not in kind from the relation to the supernormal spirit world. This in some cases leads to a form of address which to all intents and purposes is a prayer.

It is recorded that the natives of Brazil, when they went to meet the medicine-man, prostrated themselves on the ground and paid him the utmost respect, and that to the ordinary man to a person endowed with these powers differ in degree and not in kind from the relation to the supernormal spirit world. This in some cases leads to a form of address which to all intents and purposes is a prayer.

It must not be assumed that all objects of veneration, or of fear and awe, are addressed in prayer. Indeed, some primitive races who recognize the existence of spirits it is not recorded that they made any use of prayer. Further, when
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in the lower forms of religion the existence of a supreme spirit is recognized, this spirit is usually looked upon as a personal entity, the praying of any decease person, with the exception of wizards and witches, is regarded as an object of homage. In the prayers for the community on each occasion of public prayer the petition is given for his immediate predecessor as the representative of all who have lived in the village in past times and the whole line of his ancestors and the individual may approach his dead relatives in the same way on his own behalf (Werner, p. 49). In the prayers the reference is made to the ancestors in general, with the exception of the gods (Robertson, loc. cit.). The fiathongs, as has been mentioned above, pray to their ancestors. The medicine-man, who represents the natural and moral aspect of the human being, was asked, or may call his own father, asking him to bring his generations, his ancestors, to manifestations of power in the manner of the ancestors. This, he says, is the real thing. Among the peoples, their spirit mediums are the representatives of the gods, and they are treated as such. The supreme god, or the sky-god, the river, the dead, the mountain, the river, etc. are the representatives of the supreme spirit, and the prayers are transmitted to them by the souls of domestic pigs and fowls. One of these animals is killed and charged to carry the message to the gods. Also a fire is always at hand, the ascending smoke of which seems to establish communication between the gods and the soul of the animal. If the animal has been killed by the priest, it is also included as a deified chief, and is also invoked for his intercession by Lani Tenganang (Hose and McDonnell, ii. 613). On the other hand, the Masai group (using the term in the extended sense to cover all the peoples—Suk, Nandi, etc.—of related culture in N. E. Africa), in a normal position in the matter of power, has already been noted, frequently pray to the supreme deity, the sky-god, e.g., the Masai women after childbirth pray for children to the God who will give them safe birth and men pray for rain to the 'black god,' i.e. the god of the rain-cloud. This god is Engal, 'who is prayed to and hears' (Hollis, Masai, p. 150). Among the Ogiek, the supreme deity whose prayer is addressed daily in Wak; among the Nandi Asia, the women pray to 'the Supreme God.' Each individual is interested in the details of their daily life, and at such events as, e.g. the building of a house prayer is offered. The potter, when beginning the manufacture of a pot, gives it to the gods high, let us bake them so that men may like them.' It is interesting to note, however, that the medicine-men, who are Masai, pray to their ancestors and regard them as the 'black god' (Hollis, Masai, p. 150). Also, the gods and spirits summoned to the harvest feast of the Hugos are the earth- and sky-gods, while the conception which unites the Crocodyl to the thunder-spirit at sowing time and the thanksgiving at harvest is evidently an analogous spirit of the phenomena of nature.

Natural objects, or rather the inwelling spirits, are not infrequently addressed in prayer.

When a Masai sees a new moon, he throws a twig or stone at it, saying, 'Give me long life,' or 'Give me strength,' and a pregnant woman will make an offering of milk and say, 'Moon, give me my child safely' (Hollis, Masai, p. 274). The Nandi also pray to the new moon (Hollis, Nandi, loc. cit.). In the Kilisal, when the warriors have gone on an expedition the women bring baskets containing stones and fruit, which they hand to the God-king, after which, Leed, manti, Moon, let the bullets rebound from our husbands, brothers, betrothed and other relations just as the raindrops rebound from the walls, the stones are smeared with blood (M. Fleet, 'Ethnog. Beschri. der Kilisal,' Fijl. van het Ned. Aard. Genootsch., 7, 1896). The Crocodyl is supreme on the earth, and is offered a few coffee-beans and after, asking the spirit for a safe passage, throw them into the water (Roscoe, I.iii. 318).

The magical element in prayer requires that the powers addressed should be adequate to carry out the request of the petitioner.

The Hugos of the township of Cuyan in cases of sickness address the potter, who makes an offering and prays to the gods; if the prayer has been offered to the right adjust, the patient recovers; but, if not, another priestess is summoned and a fresh offering is made to another adjust, and so on until the right one is found.

This principle is still more clearly indicated when departmental spirits and deities are recognized.

In Uganda, e.g., there are four principal classes of objects of veneration; the fetishes which, though ceded in many cases, possess ghosts and hear and answer supplications; many species of animals are the protectors of the king and State; ghosts; and amulets. Appeals are addressed to the high gods on special occasions. To Mukasa, the great god, the king sometimes addresses when a great calamity is about to befall the prosperity of the crops; Mufu, the father of Mukasa, was responsible for earthquakes, and, when an earthquake occurred, the people took the board and offered the 'right adjust' for the prosperity of the crops. Malwa, the father of Mukasa, was responsible for the protection of the crops, and was moistened with the god's name, and was the object of the fowls. A representative of the other gods when rain was required, and so on (Roscoe, pp. 275, 318, 318).

The reverence for the ghost which forms part of the African religion is one phase of the cult of the dead, and which varies in its development among primitive peoples. The offerings made to the dead either to secure their influence or to ward off any harm that they might do are usually accompanied by some form of address.

In Cayan (Sabo), to any deceased person, with the exception of wizards and witches, is regarded as an object of homage. In the prayers for the community on each occasion of public prayer the petition is given for his immediate predecessor as the representative of all who have lived in the village in past times and the whole line of his ancestors and the individual may approach his dead relatives in the same way on his own behalf (Werner, p. 49). In the prayers the reference is made to the ancestors in general, with the exception of the spirits (Robertson, loc. cit.).
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annualy to secure prosperity of the crops (Roscoe, pp. 292, 294). In this instance, although the offices of king and priest are performed by the same person, there is a distinct division of labour between the king and national religion and prosperity.

On the other hand, the duty of acting as the representative of the community may fall entirely on the medicine-man.

In the ceremonial dances of the Veddas the leader who utters the invocation and takes the chief part is invariably a shaman (Schlegman, loc. cit.), and in the dristrel ceremonies of the entheocratic priests, he always speaks to the gods, while the membership of the community stand round in a circle. In Toda ritual, although the individual may pray for his private ends, the prayer upon which the prosperity of the tribe, the daily matter of tribal concern, depends are part of the duties of the priest. The God of the American, viz. their deity, is not absent. The position of a father or head of a family is analogous.

Among the Bathgans in all ceremonies connected with the family on which prayers are offered is this duty of the father (Jansen, i. 362).

5. Conclusion. In the preceding analysis of prayer in its development from the spell to an invocation addressed to high gods or to the supreme deity there is an invariable contrast in which it is apparent: (a) the conception of the higher religions, viz. that prayer is an entering into communion with the deity; the benefit for which petition is made is material and not spiritual, and the ethical note is almost entirely absent; (b) the prayer of the Rau-man and prayer to the spirits of disease have a tribal rather than an ethical significance. In fact, in the lower culture there is expressed neither a desire for moral goodness nor a recognition of the goodness for which the spirit of the higher cultures, and on the other hand, an Aztec prayer for the ruler recognizes the ethical principle in the words:

"Make him, Lord, as your true image, and permit him not to be deceived and baffled in your presence, and for safe, Lord, that he may calmly and carefully rule and goverm whom he has in charge" (Sisagun, quoted in PO, i. 373).


E. N. FAILLA E.

PRAYER (American). — Any ritual observance designed to bring man into nearer relation with the unseen powers of nature is prayer. In this broad definition, the prayer is not mere oration or chanted word, but also dramatic and symbolic ceremonies, and above all, for the American Indian, the 'dances' in which most of his cult centre. Such ritual prayer has elsewhere been described and illustrated. COMMUN. AMER. [American], MuSt. [American], _SECRET SOCIETIES_ [American].

But, in a narrower and perhaps finer sense, prayer signifies a personal and intimate expression, non-ritualistic in spirit and commonly in form. The degree in which the native American could possess and conceivably prize such expression may appropriately be indicated here.

Half magical spell, half articulation of desperate need, are the crude utterances of the Montagnais who, according to J. A. De Jody:

"Their religion, or rather their superstition, consists besides in praying; but, O mon Dieu! what prayers they make! In the morning, when the little children come out from their cabins, they shout, 'Ave Maria'; Fortuné, carrying corn; come, Elias, and this is all of their prayers" (R. G. Thwaites, _Jesuit Relations_, Cleveland, 1888--1901, vi. [Quèbec, 1623--28], 299).

Three centuries later another Jesuit says of the Kansas Indians—a thousand miles away:

"The religious sentiment is deeply implanted in their souls. . . . They never take the cabinet, without first rending some petitions to the Great Spirit. In the midst of their infatute passions they address to him certain prayers, and even in their most secret reverence and anxieties, as when a child, old or young, is sick, they pray in the Master of Life. To be enabled to take many a sop from their enemies, or to rob them of many horses, becomes the object of their most fervent prayers, to which they attribute the innumerous and sacrifices and slays. What did they not do last spring, to render the heavens propitious? And for what? To obtain the power, in the absence of their warriors, to massacre all the women and children of the Pawnees!" (Iife, _Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, 4 vols., New York, 1856, 1. 524).

Yet do Smet could find in these people 'natural Christians':

"When we showed them an 'Ecce Homo' and a statue of our Lady of the Rosary, they were indignant. This is the illustration of the beautiful thought of Tertullian, that the soul of man is naturally Christian." (ib. 1856, 1. 526).

So Ragon, in his story of the Hurons (1647--48):

"Though they were barbarians, there remained in their hearts a secret idea of the Divinity and of a first Principle, the author of all things, which they called God. The Hurons were the most simple converts. . . .

When in danger of shipwreck, they name him Aléenskou anu toonatuculihni, or the good spirit; but when amidst their battles, they give him the name of Omontoutacé and believe that he alone awards the victory. Very frequently, they address themselves to the Sky, paying it honor; and they call upon the Sun to be witness of their courage, of their misery, or of their innocence. But above all, in the treaties of peace and alliance with foreign nations they invoke, as witnesses of their sincerity, the Sun and the Sky, which see into the depths of their hearts, and will wreak vengeance on the treachery of those who betray their trust and do not keep their word. So true is what Tertullian said of the most infidel nations, that nature in the midst of perils makes them speak with a Christian voice,—excellent word naturaliter Christi- manus,—and have recourse to a God who is known without knowing the name Deo" (Thwaites, xxxi. [Lower Canada, Aenakia, 1650--51], 225).

Perhaps more impartial and certainly not less sympathetic accounts of the Indian's attitude towards prayer may be found from modern students; and among these none is more illuminating than Alice C. Fletcher's account of the initiation of the Omaha youth to the spiritual life:

"The rites (to know how to address) of the name Fonzihzesun. The literal meaning of the word is 'to stand sleeping'; it here implies that during the rite the person stands as if oblivious of the outward and visible things and in this state within himself, his own mind.' The rite takes place at puberty, when the mind of the child is tenderest. When the first vision of his conscious individual life, is 'old enough to know sorrow,' it was considered that through prayer and supplication Nominata, or the spirit in personal relations with the mysterious power that permeates and controls all nature as well as his own existence.' The history of the rite is given in a legend. 'The people felt themselves weak and poor. Then the old men gathered together and said: "Let us make our children cry to Wakonda that he may give us strength." So all the parents took their children who were old enough to pray in earnest, put soft clay on their faces, and sent them forth to lonely places. The old men said to the youths: 'You shall go forth to cry to Wakonda. When on the hills you shall not ask for any particular thing. The answer may be 'yes' or 'no'. You shall show that answer in your dance. That may Wakonda give.' Four days upon the hills shall the youth pray, crying. When they stop, they wash the tears off their faces and lift their wet hands to the sky, then lay them to the earth. This was the people's first appeal to Wakonda. The youth could repent this rite from time to time until he came to marry; then, unless he were a priest, he gave it up. The Omaha recognized other powers besides Wakonda, as the Earth, the Sky, the Sun, the Moon, but personal prayers were addressed directly to this higher power, penetrating them all. "A man would take a pipe and go alone to the hills; there he would silently offer smoke and utter the call, Wakonda ho, while the moving cause, the purport of his prayer, would remain unexpressed in words. . . . Women did not use the pipe when praying. Their prayers were made directly, without any intermediary" (ib. p. 699).

From the illustrations given (and they are only fugitive examples from wide materials) it is obvious that the American Indian was direct in his address of prayer, his tones and pleads addressed to the lesser, the environmental, powers of nature, expressed in a magical or hortatory mood; and 2 true spiritual supplications directed to a power variously interpreted as the Master of Life, or the Heavenly Father. 'Father' is a frequent epithet in their invocations.

J. Mooney says of the Arapaho _niqa or aniya_ that it 'is a term of reverential affection, about equivalent to our "father"—the Lord's prayer the ordinary word for "father" in English is quite different' (14 _BIBL_ [1896], pt. ii. p. 966). Again it is
Mooney who says of one of the most pathetic of the Arapaho prayers—sung to a plaintive tune, sometimes with tears rolling down the cheeks—"that it may be considered the Indian paraphrase of the Lord's prayer."

I am weeping from hunger:
There is nothing here to satisfy me. (p. 977).

LITERATURE.—See under artt. referred to.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

PRAYER (Babylonian).—Prayer is a common Sumerian Babylonian religion was almost exclusively confined to the private cults, or services for individuals, and the types of prayer which these peoples evolved may be classified in two distinct groups. These two types of prayer designed for the rituals of atonement for individuals are distinguished by their origin and usage. (1) The public liturgies tended to develop a liturgical type of prayer as the last melody or recessional of the song service, and these final passages of the liturgies were adapted for private penitence. Prayers of this type are always liturgical in character, metrical in form, and disconnected with every form of magic. (2) On the other hand, a type of prayer was evolved in connexion with the magic rituals of atonement, and was a part of those mysteries and involved rituals. They are free from liturgical formality and usually inspired with great individuality and spiritual sentiment. Inasmuch as the liturgical type of private prayer was the direct offspring of the public liturgies, we shall introduce their discussion by describing the forms of public prayers which ended the Babylonian liturgies.

1. The recessional of the public liturgies.—When the Sumerian liturgists of the 24th to the 21st centuries B.C. finally succeeded in the compilation and intricate public services, they introduced a new musical and liturgical motive to end the service. These epilogues or recessional differ both in literary composition and in musical accomplishment from the various passages which compose the main body of the service. They were known as er-sem-ma to the Sumerian liturgists, i.e. 'a song sung to the flute.' The choir appears to have been accompanied through the many choral passages of these public services by the singing and cymbals, and the final passage the instruments were changed to the flute for the prayer of intercession. In the ancient liturgies as well as in the main body of the completed products of the Isin period the element of prayer or intercession was not prominent. But these long and intricate services of the Isin period were completed by attaching the intercessions at the end, for the need of prayer expressed itself increasingly upon the religious consciousness of mankind. These intercessions were at first of a purely public character and in harmony with the communal nature of the whole liturgy. The following extracts from the recessional prayer at the end of an Enlil liturgy will serve as an example of these public intercessions at the origin of their utterance.

Oh heart repent, repent; oh heart repent, repent. (p. 121).
Oh heart of Anu repent, repent. (p. 121).
Oh heart of the lord repent, repent. (p. 121).
Oh heart of the lord repent, repent. (p. 121).

Thy city Nippur be rebuilt. (p. 122).
Thy temple Ekur in Nippur be rebuilt. (p. 122).

May one utter petition unto thee. May one utter intercession unto thee. May thy head be reconciled, oh hero! (p. 122).

These Sumerian public services were employed without an interlinear translation by the Semites before 2000 B.C., but at some unknown point in the middle period of the history of Babylonia and Assyria the Semitic liturgists edited these texts with a Semitic version. They continued, however, to the very end of Babylonian civilization, as late as the last century before our era, to conduct the liturgies in Sumerian.

2. Rise of the penitential prayers.—Gradually the intercessions of these public services became more individualistic in thought and expression. In due time arose the beautiful responsive intercessions at the end of the liturgies, where the people and choir no longer voice the appeal of the city and nation, but represent themselves as penitents pleading for mercy before the deity to whom they had sung a long series of litanies. With the intercessional er-sem-ma of the Sumerian liturgy, quoted above, compare the following epilogue said at the end of a late liturgy to Marduk:

Priest:
Oh lord, not wilt thou reject me, not, oh lord, wilt thou reject me.
Oh lord, divine rain of heaven and earth, not wilt thou reject me.
Oh lord Marduk, not wilt thou reject me.

Choir:
One prayer am I, thou wilt not reject me.
One of intercession am I, thou wilt not reject me.
I am a father who has begotten I am, thou wilt not reject me.
I am one who repose, thou wilt not reject me.
I am a father that renders petition am I, thou wilt not reject me.
One of prayer am I, thou wilt not reject me.
One of intercession am I, thou wilt not reject me.

Priest:
May thy heart repose, I will say to thee. (p. 122).
May thy heart repose, I will say to thee. (p. 122).
May thy heart repose, I will say to thee. (p. 122).

Thy heart like the heart of a child-bearing mother may repose, it be.
As a child-bearing mother, as a begetting father, to its place may it return. (p. 122).

We have here a fully developed penitential prayer of the liturgical type, the new element of responses between priest and choir being introduced. The influence of the private confessional is obvious, and the prayer employed in the service of the confessional. So arose under the influence of the public recessional the prayers of private penance said in secret with a priest in the seclusion of the temple cloisters and chapels. These prayers were said in Sumerian, but are always provided with an interlinear translation for the more important lines. They were apparently unknown to the Sumerians; the pure Sumerian prayers of that type were probably composed by Semites. They are the direct offspring of the er-sem-ma, but, when employed for private penance, they were known as er-sag-tug-mal, weeping that appeases the heart. (p. 122).

3. The er-sag-tug-mal. It is obvious that prayers of such formal character, said in the sacred language not understood by laymen and requiring invocation, could not become popular. The ordinary

Taken from the epilogue of the liturgy to Enlil in II. Zhang, p. 116. (p. 122).
The presentation of this type is still unknown. Reisner has suggested tarkhuti b annotati, and this has been adopted by Jensen, but the evidence is not satisfactory.

This identification is based upon a comparison of Z. Bab. 117, no. 20, with line 14, er-sarg-tug-mal, and rev. 19, er-sag-tug-mal. (p. 118).
Babylonian and Assyrian preferred the services of the magic cults, where he said his prayers in Semitic. Consequently few of the liturgical prayers which have been found, whereas a large and increasing number of Semitic prayers of the secret cults are known. Only educated and distinguished laymen employed the liturgical prayers. They are mentioned in connexion with a ritual for the king, where they are intercalated in the service of a magic ritual along with the prayers "of the lifting of the hand," which were always accompanied by sacramental ceremonies. We possess many rituals of this kind both for kings and for private persons. A liturgical employment of hymns and liturgical prayers to appease the gods.

Only ten penitential prayers of this kind are known. They may be readily detected by two easy tests even when the literary note is broken from the tablet. When such a prayer is the libation of prayer, an er-sag-tug-mal must be written in Sumerian with interlinear Semitic version and be composed in liturgical style. The penitential psalms are:

(a) On a neo-Babylonian tablet in Berlin—one psalm to the god Sakkut and one to Marduk. The psalm to Sakkut is responsive, but that to Marduk is sung for the penitent by the priest.
(b) A long psalm to 'any god' and the best example of a deep sense of religious contrition for moral sin; sung throughout by the penitent.
(c) Psalm to Ajsr, consort of the sun-god at Sippa; a fine responsive composition which imitates the public intercessions closely.
(d) Psalm to Inini-Ishar in the same style as (b), but sung throughout by the penitent.

Fragment of a beautiful responsive psalm:
"He weeps and cannot restrain his tears. My deceitful heart will speak of my unseemly deeds. My words I will repress, my wordless image. Yes, oh my god, of my deeds I will speak, my needs not to be told."

Fragment of a psalm similar to (c),

1 See below.

2 This ritual for the atonement of a king will be found in v. 256-260.


4 Text in v. 252, cols. 20-25, p. 526.

5 Text in v. 251, cols. 20, p. 526.

6 Text in v. 252, cols. 20-25, p. 526.

7 Text in v. 251, cols. 20-25, p. 526.

8 Text in v. 252, cols. 20-25, p. 526.

9 Text in v. 251, cols. 20-25, p. 526.

10 Text in v. 251, cols. 20-25, p. 526.


Naturally a composition of that kind was bound to extend to a great length. The best example is the acrostic published by Zimmerli and Craig. The text is badly damaged and only a few words of the acrostic can be read: a-na-ku ... wa-bi-ibmat. Published by Pinches which is obviously a royal prayer. Only one word of the acrostic can be read, viz. zi-ki-ri-su, 'his name.' The best example of an acrostic in sections of four lines is a fragment of which only three sections are preserved. The lines begin end and did not imitate the syllable.

1 He whom thou hast seized
Not shall be lifted up (his head)
Among the gods,
The establishment (the foundation)
Looks unto thee.

2 He that is entangled in pit
May thy good wind blow
I have cried unto thee, Oh Nebuchadnezzar
I am fallen among men,
I am undone like magician
I cry aloud to the gods,
The king whom he puts his
Trust on thee.
Thou hast established the faith of thy king.
Thou hast established and the foundation thereof.
Thou givest goodness
And puttest far away sin.
The stone wall of the wicked
Thou turnest away.

6. Prayers of dedication. Closest allied to these uncanonical prayers and, like them, written for special occasions are the numerous prayers connected with dedications. The historical inscriptions of the Semitic rulers are usually written upon objects of art dedicated to a deity. At the end stands invariably the personal petition of the king. E.g., the deeds of Lugalzaggisi, king of Erech, are written upon a vase dedicated to Enil in the temple of Nippur and with a prayer in prose. May Enil, king of the lands to Ann his beloved father, repeat my prayer and to my life, add. May he cause the life of the god to abide in peace. A. The dedications of the sages, patrel of Lagash, dedicated to the godess Ninharsag to commemorate the building of her temple, ends with a prayer, the writer who in heaven, with his heart devoted to Nintu mother of the gods may lengthen the life of Guadas who buil this temple. The Sumerians do not attach a magical influence to their prayers. They produced in a positive sense the intervention of the gods in the same way as the curses which they often attached to monuments were supposed to invoke the wrath of the gods upon those who violated the statute. The Sumerian prayers at the end of their historical inscriptions until late in the history of Babylonia. All the historical inscriptions of Assyria from the period of the early rulers of Assur to the reign of Assurnasirpal in the 9th cent. end with a curse. Although

1 ZA x. 25-32.
2 Craig, i. 44-52. See for a fr. François Martin, Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens, 1er et., Paris, 1903, pp. 164-165.
3 T. G. Pinches, Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-Writing, London, 1932, p. 15. This text is p. 156 in the British Museum and has been studied by Sayce, pp. 514, and R. A. Strong, Fs. Strong, 1914, p. 157.
4 It is in the case of objects dedicated to a god.
6 Ibid. p. 67. For a complete list of this kind in the Sumerian period see Aššur, inscriptions, (1895) 330-380. The text is known only from a copy by an Assyrian scribe; text by Langdon, pp. 135-136. (1895) 381, and Craig, pp. 19-18; ed. Martin, pp. 46-55.
7 Text known only from an Assyrian copy, published by Craig, ps. 95-96. (1895) 329.
9 The text is known only from an Assyrian copy, published by Craig, p. 189-204. 323.
10 The text is known only from an Assyrian copy, published by Craig, pp. 189-204. 323.
11 The text is known only from an Assyrian copy, published by Craig, pp. 189-204. 323.
12 The Crusader Monument of Manishtushuk is, e.g., ends with a curse (C. W. King, Asarhipaix (1912) 104) and so does the stela of the Code of Hammurabi. The historical inscriptions of Hammurabi, Samsuilunna, and Ammisaduqa do not end with prayers.

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the curses, introduces long prayers to the deities by the priest and penitent. Finally, a still higher ritual, which has in last resort been laid upon the physician to prayer, is entirely and assigning them all to the sinner. In a ritual of the latter class the priest confined himself to the acts of magic which accompanied the prayers. Usually the directions for the magic ritual are written after each prayer said by the man seeking atonement from sin or healing of disease. Sometimes the prayers of the penitent are written on one set of tablets and the ritual for the priest on another. Prayers said by a penitent are called ‘lifting of the hand,’ and these are placed in a special column of a larger catalogue. In those rituals where the priest took over a portion of the prayers we find them named by an ancient liturgical term Ki-tub, ‘prostration.’ The priests almost invariably employ Sumerian in their prayers of the magical rituals, which were private ceremonies.

Since the ceremonial prayers of private penance were evolved by the Semites directly from the epilogues of the Sumerian liturgies, we should naturally expect that the prayers introduced into the ceremonies of the secret magic cults were modelled upon classic Sumerian incantation rituals. In fact, an Assyrian catalogue of official liturgies and recessional psalms adds also a long list of titles of Sumerian prayers of the ‘lifting of the hand’ to the series of prayers of this character. A second catalogue contains several more. Since these have Sumerian titles, they perhaps may go back, like the liturgies, to Sumerian times. It will be seen, however, that Su-il-la in these catalogues designates a liturgical public prayer. Only at a later period did the term apply to the Semitic prayers of penitents in the magic rituals. The present writer does not believe that the incantation ceremonies, as they came into the hands of the Semites in the Age of Hammurabi, afforded any opportunity for the prayers of the sinner. They were too ritualistic and priest-ridden to permit of such concessions to laymen. Nor had they risen to the necessary conceptions of sin to produce private prayers as we have them in the later cults. When they passed on their rites of atonement to the Semites, they had probably arrived at the stage in which the priest alone adds prayer to the ban and the magic ritual. These priestly prayers were written down in the Semites’ language, and, when the Semites introduced their beautiful prayers for the sinner into those ceremonies, they called them Su-il-la; since they take the place of the ancient ‘curse,’ they invariably bear also the title ‘prayer.’

8. Prayers of the older type in Semitic times; the kašub of liturgies applied to priests’ prayers. — Ceremonies of atonement of the Sumerian type in which the priest said part of the prayers on behalf of the sinner persisted in the Semitic religion of Babylonia. These are of course bilingual, said by the priests in Semitic and possibly interpreted to the penitent by means of the Semitic interlinear version. The following are the best known examples of this class:

(a) A long bilingual prayer to the sungod, followed by a Sumerian prayer of the priest; a ritual of a ritual of atonement for the king. A portion of the priest’s prayer is as follows:

The Lord has sent me. Yes, the Singer, Zed, Eridu has sent me. Stand forth and learn his command and render his decision. When thou marchest the dark-headed people, thou directest; The light of peace come for thee, and may thy trouble be smoothed out.

Punishing him who has been laid upon a man, son of his god. His limbs are afflicted with pain; he lies suffering with sickness.

Oh unseen, observe the ‘lifting of my hand.’ Consume his food, receive his drink-offering and his god place at his head.

At thy command may his punishment be forgiven, his condemnation removed. That which blinds him let be undone, from his sickness may he live. As long as he lives may he speak of thy majesty.

And I take away thy secrets, raise.

(b) Part of a similar series containing the priest’s prayer to Shamash and the first line of the penitent’s Semitic prayer. A portion of the Semitic has no interlinear version.

(c) Fragment of a similar series. Only the prayer of the priest to Shamash is preserved. The last lines duplicate no. (6).

(d) Fragment of a similar series. Only about half of the priest’s prayer to Shamash is preserved.

(e) Complete series of prayers in the house of washing for the healing and atonement of a king. The service begins by a long prayer of the priest, after which follows a section from the lower type of incantations, and then a short Semitic prayer of the king; finally a long prayer of the priest. The last line is also a Semitic incantation.

(f) Fragment of an incantation ceremony to Marduk. The end of the penitent’s prayer to Marduk and most of one of the priest’s prayers are preserved.

(g) A complete prayer of a priest addressed to Shamash as an atonement. The prayer is a long incantation.

(h) Fragment of a ceremony in the house of washing, containing a portion of the priest’s prayer and the end of the penitent’s prayer.

(i) Fragment of a ceremony addressed to Bau, goddess of healing, concluding the priest’s prayer and beginnings of a few lines of the penitent’s prayer.

(j) A priest’s prayer, called an ‘incantation and prayer of prostration and petition of sun,’ with catch-line for a succeeding Semitic prayer.

(k) A long and nearly complete bilingual prayer to the moon-god in the form of a kišub by the Semites, which has much similarity to the epilogues (ci-ma-sum) of liturgies than to the prayers of priests in the magic rituals. It was followed by a similar Semitic prayer. This tablet testifies to the existence of a series of liturgical prayers probably written for public services and closely related to the liturgies.

It is evident, therefore, that the Babylonians employed the word Su-il-la originally for a Sumerian public prayer, and, although we have but few examples of the series which they possessed a great number. The titles of prayers in the incantations were, therefore, taken from the musical terminology of the public services. The name of the choral passages in the liturgies (kišub) derived from the Semitic prayers of the priests in these magic rituals, and the name of public solo prayers of the temple choristers (Su-il-la) came to designate the prayers of the

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1 E.g., the rituals for one of the rites of atonement in the 'rituals of worship in Akitu' (by the Babylonian priest) will be found in Zimmern, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, pp. 122-135. The tablets of prayers of the priest are also preserved (by the penitent here also are also preserved (by the Zimmern, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1894, no. 1).

2 Ir. 53, iii. 44-4v. 28.


The god of this man for his son stands humbly before thee to accomplish faithfully the freeing.

'Free the bond, to heal the sick in thy power. The title of this prayer usually has the title, eni-eb-ak-ka (Sannu) dasi, 'An incantation, prayer of prostration to the god X.' This title was taken from an old liturgical term, kišub, melody in a public liturgy.

Text Ir. B. 1901, ed. A. Scholle, no. 4.

Ir. 28, no. 1; Scholle, no. 5.

Ir. 19, no. 21; *Zimmern, Der alte Oriental*, iv. pt. iii. p. 15; Scholle, no. 5.


Ir. 29, no. 1; ed. C. F. Rosse, pp. 364-366; Rehm, *Zimmern, Der alte Oriental*, pp. 334-335.

Meek, no. 1.


The bilingual prayer said at the close of the public services of the New Year festival by a priest is also called Su-il-la (R. H. Wieland, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 36-41; ir. 15, no. 2).
laymen in these incantations. Both of these literary terms have, therefore, a double usage in Babylonia and Assyria, which proves clearly enough that the prayers of incantation ceremonies are of much later origin than the liturgies.

The Babylonian prayers of the magic cult—From every point of view the prayers of the laymen, said in their own vernacular Semitic, and most valuable collection of private devotional literature of the Babylonians and Assyrian prayer. The tendency to regard moral transgression as the cause of divine anger resulted in the increasing importance of the prayers of the penitent. Most of their best rituals of atonement have eliminated the prayers of the priests entirely. This means a large number of these prayers of the lifting of the hand to be used as the books of the various rituals appoint. They follow one another, each to a different deity, while the priest performs the necessary rites of magic. All the known tablets of prayers of this class belong to the late period, as we must expect; for fervent intercession based upon a spiritual consciousness of sin is of slow growth in any religion. It never was attained by the Sumerians, and the Semites themselves advanced to these high achievements of atonement only after 2000 years and more of their consecutive history. These prayers, despite their fine literary composition and lofty sentiment, always bear the title 'incantation and lifting of the hand'; but the former title, implying a low type of religion, appears here only because these prayers belong to the secret rituals of the priests of atonement. It is possible to give only lists of groups of these prayer-tablets, since their number is very great.

In whatever instance in which the prayers are either partly or wholly assigned to the laymen, belong to the city of Asur, capital of the early Assyrian empire, and probably belong to the period of Tiglath-pileser I, and his successors. These have been recently excavated by the German Oriental Society on the site of modern Kalah Shergat. The religious texts recovered by the Germans at Asur were not published until late in 1915, and consequently Assyriologists have not yet been able to make critical editions of them. The following list of tablets in the official publications will contain the more important of the early Assyrian prayers of this class:

No. 22: portions of two prayers to Marduk. Ritual accompanied by the use of incense.

No. 25: part of a prayer to Nebo followed by the ritual and beginning of a prayer to Marduk. The Marduk prayer was employed in many other services and will serve as a good example of these Semitic compositions:

Mighty and glorified one, splendid one of Eridu, Lord prince, first born of Nadinamund, Marduk the terrible one, who maketh Egarra to rejoice, Lord of Eshilag, help of Babylon, who sheweth mercy unto Eridu, Who giveth peace unto the soul, chieftain of Enmatilla, who rejoiceth beyond measure. Protecting shadow of the land, sparing the wide-dwelling peoples. Regent of the sacred chapels everywhere. Thy name is good in the mouth of peoples everywhere. Marduk, great lord, merciful god, By thy mighty command may I live and prosper and look upon thy divinity. Whatever I plan may I attain. Fix justice in my mouth. Cause my word to be good in my heart. May guard and watchmen speak of my good deeds. May my god stand at my right. May my foes stand at my left. May a saving god be faithful at my side. Oh great Marduk, hear and be gracious. The word which I utter, even as I utter it, may be favourably received.

Oh Marduk, lord, bestow life. Command that my soul live. May I enjoy until my life's end walking in purity before thee. May my lord be mine for thee, and let thee be for me. May the gods of the universe adore thee. And the demons of the abyss thy hand.'

This prayer was followed in the Asur service by another to Marduk, then by one to Sin, the moon-god, and finally by one to Assur. The latter gives a picture of the character of this prayer.

No. 28: a ceremony in which the priest introduces the penitent to Marduk, explaining his sorrows in Semitic. Then follows a very long prayer to Marduk by the penitent. The service ends with a complicated and long ritual.

No. 32 contains a long prayer to Shamash preceded by a ritual.

No. 55 contains a prayer to Shamash. As no ritual is given, it probably belongs to the series in which prayers and rituals were given on separate tablets.

No. 55 contains a prayer to Shamash and four to Nusku, the fire-god, and one to Sin.

No. 59 begins with the prayer to Marduk translated above, and is followed by a prayer to Sin.

No. 66 contains only one long and beautiful prayer to Enil without ritual.

No. 79 contains with ritualistic directions for the priest, after which follows a long prayer of the penitent to Shamash.

The Asurbanipal library has been up to the present our principal source of information concerning these rituals of atonement. The tablets of prayers and ceremonies belonging to that collection have been published together in King's Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, and have been widely studied in special monographs. These ceremonies, however, have never received a proper scientific treatment, since the various monographs founded upon them, by selecting only prayers for a particular deity, dissect the ceremonies and omit the rituals.

Prayers of the lifting of the hand from Babylonia are also well documented. The longest, and in many ways the finest, of all these simila prayers is addressed to Ishtar and contains 110 lines. Several tablets from ceremonies of this kind belong to the collection of the University Museum in Philadelphia and are published by D. W. Myhrman, Babylonian Hymns and Prayers.

No. 12 contains a prayer of the lifting of the hand to Shamash by the king Shamash-shum-ukin. Ordinarily these prayers are addressed to Ishtar, but the following is addressed to the notion of the name of the layman. This and no. 18, a prayer to Marduk, and Ebeling, nos. 55, a prayer to Shamash by Asurbanipal, are the only known instances where the text gives the name of the person who used it. In fact, we have two Assyrian ceremonies which employed Myhrman, no. 13, both with the usual blank space for the name of the layman.

No. 17: a prayer to Enil, and first line of the next prayer to Ninil. This prayer illustrates Babylonian religion at its best: Oh lord magnified, fortress of the heaven spirits, Counsellor of the earth spirits, solicitous prince, Oh Enil, lord magnified, fortress of the heaven spirits, Counsellor of the earth spirits, solicitous prince, Self顷and the utterance of whose mouth is unutterable, The word of whose lips no god has put aside, Lord of lords, king of kings, father who begat the great god.

Lord of fate and of the designs of things, ordering heaven and earth, lord of the lands.

1 19th century.
3 It is, however, impossible to find these prayers addressed to the same god. A similar service, in which a succession of three prayers was used, was found in King, Bab. Magic, no. 22. The first prayer to Marduk is a duplicate of the one mentioned in the following note.
4 The Marduk prayer is known from a service employed at Nineveh, where it occurs as the first prayer on one of the tablet-cases (King, Bab. Magic, no. 55, and text below). The only other copies came from Babylon. It has been ed. by Helin, Bab. SS v. (1905) 347-349. A nearly complete duplicate is the first prayer in Ebeling, no. 59.

1 The various prayers to Sin, Shamash, Marduk, etc., are thus taken down from one and the same scribe in these ceremonies and grouped together for special study. This method is peculiar to the Logiaca of the Babylonian priests.
2 Text in King, Seven Tablets of Creation, London, 1902, II, appendix 5; ed. in. 223-227. See R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the OT, New York, 1907, pp. 163-161, and literature cited.
3 King, Bab. Magic, nos. 17, 18, and 10. This prayer was ed. by Schottler in ZDPV xxix. (1913) 642; corrections to this edition in AuS}, xxix. (1913) 599.
4 E. Ebeling, Babylonian PSB 84, xxi. (1912) 152-166; corrections by Zimmern, ZA xxvii. (1913) 65. The same prayer was employed in Assyria by the king at the dark of the moon (King, Bab. Magic, no. 19).
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Who completest judgment, whose commandment changes not.
Foolishness is the inheritance of the foolish, but by thy order humanity has been begotten.
Of king and prefect, the being thou definest.
Since creation thou dost provide, for set thy rest with the members of the temple.
And thou hast caused the weak to attain the measure of the strong.
Among the multitude of stars of heaven,
Oh lord, I put my trust in thee, I adore thee, and my ears are attentive.
The fate of my life decree.
Command that my name be created,
Unite me, that I create for me justice.
Prosecute me, for I shall not be at abundance.
Put me the name of king, that I may gain the greatness of the immortal.
May god and king hold me in esteem.
May lord and prince do what I command.
May I consider one who will restore this.
In the assembly of elders may my speech be heard.
May the protecting spirit, commanding acceptance of prayer and mercy,
Daily walk with me.
May my gods adore thee, may the goddesses seek thee.
And thy servant would live, would prosper.
Thy greatness I would glorify, thy praise I would sing.

All the prayers discussed in the above section are designated by the literary name su-il-la, but they do not necessarily mean exhaust the literature of this kind. The incantation rituals of the lower types, such as the Maklit and Surpu series, often contain incantations which are real prayers, and they are often repeated by the layman. But the series do not always designate the whole of human actions, and on the other hand, the whole distinction which they made, evidently on a ceremonial basis, holds good. In the su-il-la we have a real prayer in which the sinner takes no part in the ritual.1

Since all prayers are incantations, we have here in reality evidence that the Babylonians possessed at least some series of private prayers for laymen, absolutely untrammelled by magic rituals. We may perhaps assume too much by this estimate of Babylonian religion, for which this tablet is at present our only evidence. But the three prayers which here follow each other are so lofty and fervent, and which the botanicalist, that we cannot refrain from crediting the Babylonians with having attained this highest level of all religion—private prayer.

A few lines of the second prayer will confirm this.

1 My god, I know not the sins of . . .
   Thy revered name scathingly have I spoken?
   Thy titles have I forgotten and mightily have I . . .
   Thy work in time of trouble have I neglected?
   Thy boundaries have I transgressed?

Many are my sins; as I have done, mayest thou not require.
Oh, my god, serve and undo, free the toils of my heart.
Forget my folly, remember me my prayer.
Turn my sins unto favour.2

1 In a letter to the king concerning a list of rituals of the nam-bur-bi series (see below) the priest of incantations refers to the type of incantations in that service as su-il-la, and the letter implies that the priest himself said them. This illustrates the indefinite application of su-il-la. Hence it appears for this type of prayer allied to the real incantations. See R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, Chicago, 1902, pp. 66 f., ed. Behrens, Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe, Leipzig, 1906, no. 7.
2 Craig, ii. 61, and duplicate in Myhrman, no. 14; ed. Langdon, Magical Texts, i. 261 f., and important corrections in ZA xxvi. 1931, 71, and AJS x. xx. 1938.
3 See for parallels, Bietti, Cat. Ann. Kuf., p. 152, and tablets in which we find a list of the prayers which probably are of this type of service. Here even the super- scripition, šišu, which precedes all prayers, is omitted. To an address to a god not related to the su-il-la, importance is given to the type of prayer called šišu by Langdon, Babylonian Magic, in Science, xv. 1911, 1235, and Jensen, p. 51. 3 An indication of šišu.
4 The su-il-la designated also Semitic prayers of the priests, as already stated. When they are related to the su-il-la, the difference consisting probably in the use of a musical accompaniment for the šišu or šišm prayers.
5 The text of the New Year rituals will be found in IV. 40, and Keil, BAB. VIII. 1911, 45 (by P. Duhoux). These texts preserve little of the incantations. An unplaced fragment was published by Hehn, p. 388-403, and ed. JSJ, p. 375-389. The final prayer of this text-number 114th Nisan is stated to be 'a prayer for the Nisan of the gods' and it was translated by Langdon in EXP vii. 1909, 153-155.
ant parts of a priest's duties was to prepare himself properly for his sacred services. Undoubtedly the prayers proper a priest prepared were very exten-
sive, but our sources supply us with adequate
information upon only one point. The diviners (barû) invariably prepared themselves for consult-
ing the omens revealed on sheep's livers by per-
forming long purificatory rites interpersed with
prayers to the deities Shamash and Adad, who
presided over the act of augury. These prayers
are not called incantations, nor do they bear any
of the Semitic literary indices so common to the
prayers of the official cults. This points to their Semitic origin, but they are late in being
classified as tikkîb prayers—a pure Semitic expres-
sion. These prayers all end with a formula which
is practically unvaried:

"In all that I offer to you, oh Shamash and Adad, stand by; in
my discourse, my prayer, in whatsoever I do, in the inquiry
which I present let there be truthworthiness."

13. Liturgies or public prayers.—For their public
worship the Babylonians and Assyrians adopted
that of the Semitians, without any appreciable change.
And they continued to use in the daily
liturgies of that vanished people the language in
which they were originally written. Semitic
Babylonia and Assyria presented a close parallel
to the Church, which still conducted most of its
formal public service in the sacred lan-
guage in which it was originally written.
An investigation of the liturgies must concern itself primarily with the origin, evolution, and use of
Semitic public worship. When the liturgists of the late Assyrian period finally constructed the
long public services, the Semites adopted them as
sacred books, and in many cases we can trace the
use of these litanes from Semitic days to the 2nd
century B.C. Many of the late Assyrian and Baby-
nonian liturgies are interlinear versions; sometimes musical (to us unintelligible) notes are added; comments and variant readings of
can be seen, existed alongside of the Semitic
Su-il-la prayers. But these were public prayers, chanted by a priest and closely
related to the choral liturgies. On the other hand,
the Semitic people, apparently incapable of
individualism in worship, found the full expression of their religious psychology in common devotion.
And devotion in masse, public songs participated in
by the whole people, arose at an extremely early
period. The Semitic cared only to himself in the
fellowship of religious experience.

1 Origin of liturgies. — It is difficult for us to ascertain the problems that con-
fronted mankind in constructing religious services.

1 Most of the tikkîb prayers and rituals will be found in Zim-
mer, Beitrago, pp. 190-219. A ritual of bard preparations con-
taining incantations to Adad and Sin is found in Perry,
Hymnen und Götter an Sin, pp. 21-23. Another fragment of
the same ritual with prayers to the astral deities; moon, Jupiter,
and Venus, is found in Langdon's tablet XII. [1913] 196.

2 R.P., see the much glossed text in R.P. 39, no. 1; ed. in
Langdon, Sum. and Bab. Psalms, pp. 247-256.

In Sumer they began by using short chants based
upon some calamity which had befallen the city.
From these the liturgy proper were evolved, some
of these public choral liturgical and the earliest known compositions are characterized by refrains. In the
early period anterior to the last dynasty of Ur
each Semitic city seems to have possessed its
own corpus of sorrowful litanies based upon local calamities in its long history. At present Semiter-
ian antiquities have produced only fragmentary
elements of the public services of the early period. But a few of these short liturgical were
and current in the Ur and Isin periods, when the
complicated liturgies were being worked out. The
following public choral service of Lagash will
illustrate the origin of these compositions (here the
words are supposed to be uttered by Ban, the
mother-goddess of Lagash):

"Oh city, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
My city Girum, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
Oh brick-walls of Lagash, alas the treasures! my soul
sighs for thee.
Oh abode of temple Ninû, alas the treasures! my soul
sighs for thee.
Oh high altar of Ninû, alas the treasures! my soul
sighs for thee.
Oh bright walls of my Sirar, alas the treasures! my soul
sighs for thee.
Oh ye highlands of Lagash, alas the treasures! my soul
sighs for thee.
For of my city the treasures are scattered,
In shining Girum the children are distressed.
Unto the city, oh day of woe;
Unto the exterior of Girum, oh sorrow, my holy
place.
With its mightiness encircling the transgressor came.
Unto my abode the transgressor came,
Unto joyful . . . the transgressor came.
Unto my transgressor came, the transgressor came; to the
the one who transgressed.
From their temple the august king he caused to go forth.
From their temple the august king he caused to go forth.
In the midst of the city, oh misery given.
The mother, the wild cow queen, with misery (is afflict-
shaded)

My city my father gave as a gift.
Girum Enil cared for faithfully.
In my city which he ruled altogether,
In Lagash which he ruled altogether,
In Sirar which he ruled altogether,
In Ninû which he ruled altogether.
Oh affliction shepherd, I will appease thee.
Oh affliction shepherd, let me appease thee.
Oh lord of lamentation, by the woe of my city, by the woe
of my temple, accept repose."

These early single song compositions were probably
named after the musical instruments chiefly em-
ployed in their presentation. The liturgy transcribed
above was called an er-sen-uma, 'lament on the
double flute.' All the known early liturgies are of
this class. It is, however, probable that other
song services were accompanied by stringed
instruments, as is indicated by the frequent
lation on the lyre. Choral passages of this kind
were always known as sir, 'song,' to designate
them as liturgical in character. A pronounced
tendency to enlarge these single song services until
they became of considerable length manifested
itself at all the great temple schools. Some of
them extend to nearly 100 lines.

16. Rise of a standard brevity.—As a national consciousness slowly permeated the disintegrated
Semitian communities, and the national myths
and epics became common property, the various
liturgical schools began to borrow from each other.
If, e.g., a choral song of Nippur possessed attrac-
tive words and a successful melody, the liturgists
of other cities adopted it into their own brevity,
imbued it with their own species and lines to
their own

1 They are cited in Langdon, Bab. Liturgies, p. 1, note 3, and
one is partially tr. in PPSA xxxiv. [1912] 156.
2 Note how the people inadvertently forget the situation and
are called to the revel of the gods. They are called to the
roll of the gods.
3 The pronouns refer to Enil; all calamity was attributed to
the anger of the gods.
4 See also Mino, rev. 22, London, 1902; variant in Zimmern,
Sumerische Kulttideen aus altbabylonischer Zeit, no. 2, rev.
10-42; ed. in Langdon, Sum. and Bab. Psalms, pp. 243-257.
temple and city. The various lamentations to the weeping mother tended to produce catharsis, for she was a common possession of all Sumerian worshippers. Thus the growth of a standard breviary received on all sides a powerful impetus. And the rich promise of a carpentered Sumerian age of Ur and Isin were not satisfied with these short songs. They desired longer services, more variety in melody, and more dogmatic theology. They began to evolve longer liturgies by the somewhat crude process of compounding and adapting songs with regard to their content. But such an uncertain procedure was not tolerated by any great extent. The hymnologists naturally insisted upon working out a single religious idea and upon designing each liturgy for the worship of a single deity. They chose some ancient single song service for the first melody, reducing it to moderate length. The second melody was made by an extract from some old song. In this way the liturgists obtained the long services of 50 to 300 metres, all selected from songs addressed to the same deity. Finally, the rule obtained that the next to the last melody should be a special theological litany, in which the names of all the gods are sung to a refrain peculiar to that service. This ‘tutular melody’ is followed by songs, the words of which were sung from stem to stern, and gave rise to the es-log-tug-mal, as explained above.

17. The word.—In most of these long liturgies we find at least one song to the word, always described as the cause of all calamities. In the case of these liturgies sung to the gods the word is described as going forth from the mouth of God to execute His judgment upon sinful mankind. In the weeping mother litanies the word seizes upon this mother-goddess, causing her to weep with her. Songs addressed to the mother-goddess (Bau, Gula, Innini) represent her not as angered against humanity, but as sharing their sorrows and waiting with them in their lamentations.

18. The canon of liturgical literature.—Although we now know a very large number of these liturgies either complete or, as is generally the case, in fragmentary condition, we are far from possessing the whole number of the series of songs which formed the canon of sacred literature. The sound of Sumerian liturgical music has been preserved by a number of copies from the first line of all liturgies that had received ecclesiastical sanction. Their number must have been large, possibly 600 or 700. At any rate, the canon was closed by the Sumerian liturgists themselves. Even if there is no liturgy which adopted the entire Sumerian canon of sacred liturgy, we find no mention of any Assyrian city or temple. The local cults of these northern Semites came too late to be entered into the songs of the public services, and they present the curious spectacle of a great people who said their public prayers in liturgies which never made any reference to themselves.

LITERATURE.—For the prayers of the private cult and the public solo prayers at the temple the entire Sumerian canon is used in notes. The subject of liturgies, which is much more extensive and more varied than that of the earlier texts, is treated in the following works:


S. LANGDON.

PRAYER (Buddhist).—1. General.—Buddhism teaches that there is no personal act as if it is merely the result of the world, and that the perfection of religious and moral ideals rests solely on one’s own self-perfection. Thus in the Buddhist religion there is no room for prayer, in the sense of a petition for soliciting spiritual aid. This was the reason why Buddha so carefully guarded against the use of prayer (manta, Skr. mantra) addressed to a god for the purpose of securing a certain benefit through his special favour. But, when prayer is understood in a broader way, there is the Buddhist prayer as an expression of earnest faith, determined intention, as a means of self-perfection in Buddhist ideals. Moreover, the Buddhist religion developed, after the death of its founder, in the direction of adoring him not only as a perfect human personality but as an embodiment of universal truth, i.e. in the conception of the dharmakaya. In this developed form an individual striving for the attainment of bodhi (‘enlightenment’) stands to Buddha in the relation of the disciple to the Master. Here the practice of expressing the earnest intention of realizing Buddhahood gradually took the form of solemn vows taken to commit oneself to practice Buddhist morality, assisted by encouraging assurance given by Buddha, in his actual presence or in spiritual manifestation. Many of these vows are in reality prayers, addressed to Buddha as well as to the universal truth revealed by him. These vows, or prayers, are called pravaidhana, in Sanskrit, Pali (prajñādānā).

Now, in the Pali books, prajñādānā means concentration of mind upon a certain idea or object, which helps in tranquilizing the mind.

‘That disciple should concentrate (prajñādānā) his mind upon a certain thing (āttha) as the condition of tranquilizing; when the mind is concentrated upon that tranquilizing condition, cheer arises and from cheer joy arises. . . . Then he should think I shall concentrate mind upon this thing and this thing being realized I shall now dwell on that.’

In this sense prajñādānā is a general name for the various objects, or directions to concentration, such as pastiūda, repose or faith in the Three Treasures and Buddhist morality; chhanda, earnest desire for realizing supernormal powers (uddhi; sati, thought: intensely fixed on Buddha and his teachings, etc.). In the systematic Buddhism is exceedingly rich in these terms, ideas, and practices of mental concentration and spiritual drill, and they all play the part of prayer or orison, with a special emphasis laid on the concentration of mind on a certain point of Buddhist truths. These experiences are described by similes which enable us only to guess what were the effects of the mental concentration; and the total result of the spiritual exercise may be formulated as a direct assurance and personal experience of the reality of existence, and its freedom, a realization of a certain idea or of self or an absorption of the cosmos into self. There are prescribed forms for these practices of meditation and for their results, and these capital passages in the scriptures served as manuals of practice as well as a kind of prayer in the sense of inspiration and assurance. E.g., the fourfold faith (pastiūdā) mentioned above and the seven stages of enlightenment (bodhi-jñāna) were used for expelling the pain of disease, though the real import of these concepts can be realized only something more and deeper than mere guards against illness.
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It was the same with the fourfold infinite expansion of mind (appamāna-cheto- vimutti) against hatred and ill-will and for realization of love, compassion, etc.

Buddhist ethics emphasizes the importance of thought and intention as the source of bodily acts and utterances of speech. It is on this ground that the concentration of thought is so persistently insisted upon in the various methods of meditation and carefully formulated in their descriptions. Thought may be expressed in utterance, whether in reciting the holy texts or in confessing one's faith, and these expressions naturally take the form of vows. The latter aspect had an important bearing on the significance and development of Buddhist prayer, because it was this aspect that stimulated the Buddhists not only to follow the Master's steps but to emulate his work. The ideal perfection of Buddhist morality consists in the attainment of the tathāgata-ship, on the part of every Buddhist, and, just as Buddha Gotama is said to have passed a long training of the bodhisattva-ship, every Buddhist is expected, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, to be a bodhisattva (cf. art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Buddhist]). The essential condition in starting for the bodhisattva training is regarded as an earnest determination (chitta-upādāde) to go through the severe discipline of bodhisattva morality, and the determination is expressed in the vow or prayer (prana-dhana). The vows are addressed to a certain Buddha, who testifies the oaths and gives assurance for their fulfillment. This act of Buddha is considered 'encouraging assurance,' and is the necessary counterpart. After the address of the vow to Buddha and its acceptance by him, a bodhisattva is expected to do the works of self-perfection with the wish to dedicate all the merits of his works to the Buddhist cause, i.e. for the sake of all fellow-beings, that they may participate in the joint stock of merits (puṇya- kṣetra) and proceed on the all-embracing sole road of Buddhist perfection.

2. Buddhist's own prayer.—This model of taking vows is narrated in the introduction (Nidānakoṭhā) to the Jātaka stories,4 where Buddha's first start on his long training is told in the adornment of his enthusiasm. It was in a remote past that a Brāhmaṇa Sumedha took vows before the Buddhist Buddha, to march on the way to Buddhahood; and indeed this Sumedha proved, in the course of time, to be worthy of his determination and finally became Buddha Gotama, or Śakyamuni. The vows say:

1 Since now I make this earnest wish [vadādāra],
I present of this diest of Men
Gladdened sometime I'll achieve,
And more than necessary across.

2 I'll rebirth's circling stream arrest,
Destroy existence's three modes;
I'll climb the steps of Doctrine's ship (dhamma-nava),
And men and gods converge across.

(verse 67 and 68, Warren's tr.).

Then Buddha Dipankara gives assurance of the fulfillment of the vows (verses 71-80), and Sumedha further manifests himself to the practice of the ten methods of perfection (pārami). When he concludes his solemn pledge, the whole universe gives response to the vows.

1. Now pondering these conditions ten,
Their nature [ākāra], once [śarira], character [lakṣaṇa],
Such fiery vigor had they all,
That all the worlds ten thousand quaked' (verse 176).

This corresponds to something like a voice from heaven—the prayer is accepted and will be fulfilled. This is a metaphor, and behind it lies the metaphysical idea of the oneness of existence, the unity of dharma-kāya (the sum of natural things). All existences are one in their basic nature; therefore the vows taken and prayers expressed are addressed to a certain Buddha as well as to one's own self and to the whole existence, while the acceptance of the prayer is expressed in Buddha's yākyāraṇa, whose consequences are the cosmic response and the bodhisattva's practice of the ten pārami.

Now, the same thing is told about the preliminary training of Buddha, in the Mahāsarītha Books [Morin, 1]. The degree (dhātu) of the bodhisattvas are classified in four stages: (1) deeds in accordance with his inherent good nature (prakṛti), (2) deeds in accordance with his vows (prajñādāna), (3) deeds in accordance with his ideals (sambhūtānāma), i.e. the practice of the six pārāmitās, (4) deeds in accordance with the indefatigable virtues (ānivartana).5 Then the story of Buddha's conversion is told. Buddha, when he was a Brāhmaṇa, determined to perfect himself, and expressed his desire and determination in presence of the Buddha Dipankara and his congregation. The prayer says:

1. Indeed, let it be so, that I could be born as one who, having overcome the world, would work in the world for the benefit of the world, for the welfare of the world, and would rise to the supreme heaven.

2. Then the disciples in the right in order of the bodhisattva, Dipankara, knowing that the vow-taker would surely attain the supreme enlightenment, gives him the assurance:

' Thou shalt at a certain future time become a Buddha, being born as a son to the Śūkya clan, and work for the benefit of men and gods.'

3. In Mahāyāna Buddhism.—Now, this idea of prajñādāna and of its associated conditions was developed in Mahāyāna and applied to all Buddhists, who were, therefore, called bodhisattvas.

The underlying idea was the same, yet the significance of prajñādāna was interpreted metaphysically by the doctrine of the basic unity of existence (tathākta) and its application made wider by the concept of the bodhisattva ideal. The metaphysical conception of oneness was identified with the ultimate entity of Buddha's personality (dharma-kāya), and the person of Buddha, who testified the vows, was conceived to be his blissful manifestation (prajñā-kāya) (i.e. one of his earthly condescensions (nirmān-kāya). Thus, the theory of the threefold personality (tri-kāya) of Buddha


2. The above, omitting the negative, is interpreted to mean the "consummating transformation," i.e. the transformation of human nature to Buddhahood.

3. Mahāsāṅgita, i. 3.
was brought closer to the life of the bodhisattva and made the object to which the vows were addressed. Thus, every prayer addressed to Buddha is at the same time a vow by which the vow-taker commits himself to the practice of the ideal of the Buddha. The vow by which the Buddha and assurance is given by a Buddha, but the two parties are one in the basic entity, and the response given to a prayer is a necessary consequence of this oneness of existence. Yet, quite naturally, the vow and the response remain void, unless the vow-taker practices his determination and dedicates all his goods to the broad cause of realizing the all-embracing Buddhist communion. This is the working out of the thought expressed in the vow, the practical moral life with the intention of dedicating all goods to the Buddhist ideal, and is called parināma-pratishthā, ‘dedication.’

The efficacy of dedication is guaranteed by the Buddha, who is a pioneer in the realization of the one road. In this way the Buddhist conception of prayer emphasizes the unity of its three phases, pranidhāna, evākaraṇa, and parināma-pratishthā. After all, the Buddhist religion conceives the world as the stage of spiritual development in which beings are to participate in, and contribute to, the realization of the truth of oneness (ekādhyāna or ekavacan) or of the cosmic enlightenment (bodhi-chitta). A prayer addressed to a Buddha, an enlightened soul, is meant and destined to awaken in the one who prays the original (chīti) the same chīti as the Buddha’s own. To worship a deity—which is admitted by Mahāyāna Buddhism—means, not to adore it as a being external to oneself, but to realize the excellent qualities found in the deity. Likewise, to pray must be understood to mean asking something of a deity, but the truth is that the one who is asked and the one who asks are one in the fundamental nature, and, therefore, the prayer is in its ultimate significance a self-inculcation, a self-committal to the moral ideals of Buddhism. Although the Mahāyāna practice of offering prayer differs much, in its appearance, from the practice of primitive Buddhism, the final goal and the conception underlying the practice are the same—mental training for the attainment of Buddhahood.

Mahāyāna books are full of the stories of how a certain Buddha, in the preparatory stage, or a bodhisattva, started on his life of bodhisattva-ship, by taking vows in presence of his predecessor and master, and what happened subsequently in the story of Sunned, and the vows are essentially the same, consisting in an expression of the determination to save self together with others. As the typical representative of the Mahāyāna vows we take here the ‘Four great vows of the bodhisattva.’ They say:

There are beings without limit, Let us take the vow to convey them all across. There are deprivities in us without number, Let us take the vow to extinguish them all. There are truths without end, Let us take the vow to comprehend them all. There is the Way of Buddha without comparison, Let us take the vow to accomplish it perfectly.

Here it is emphasized that, without striving to fulfill the first vow, of saving others, the following three vows will remain of no avail.

Another prayer, more frequently recited, is taken from the Lotus, and says:

1 See art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Buddhist); D. T. Suzuki, Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 2941. 2 Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, tr. H. Kern, in SBE xx. (1884). The quotation here given is a translation from the Chinese version, which is the text used as proclamation by the Eastern Buddhists. The extant original differs from this a little (cf. p. 171 of the Eng. tr. and p. 177 of the original, ed. Kern and Nanjio, Petropoli, 1913).

1 Let these merits (now performed) universally pervade all, And let us, together with them, soon realize the life of Buddhahood.

Another point to be noted in the Mahāyāna notion of prayer is that great stress is laid on the vyākaraṇa given by the presiding Buddha, and the assurance takes the form of prophecy. A prophecy of this kind is an encouragement given to the bodhisattva as well as an exaltation of his future achievements. Clarifications in the prophecy are always proportional to the enthusiasm of the vows, and these together served to impress the believers with the grandeur of the start, the magnitude of the merits accumulated by the bodhisattva, and stimulate the followers to the same practice of pranidhāna and parināma-pratishthā. The effects of these inspirations were great, and in many cases they gave an impetus to enthusiasts, who thereby became great teachers or reformers.

The greatest document of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this respect is the Lotus of Truth. Besides various points of Buddhist doctrines expounded in it, the main topic of the book is the continuity of the vows taken, merits accomplished, and results attained, that all the Buddhas in past, present, and future were said to have lived the same life.

This is the earnest desire, vow, and prayer of all Buddhists. The discourse then proceeds to give evākaraṇa to many disciples of Śākyamuni, by assuring them of Buddha’s love of all beings and his power to lead them to the highest goal. Then, in ch. xii., entitled ‘Perseverance,’ Buddha’s disciples are encouraged to emulate their predecessors’ zeal and effort to endure hardships in working among the perverted people of the latter days of degeneration. The disciples, in response, utter a prayer for endurance, pledging themselves to stand through all kinds of persecution and perils. After enumerating the perils, the prayer concludes with the following words:

They will scold us and scorn and mock us. And thus we shall be repeatedly and repeatedly driven out of our own monasteries and sanctuaries. All this, hatred and persecutions, shall we behold. We shall not be colored person of a daylight of the sinful of our Lord’s command. In whichever cities or villages, where there may be any one who will listen to us, we shall remain and preach the precepts enunciated by Buddha. We are thy messengers, O Lord of the World, we have nothing to achieve any other aims. Now we take refuge in the presence and in presence of all Buddhas, who have come here from the ten quarters. Mayest thou, O Buddha, know our intention and determination! 2

This prayer was not only an expression of ardent desire for the Buddhist cause cherished by many Buddhists, but was also a source of fiery inspiration given to many others who really lived their lives according to the dictates of the vows.

4. ‘Adoration to the Lotus of the Perfect Truth.’—The Lotus played in Mahāyāna Buddhism a role similar to the Johannine literature in Christianity. Highest tributes were paid to the book by most Mahāyānists, from various points of view, doctrinal, ethical, apocalyptic. The final result was the formulation of a prayer to the book itself, as the embodiment of the whole content of Buddhist and cosmic truths. The man who standardized this formula was Nihiron (1222–82), a man of prophetic talent who was highly inspired by the theme of ‘Perseverance,’ cited above, and lived his life in perils and hardships. His formula was ‘Namu Myō-Hōreigen-kū,’ which

1 Cited above, usually called Lotus of the True Law (p. 59), SBE is used here as the text. 2 cf. SBE xxi. 53. 3 This passage is in verse and is here taken from the Chinese version (cf. SBE xxii, 201).
was the Sino-Japanese form of 'Namu Suddharmma-puṇḍarika-sūtrā,' 'Adoration be to the Lotus of the Perfect Truth.' We shall give a brief account of his theory and practice.

Worship, according to the Nichiren theory, amounts to a manifestation of self to Buddhahood and the discovery of bodhi in self. This doctrine was formulated by the Chinese philosopher Chi-i (531-597) on the authority of the Lotus, as the truth of 'mutual participation' or interdependence of cosmic existences, and Nichiren held the beliefs, therefore Buddhahood is found in every being, as demoniac nature is not lacking but subdued even in Buddha. The universe consisting of these interrelated existences is the stage on which the truth of the universe manifests itself, on which universal truths realize themselves in particular existences. Nichiren adopted this theory and represented it in a palpable way. His representation of the universe was to have the 'sacred title' (of the Lotus of Truth) written down in the centre, and the names of Buddhas, sages, gods and men, spirits and demons, represented round the central truth. This symbolic visualization of the universe, or of the supreme being together with all beings, is the same as the best means of realizing the cosmic truth in every worshipper's soul. The adoration of the book Lotus in this way is not a mere bibliolatry, but the worship of the universal truth, as revealed in the book. Now, this adoration is a kind of speech, a formula as above shown, and the oral utterance is prayer, hymn, confession, and oath of fidelity all at once. Although the utterance is an act of an individual, it is destined, by the very nature of cosmic structure, to awaken in one's self, together with all others, and spread in the universe, the existence of cosmic truths, and thus to accelerate the full bloom of the cosmic lotus-flower in every existence.

This thought about the adoration is expressed by Nichiren as follows: 'The letters which open every chapter of the Scripture are five (in Chinese ideograms denoting the Lotus of the Perfect Truth) and the same conclude each one of the chapters. Thus, the beginning and the consummation, as well as the whole between them, amount to the seven letters (denoting the Adoration of the Truth). To utter this Adoration is the sole clue to the propagation of the Truth in the latter days of degeneration. Any one who does not see the spirit of the letters and therefore fails to capture the key to the essential principle (of the truth and its propagation) is not worthy of a teacher in the latter ages, but merely serves to raise himself, but to his disciples and followers there is no need of any other device than the sole present words, as the source of all teaching.' In this view, the function is the means of realizing the truth of the mutual participation in every one's life, and the formula is a prayer addressed to Buddha and to the truths revealed by him, as well as to all beings and to one's own deeper self.

5. 'Homage to the Buddha of infinite light.'—As we have seen, the stories of various Buddhas and bodhisattvas are told in Mahayana books, with their respective vows of salvation. These stories and vows became sources of inspiration and stimulants to emulation for the respective believers in the superhuman beings. Among the objects of inspiration and devotion in this sense Amitabha, the Buddha of infinite light, played the most significant part, and his worship formed a distinct stream of Buddhist pietism. This form of Buddhism lays more emphasis on devotion than on emulation, in spite of the fact that the vows taken by Amitabha, while he was still a monk (1173-1262), were a specimen of the grand prayer for the salvation of all beings. In any case, the faith in Amitabha's all-embracing compassion and all-saving device caused many prayers of devotion to be uttered or written down, and the final result was a theory of salvation by faith which is expressed in the prayer in a simple form, 'Namu Amida-butsu,' which is the Sino-Japanese form of 'Namo Amitabhaya Buddhaya,' 'Homage be to the Buddha of infinite light.'

Before considering this simple prayer to Amitabha, let us give a special address to him. Vasubandhu opens his commentary on the Sukhavati-vyuha (Nanjio, no. 1204) with a prayer:

'O Exalted One! I trust myself whole-heartedly To the Tathagata whose light pervades Without any impediment, the regions in the ten quarters, And express my earnest desire to be born in Thy land.

In realizing the vision of the appearance of Thy land, I know that the whole heavenly realm in the ten thousand worlds is good. And Thy light permeates everywhere, Like the light of the moon and the sun of the day. (Further description of the excellence of the Paradise.) Let me pray that all beings, having been born there, shall proclaim the Truth, like Buddha Thyeol.

Herewith I write down this essay and utter these verses, And pray that I could see Thee, O Buddha, face to face, And become a fellow with all the other fellow-beings. Attain the birth in the Land of Illus.'

(In this prose translation, the lines of the original verse are preserved.)

Vasubandhu further prescribes the five methods of worship to those who desire the communion of the land of bliss: (1) reverence shown by bodily acts of worship; (2) adoration expressed in oral utterance; (3) earnest thought and prayer carried out by the fixation of mind; (4) intent thought to visualize the Buddha and his land; (5) dedication of all good will and works to the welfare of fellow-beings. Among these five methods adoration by oral utterance, especially in calling the Buddha's name (nāma-deitya), became an important factor in the worship, and the final result was the formula cited above. This kind of prayer tends very naturally to become a mechanical repetition of the name, and there were and are many forms of its practising the method in that way. Yet we must know that devotional piety and earnest thought are kept and stimulated even by the repetition of the Buddha's name, and also that the leaders of this Buddhist pietism were always keen on emphasizing faith and moral life as manifestations of piety.

Moreover, there is another interesting phase in the development of Amida-Buddhism, viz. that a special theory of prayer was propounded by one of its leaders, Nichiren (1173-1262), a Japanese reformer. He explains the faithful thought to mean, not only a thought, but also reverence shown towards the Buddha, through one's moral life, as well as the adoration of his grace by oral utterance of his name. This adoration by the repetition of the same consonant and vow is told in the Sukhavati-vyuha (SBE xliii. pt. ii.). The scenes are depicted in a highly imaginative way and the vows taken are elaborate and high-sounding, yet all after the model of the story of Sumedha. This link of affinity between the two stories is a strong point against the theory that the belief in this Buddha was a mere influence of the former point to the same effect is the development of the faith, which can be traced step by step from the texts of China, and Japan, and Translators, the chief figure of ch. xiv. (xxv. in Chinese) of the Lotus. For one of the prayers addressed to him see J. Estlin Carpenter, Comparative Religion (Horne University Library), London (1915), p. 156.

1 The threefold thought in devotion is faithful thought, profound thought, and the thought to attain the final bliss by dedicating all to that end (cf. SBE xliii. pt. ii. p. 155).
tion of the Buddha's name, ought to be uttered, never with any idea of petition, but always as an expression of absolute dependence on, and of gratitude towards, the Buddha's grace. Shinran taught this doctrine of prayer because he believed in the infinite strength of the Buddha's saving power, which reduces any idea of exhort or self-reliance, not only to useless redundancy, but to a harmful impediment to the true devotion. Thus, prayer is regarded by Shinran as an expression of absolute dependence, on our part, on the Buddha's compassion and redeeming grace.

Shinran, in this way, the antipodes of the religion of self-perfection, as we see it in the original tenet of Buddhism; yet, in strictly excluding the idea of petition from prayer, he returned to the original standpoint of Buddhism, in which prayer is seen to be in the prevailing forms of the Buddhism of his time.


PRAYER (Chinese).—The idea of prayer has permeated the whole religious life of China, under which is meant the life that we look up to from the earliest ages of which we have any knowledge down to the present time. The Chinese had 'in everything by prayer and supplication' made known their requests long before St. Paul wrote those lines, etc.
The present writer has heard extempore prayer in a temple, but set forms are very largely used. Supplications are prepared to meet different circumstances with blanks to fill in personal particulars of names, etc. These are burned, this process, it is believed, ensuring their passage to the other world. Among such are prayers after bad dreams, and when some untoward event has been seen, as a crowing hen, a dog digging a hole, etc.

When Confucius was ill, one of his disciples wished prayer to be offered to the spirits for his master. The duke of Chou prayed for King Wu, his brother, to their great-grandfather, grandfather, and father. The famous general Chiu Kiang in ancient times prayed for restoration to health. Some very for long life for their parents, and petitions are offered for offspring (the goddess of mercy is much sought after for that purpose). Confucius was born after prayer by his mother. Almost as varied as the objects of prayer are the devotees of prayer. It is not merely the monks and priests, the highest being Shang Ti, the Supreme Ruler. From ancient times this worship of God has been regularly kept up by the sovereign. As one instance of it, the emperor Kien Lung 'in times of scarcity . . . begged grain from the Ruler above,'

With this basis of monotheism there was also worship of the spirits presiding over rivers and hills of note, the mounds, dykes, plains, forests, and the spirits of sages and worthies of ancient times. Worship for long life for their parents, and petitions are offered for offspring (the goddess of mercy is much sought after for that purpose). Confucius was born after prayer by his mother. Almost as varied as the objects of prayer are the devotees of prayer. It is not merely the monks and priests, the highest being Shang Ti, the Supreme Ruler. The prayers to these were in the character of announcements, thanksgivings, petitions, 1 E. H. Parker, Ancient China Simplified, London, 1905, p. 58; Chinese Recorder, Shanghai, 1898-1924, p. 153, 146.
2 J. Dyer Ball, Is Buddhism a Preparation or a Hindrance to Christianity in China, Shanghai, 1907, p. 14f.
3 Chinese Recorder, iv., 399, 370.
4 J. Legge, The Chinese Classics, Hongkong, 1861-75, i.
5 Confucian Analects, etc., p. 73.
7 J. Legge, The Religion of China, p. 75; also his Chinese Classics, ii., 'The Works of Mencius.'
8 J. Legge, 'The Shoo King,' p. 192.

or adoration. Those of adoration are the only kind used in the worship to Confucius.

Heaven and Earth, as the manifestations and revelations of the Supreme Being, were the objects of imperial worship 1 and also at times of that of the common people.

The present writer will never forget a most impressive instance of such a terrible storm, when a ponderous temple, with many a crowing hen, a dog digging a hole, etc.

Ancestor-worship is regularly engaged in by every family which is not Christian. Numerous gods and goddesses, delfied heroes, sacred trees, smooth stones from the brook, bridges, etc., or their spirits, are worshipped with prayer and offerings.

Buddhist and Taoist monks and priests read liturgies and prayers in the temples and monasteries. There is no suggestion of prayer in the Tao Teh King of Lao-tzu, though it soon appears in Taoism.

Buddhist gods are ideas personified, mostly fictitious personations, so that Buddhist worship, except among the simple-minded in China, is but a homage rendered to ideas and is only supposed to be necessary in its effects. Their worship is useful as a discipline, but, as such, to be not effective. Prayer is not absolutely necessary to the Buddhist. But the common man or woman in China, like the rest of the human race, feels the need of prayer and is not concerned with this esoteric view.

The following prayer was used by the Ming emperors at the solstice worship of Shang Ti:

1 "All the numerous tribes of animal beings are indebted to Thy favour for their beguining. Men and creatures are endorsed, O (Lord), in Thy love. All living things are indebted to Thy goodness, but who knows whence his blessing begins to. It is Thine alone, O Lord, who are the true parent of all things. The Service of Song is completed but our poor sincerity cannot be fully expressed. Sovereign goodness is infinite. As a potter Thou hast made all living things. Great and small are curtained round. As engraven on the heart of Thy poor servant is the sense of Thy goodness, but my feeling cannot be fully displayed. With great kindness Thou dost bear with us, and notwithstanding our demerits dost grant us life and prosperity." 4

This very high level of spirituality is not reached in many of the ritual prayers.

Although a tablet to the emperor appeared in the larger temples, it is only recently that prayer for the government and those in authority has been desired, and the Chinese turned to the Christians for it, the emperor having been dethroned with his State worship.

One of the most eminent Chinese philosophers, a great Confucian commentator, said:

'Prayer is the expression of repentance and promise of amendment, to supplicate the help of the spirits. If there may be no such things, then there is no need for praying. In the case of the Sage (Confucius), he had committed no errors, and admitted of no amendment. In all his conduct he had been in harmony with the spiritual intelligences, and therefore he said: 'My praying has been for a long time.'" 5

The spirit in which prayer is offered is considered by the Chinese to be of the utmost importance. The Master (Confucius) said: 'Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles,' and the spirit in which prayer is offered must be a sincere one. Some amount of ceremony is generally observed with prayer. Offerings of meat and vegetables are often presented in a cup of wine; wax candles are lighted and incense-sticks and mock paper money burned.

The attitude taken in prayer is typical of reverence. Kneeling mats are provided in temples for

3 Edkins, op. cit., p. 111.
5 Chinese Recorder, iv., 399 ff.
6 Legge, Chinese Classics, i. 5.
the worshippers, who not only kneel but often touch the ground with their foreheads and perform the kowtow. If weak and unable to kneel, the worshipper is told in polite books that he may sit; if standing in prayer, extended hands are laid palm to palm with extended fingers and raised up and down several times.

**LITERATURE.—Authorities are cited in the footnotes.**

**PRAYER (Christian, Theological).—**The fact of prayer is the supreme proof of the importance of religion as an element in human life. Face to face with vast and mysterious forces, beset by dangers, urged on by unceasing needs, man turns instinctively for help to powers other and greater than himself. Prayer is wide as the world and older than history. The animistic savage and the polytheist, as well as the Christian, practise it. Even the Buddhist, though in strictness his creed should find no place for it, seeks solace in prayer. In the presence of such facts, it is not wrong to speak of prayer as an instinct of the human heart. It is an instinct springing from man's sense of his own weakness and limitations and from his recognition of the power of which the universe dwells. Prayer may truly be said to be prior to all definite creeds, to be indeed the expression of the need which all creeds seek to satisfy. 'He that cometh to God must believe that he is,' (He 11), we are taught, and the saying is true; but the belief is often implicit rather than explicit.

With the advent of monotheism, prayer reaches a new dignity and power. Belief in the one Deity, sovereign in the universe, carries with it a sense of security and of elevation, which has an ennobling influence on thought and life. It makes men strong and free in the world. Here is the secret of the transformation which Islam effects for the African animist. Christianity offers better gifts, but the gifts of Islam are not to be despised. The monotheist, set free from the terrors of the animistic demon-world, or from the uncertainties and confusions of the polytheistic pantheon, lifts his face to heaven and gives his worship to the Supreme alone, and asks help from a Power which, he is assured, has no rival.

1. **Definition.**—Prayer is not necessarily petition, the asking for benefits. Any intercourse of a human soul with higher powers may rightly be termed prayer. For the monotheist prayer is intercourse with God. Prayer, says Jeremy Taylor, is 'an ascent of the mind to God.' 2 All forms of such ascent — adoration, confession, thanksgiving, as well as petitions seeking for definite gifts — may be included in the generic term 'prayer.' Prayer is, in general, the communion of the human soul with God.

This communion is not necessarily an inward consciousness of spiritual relationship with God. There is a tendency in modern writings on this subject to regard prayer as necessarily involving an apprehension of the Divine Presence in an essentially inward manner. But there is no proof of this. The inward apprehension of God is the soul of all mysticism; and it would be going too far to claim mystical experience for every prayer. Still it is a mark of prayer that he may be said of Solomon, 'Hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling place' (1 K 8:27), expresses the natural thought of the simple mind.

2. **OT.**—Monotheistic prayer in its pre-Christian form reaches its greatest elevation in the OT. All the forms which the intercourse of the human soul with God is able to assume will be found there in unexampled nobility and splendour. The cry of the soul for God, as in Ps 42; confession of sin, as in Ps 51; intercession, thanksgiving, petition — all these are found in the OT, and especially in the Psalms. The OT monuments it as to-day as the most perfect utterances of spiritual devotion.

The principal elements which distinguish the prayers of the OT are: (1) a vivid consciousness of God as a living personal Presence, in supreme reality, and with power; (2) an unflagging realization of His holiness, involving the conviction that only through moral goodness can men become acceptable in His sight. Ps 139 affords a striking instance of both these elements; but they are to be found everywhere. God as the living God, and righteousness of life as that which alone can bring man into harmony with Him — these are the essentials of the monotheism of the OT and they are the distinguishing marks of its prayers.

3. **NT.**—There are many details for detailed consideration. The NT is full of exhortations to prayer and promises of blessing to those who pray aright. It also contains many examples of prayer. So important a place does prayer occupy in the New Testament, that it may be doubted whether to doubt the efficacy of prayer is to shake the very foundations of Christianity. To determine the essential elements of Christian prayer, we must go to the teachings of Christ Himself. The fullest and most explicit is found in Mt 6:9-14. A brief analysis of this passage will exhibit the principles of Christian prayer.

(1) Prayer must have spiritual reality. This truth is enforced by means of a warning against hypocrisy, i.e. against unreality. The warning is twofold: (a) against that unreality which uses the observances of prayer for outward show, in order to gain credit in the world, and (b) against vain repetitions, i.e. against using the forms of prayer as ineffectual prayers; the mere repetition of such formularies, it is said, will not be evil or effect some good. Prayer is to be real spiritual intercourse between the soul and God: 'When thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret' (Mt 6).

(2) We are taught to approach God as a child drawing near to a father, with perfect simplicity and directness, in confidence and love. 'Pray to thy Father;' and remember that 'your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him' (Mt 7). He is a Father whose knowledge of your needs is infinitely greater than your own.

(3) Christ gives a form of prayer which is to serve as a pattern. The Lord's Prayer teaches us what to pray for. It also teaches us how to pray. In we are taught to pray for the supreme end which God Himself seeks, and also for temporal and spiritual good for ourselves. Most remarkable is the order in which the petitions are arranged. The prayers for God's glory and Kingdom come before anything personal is asked. From this we gather that all private and personal ends must be subordinated to the higher purposes of the Divine Will. All our prayers must be offered up with the condition that the supreme end, which is the universal good, must overrule all particular ends. There must be no selfishness in prayer. The greatest instance of the application of this principle is to be found in the life of Christ Himself. When confronted with the last great temptation, He prayed, was delivered, but added, 'nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done' (Lk 22:42).

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"The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living, London, 1668, ch. iv. § 7., Identical with Aquinas's 'ascensus intellectus in Deum' (Summa Theol. i. q. xiv. art. 18, 'de Oratone')."
This is the same principle as that which Christ sets forth as the supreme rule of all true living: ‘Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness’ (Mt 6:33). In this principle also we find the significance of the characteristic law of Christian prayer that is offered in this the marvellous grace of God. The mission, sacrifice, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ form the means by which the Kingdom is established through the overcoming of evil and the perfecting of humanity. In and through these means the world is brought into accord with the supreme Divine purpose. ‘If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you’ (Jn 15). Prayer which is truly ‘in Christ’ can never be in vain.

It is not going too far to say that, when these principles are grasped firmly, the difficulties which have so frequently troubled the minds of thoughtful people on the subject of prayer will be found capable of solution. Our purpose here is to exhibit this fact as clearly and simply as possible and to deal briefly with the deeper scientific and philosophical problems which are involved.

4. Two main difficulties.—Two great objections have been made against the efficacy of petitionary prayer.

(a) The moral, or theological, objection.—This difficulty has troubled devout minds in all ages. It assumes many forms, but, in its commonest shape, may be presented thus: God knows, better than we do, all that is good for us. Trusting in His supreme wisdom and power, we may rely upon Him to do what is best without any request on our part. To ask Him for gifts is really an effort to get Him to do something for us which we fear He may not be disposed to do. An exercise of faith, it is in truth a manifestation of doubt, perhaps even of selfishness. It is, in effect, an attempt to induce God to change His mind. Hence it is concluded that the only justifiable prayer is the prayer for resignation or, more properly, for submission of the will to God. The intercourse of the soul with God, it is said, should never be the asking for definite gifts, but always the bringing of the human will into harmony with the Divine.

In all this there would seem to be an element of truth and an element of error. The element of truth will be found in the final words in which the objection has just been stated: true prayer must always involve the bringing of the mind and will of man into harmony with the mind and will of God. This is another way of expressing the third condition of Christian prayer as given above: all private and personal aims must be subordinated to the higher purposes of the Divine Will. The element of error will be found in the supposition that this bringing of the human will into harmony with the Divine renders impossible the asking and the receiving of special benefits. The true inference is quite opposite. When the will has been brought into harmony with the mind and will of God, this is another way of expressing what the whole argument is: it is to leave out of account the incessant action and reaction of the spiritual world. The unchangeableness of God does not mean that the universe is a perfectly articulated machine, without any powers of choice or reaction. The history of the human evolution has been the history of the development of the human soul, and prayer is a further step in the progress of this development. It means, rather, that the principles and purposes of the Divine Providence are eternal and unchangeable. If God be a living God—a personal Life with whom our souls are in relationship—it follows that to every movement of the human will there is some corresponding Divine reaction. When, therefore, the will of man is brought into harmony with the Will of God, the soul is rendered capable of blessings which were before impossible. The moral condition on which those blessings depend is the condition of prayer. Prayer is essentially the fulfilment of this moral condition. True prayer is the movement of the human soul into a new relationship with God. Every true prayer, therefore, renders some blessing possible. This is the conviction which has become clearer. The forgiveness of sins is granted in response to the prayer which expresses true repentance. Confession of sin which has no spiritual reality behind it, which is a mere form of words, cannot call down pardon. Only when the soul moves into harmony with the Divine Will—a movement which finds its inevitable expression in the prayer of contrition—is the blessing bestowed. This insistence is that selected by Christ Himself. Commenting on the petition, ‘Forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors,’ He says: ‘If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses’ (Mt 6:14). Here the connection is clear. The great gift of salvation is the bringing of the mind and will of man into harmony with the mind and will of God. When that movement of the soul has taken place, the gift becomes possible. True prayer is the expression of a spiritual change which brings a new capacity to receive blessing from God. Nor is there any reason why this capacity should be relative only to spiritual gifts. The principle involved applies to the whole range of blessing, temporal as well as spiritual, in a moral and spiritual universe where all the possessions and capacities of moral and spiritual beings must be morally and spiritually conditioned.

The whole force of the moral, or theological, difficulty in relation to prayer is derived from an erroneous—indeed impossible—view of the nature of the spiritual universe. This view attributes to the spiritual a mechanical rigidity which is altogether alien from its true nature.

(b) The logical objection.—This is the one which has pressed with great weight upon the modern mind, for it derives its force from modern scientific conceptions of the universe. It depends upon the scientific principle of natural law. The advance of science, so wonderful in the modern world, has introduced the doctrine of the discovery of what are termed ‘laws of nature,’ i.e., a great order according to which events happen. Cause and effect are linked together in the natural world by certain unvarying uniformities of sequence. When one of these uniformities has been determined, it is found to be constant and unchangeable. And, the further science advances, the more fully does it appear that things and events in nature are subject to the sway of such uniformities. From this it seems to follow that the whole course of nature is a perfectly determined system. Everything that happens is the result of the previous state of things, in a relationship which is absolutely necessary.

The effect of this of course is that any devout minds has been such that prayer for benefits involving material elements has been regarded as meaningless. How can we pray for fair weather if we believe that the weather is determined by natural law? How can we pray for recovery from sickness if we believe that sickness and health depend on the physical condition of the organism, and that that condition arises from certain antecedent causes in accordance with unvarying laws? Some of those who have been...
influenced by this reasoning divide the world of human experience into two parts, spiritual and material. In the former, they think, prayer is effective, and blessings may be obtained by it; in the latter they believe prayer to be wholly unreasonable and ineffective. Such thinkers, regarding the laws of nature as the expression of the Divine Will, hold that, when we pray for material results, we are guilty of the folly of asking God to abrogate His own laws.

It is not surprising that a conception of natural law which has had so great an effect upon sincerely religious minds should have been even more influential in relation to the common opinion of the modern world. Materialism, founded by H. Huxley, and popularised by H. Spencer, has admitted the existence of a spiritual realm in which events occur which are not subject to the laws of physical causation. It has been argued, however, that change in the physical order seems impossible, but in the spiritual realm the intercourse of a soul with God may well be a means of great and varied blessing.

In considering this mode of thought, it is necessary first to take account of the sharp distinction which is so frequently made between the material and the spiritual. In regard to the latter, it is admitted that prayer may have results; its efficacy in relation to the former is denied. And hence the language of the prayer itself must be made. There are some who believe in a real response of God to the cry of the human soul seeking for spiritual blessing; there are others who think that the spiritual value of prayer is to be accounted for only by its subservience to the development of the properties of the soul, or the attainment of higher things; it brings peace, resignation, trust; these are its real benefits. None can deny these subjective effects; but, if prayer be no more, it loses even this value; for it becomes an impossibility for the enlightened. Who could seek peace in prayer, knowing all the time that his cry for help could bring no real response? This doctrine is but another form of the cynical view which regards religion as a useful superstition—an illusion which gives comfort to those whose ignorance permits them to enjoy it. More important is the view of those who hold that there is a real Divine response in the spiritual sphere, as distinguished from the physical. Many great religious thinkers of the 19th century have made this distinction. Their reason for doing so has already been explained. It was a mode of thought characteristic of the time. More recent movements of science and philosophy have been showing that this sharp division between the two realms of being cannot be maintained. Psychology has been proving the greatness of the influence of mind upon matter, and physiology has been revealing the fact that the brain is an organ which subserves the direct agency of intelligence (see W. McDougall, Body and Mind. London, 1911). The brain has been compared by Bergson to a telephone exchange. It is the instrument by which the response of the organism to a stimulus from without is controlled.

In relation to all such forms of thinking, however, our common sense supplies a ready solution of the problem which we are now considering. And here common sense is most perfectly expressed in the formula of the Christian: "Pray to the Father." When a child asks for some gift, he never pauses to think whether the gift is material or spiritual. His prayer expresses his need with the utmost simplicity and directness. As to material benefits, he knows perfectly well that his father, whose benevolence can intercede to help one another. A man drowning in deep water cries out for help because he knows that human power may be often able to arrest the progress of disease. We are all aware that there are limits to human power in its intervention in the course of natural events; but that, within those limits, its ability to produce changes in that course is shown by the course of human experiences. The mind and will of man can subordinate the course of nature to human purposes.

Further, this power is not inconsistent with the perfect fulfilment of the laws of nature. Man is able to employ natural forces in many different ways, and in many different ways, for his own ends; but every force so employed operates in accordance with its proper laws. Thus it is that all human works are accomplished. Thus almost the whole surface of the globe has been covered with fleets, the earth penetrated in pursuit of its hidden wealth. So it is that man can rise high in air in opposition to the force of gravitation, speak to a friend miles away, and send his messages round the world.

And not only is all this done in accordance with the laws of nature, but its very possibility is dependent upon the existence of natural law. The laws of nature are only another name for the trustworthiness of natural forces. When we find that natural forces are subject to mutations, that we can answer to prayer involving change in the physical order seems impossible, but in the spiritual realm the intercourse of a soul with God may well be a means of great and varied blessing.
Forgetting to consider this, and regarding nature in an abstract theoretical way as a system of laws, we form a purely fictitious conception of it from which all spiritual initiative is excluded. We then apply this conception to God’s relation to the universe and to the individual, and thus ascribe to God should first be ascribed to ourselves. Thus arises the illusion which has darkened so many souls.

Far clearer in thought and truer in principle is the faith which paves with simplicity from the common earthly experience to God in relation to human need. The earthly father can and does help his child; how much more must the Heavenly Father be able and willing to answer the prayers of His children?

It may be urged as an objection against all this that, in the case of man, we can trace his intervention in the succession of natural causes; we see him at work, selecting and combining the elements with which he deals, and so bringing about the results which he has in view. The drowning man cries for help; his shout is heard; and, by means of a rope or a boat, he is pulled out of danger. But we see no sign of similar interventions by Divine agency in response to the inventiveness of souls beneath whom their prayers are answered, it will be found that the desired results have come about by means of the apparently undisturbed operation of natural causes. If this be, in truth, God’s work in answer to prayer, His method must be different from that employed by man when he controls the succession of events. This is an important objection, and, up to a certain point, perfectly sound. It is not to be supposed that God’s response to prayer takes place in the superficial way characteristic of the natural world. Whatever conception we may form of the Divine relation to the forces and laws of nature, we cannot believe that the Almighty works as man works. Man by constant and painful trial has borrowed a little beneath the surface of things and so made useful discoveries which enable him, in a manner which is marvellous for him, to guide the course of nature for his own purposes. But God’s control of natural forces must be very different. Man works upon the surface, and it is not the thing that he understands best. What we call forces and laws of nature are but fragments abstracted from the whole and presented in forms which have been shaped by our human needs and methods. It is absurd to suppose that they are the Source and Support of the universe in the same limited way. But the objection assumes that there can be no other way in which to approach it—an absurd supposition. The whole meaning of the argument which has been presented above is just this: if man with his very limited knowledge and power is able to control natural forces for the satisfaction of human needs, how much more must the Eternal God, with His infinitely larger and deeper grasp of the material universe, be able to use the laws and processes of nature or the forces of things, through the spiritual relationships into which He enters with His human children! Neither in the human sphere nor in the divine is it necessary to suppose any violation or suspension of natural law.

The difficulty which so far have occupied our attention are by far the greatest and most formidable of all in connection with the subject of prayer. Some minor objections deserve a brief consideration.

(a) Prayer inconsistent with science.—The habit of thinking, it has been said, tends to weaken character. Men should learn to exert themselves, and so win, by their own efforts, what they require, and not look continually to some great power above them for help. The records of Christianity afford sufficient evidence to the effect that man is too small a being to claim the interest and attention of the Almighty. The vastness of the physical universe as revealed by astronomy, and its immeasurable history as disclosed by geology and biology, teach us that man is of very little account in the whole scheme. It is sheer presumption on his part to ask God to attend to his petitions. And how much more does this apply to the individual human being, who is but one out of many hundreds of millions of beings of the same sort?

In a similar spirit, it has been said that it is inconceivable that God can give serious ear to individual consideration at all and the multitude of petitions, ‘wise and unwise, selfish and unselfish, which are addressed to Him daily and hourly by hundreds of millions of human beings’ (C. Stewart, in HJ ix. 366).

In answer to such objections, it must be observed (a) that, no matter how small and weak man may be, he is yet a spiritual being, capable of knowledge, goodness, and love, able to enter into communion with God; and (b) that such arguments, instead of attributing greatness to God, really detract from His greatness. A worthy conception of God’s greatness will discern that nothing is little, nothing insignificant, in His sight. He is not like a collector who prizes a thing because it is rare, nor like a megalomaniac who admires only the gigantic, nor like a tired official who finds details wearisome and not worth the trouble of attending to them. In the universe the midge is as perfectly formed as the whale, the snowflake as harmonious as the solar system. But, above all, God’s supreme greatness is His spiritual perfection. To Him spiritual ends are supremely important. The end of every human being possessed of personality must be a matter outweighing all material considerations.

(b) The inconsistency of human prayers.—It is often said that petitions addressed to God are so bewilderingly conflicting as to the diversity of human, that it is impossible to suppose that they can be rightly offered, or can call down an answer. One farmer prays for rain, another for fair weather. In every war both sides pray for victory.

It is indeed astonishing that this objection has been seriously entertained by some reasonable people. Every true prayer must be offered up, as we have seen, with the condition that the granting of the petition is in accordance with the Divine Will. ‘Not my will, but thine, be done’ must express the spirit of every prayer. Further, every true prayer, recognizing the fact of human ignorance, must invoke the ‘if it be thy will’ (Mt 14:36). And it is surely true that no Christian soul ever expects the answer to his prayer to take precisely the shape fashioned by his own desires and imagination. On the contrary, he is convinced that, whatever the appearance may be, the God who knows ‘our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking,’ will always give to His children more and better than they can ever ‘ask or think’ in response to their petitions.

(c) Prayer inconsistent with science.—The habit of thinking, it has been said, tends to weaken character. Men should learn to exert themselves, and so win, by their own efforts, what they require, and not look continually to some great power above them for help. The records of Christianity afford sufficient evidence to the effect that man is too small a being to claim the interest and attention of the Almighty. The vastness of the physical universe as revealed by astronomy, and its immeasurable history as disclosed by geology and biology, teach us that man is of very little account in the whole scheme. It is sheer presumption on his part to ask God to attend to his petitions. And how much more does this apply to the individual human being, who is but one out of many hundreds of millions of beings of the same sort?

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prayer. "Give us this day our daily bread" [Matthew 6, 11.]. We the recognition wards [1872] can the rewards were moral Tyndall from the difficulty He soul to the one. It has been urged that the effects of prayer, if it has any, must be of such a nature as to be open to proof by ordinary scientific methods. Tyndall proposed that two wards in a hospital should be selected; in one the patients should be treated by medical science, in the other they should be made the subjects of prayer only (CR xx. [1872]210). Others suggested tests by observation. Sovereigns and royal princes are prayed for more constantly than other people; can we, in the records of such prayers, find that they have enjoyed longer life and been endowed with greater blessings, spiritual and temporal, than those who have not been so much prayed for? (F. Galton, Fortnightly Review, new ser., xii. [1874].)

The crudeness of these suggestions is perhaps more obvious now than at the time when they were made.

(1) It is now known that the influence of suggestion upon mind and body is very great, and there is clear evidence that suggestion can act unconsciously. Also there is good evidence for telepathy, i.e. the influence of mind upon mind at a distance and independently of material and sensational methods of communication.

(2) It would have been more difficult to determine the real conditions of such an experiment as Tyndall proposed. It is obvious also that royal princes, in their relation to their mental and moral environment, are in a position very different from that of ordinary men. Further, it is impossible to isolate any human soul from the influence of prayer.

In addition to these considerations, it should be remembered that Tyndall's proposed experiment would have been the first attempt of its kind. It would have been altogether lacking in spiritual reality. It would have been an exhibition of doubt rather than of faith. It would have been treating the Almighty as if He were a chemical reaction.

(c) Intercessory prayer. — There is a peculiar difficulty involved in prayer of this kind. We have seen that, when a soul turns to God in sincere prayer, the spiritual movement which the prayer expresses establishes a new relation of the soul to God which makes possible blessings that would otherwise be impossible. Thus the prayer of con- trition fits a soul to receive the Divine pardon. This consideration enabled us to perceive that true prayer is not inconsistent with a perfect submission to the unchanging purposes of the Divine Will. But here, it will be asked, can the movement of a soul towards God be efficacious for the benefit of another?

The problems involved in this question are very profound, and to consider them with any fullness we must return to the latter part of the previous chapter. The simplicity on which we have laid down which will be found to give help. (1) Modern psychology has shown that one mind can influence another in other ways than by speech and sight, and therefore can alter to some degree the impressions which it is capable of transmitting to the mind. (2) A soul which yields itself to God in prayer may become the channel through which Divine influences can flow to others as well as to itself. As the influence of goodness in a human being can spread from soul to soul, so much more can a far greater degree, can the influence of Divine goodness pass through one human soul to another.

6. Deeper problems. — (a) Conception of God. — Prayer assumes the being of God. But in what sense, if any, the existence of God is proposed in monotheism. The essence of this doctrine is that God is one, holy, supreme in the universe, and standing in a moral relationship with His creatures. All our arguments so far have gone upon this postulate. But this doctrine is capable of several interpretations.

(1) God is sometimes conceived as altogether transcendent. He is a creator who called the world into being, giving it a certain definite constitution. This thought of God is founded on an analogy from human work. An engineer makes a machine, fitting its parts together, so constructing an instrument by means of which certain desired results can be accomplished. So God, having a great purpose in view, created the universe. To this conception a very great difficulty is apt to arise. It is only a very imperfect machine which requires to be continually set right. If the universe needs constant interference in the shape of answers to prayer, or intercession, it must be a very imperfect machine. On the other hand, if God foresaw and ordered everything from the beginning, what place can there be for changes in answer to the petitions of men? To this question there can be only one possible answer, viz. that prayer, and the theologians have not hesitated to give: both the prayer and its answer must be parts of the original Divine plan (J. McCosh, CR xx. 777).

It must be confessed that this solution seems to make prayer unreal; the spontaneity of human initiative has disappeared, and we are left with a sort of self-generated social mechanism, which nearly all the theologians have hesitated to give: both the prayer and its answer must be parts of the original Divine plan. (J. McCosh, CR xx. 777).

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(2) Our thoughts on this subject can be to a great degree corrected by introducing another conception. We can think of God as the immanent Life of the universe. This conception brings our thoughts into very suggestive relationship with modern ideas of evolution. It also enables us to think of God as a very great power which is in every other living being, and every element in nature, is in continual intercourse and contact. We are thus lifted out of those purely mechanical ideas within which the former conception confined us. At the same time, the idea of immanence is in constant danger of drifting into pantheism, and therefore of losing belief in that moral relationship between God and man which is the very life of a monothelite creed, and the foundation of all faith in the efficacy of prayer.

(3) There is a higher conception of Divine transcendence which is not inconsistent with belief in the immanence of God. This conception is founded on a full recognition of all the data of experience. Discerning in the principle of personality our nearest ground of human feeling, it takes account of the moral freedom of the human individual. It therefore thinks of God as the supreme personal Life, within the sphere of whose being there is room for the free interaction of the whole of his subhuman and sub-divine, through the Infinite in whom we live and move and have our being, and the Father of spirits on whose love and providence we depend. The difficulty of making this conception perfectly consistent is simply that we have only been able to think in one scheme of thought the diverse elements of the world of our experience. The true value of this view of God, as at the same time immanent and
transcendent in this higher sense, is that it takes account of all the facts and holds fast to that fundamental monotheism which is the ultimate justification of the position that the moral aim is supreme in the universe. 

(b) The unchangeableness of God.—The conception of God which has just been set forth gives us the true solution of this problem. When we speak of God as unchangeable, we do not mean that the whole universe is fixed by His fiat in a complete rigidity. That is the mechanical conception which, as we have seen, is wholly inconsistent with the facts of life and morality. God is unchangeable in the sense of being absolutely trustworthy, purpose cannot be altered. That purpose is the realization of the moral ideal. It is the good of all and the good of each. It is the Kingdom of God, or Kingdom of Love. In its application to the infinite variety of human and moral situations, this unchangeable purpose must take the form of an unfailing Divine response to every element and tendency of good in the character and life of finite personalities.

(c) Conception of law. — Much confusion has been caused by the failure to distinguish between the various meanings of the word ‘law.’ We speak of the laws of nature, and also of the moral law. It has sometimes been asked, Are we to pray to God to abrogate His own laws? The reference is to the moral law. The law of nature is a discovery by science; but the whole force of the question resides in the connexion of the word ‘law’ with God, and our reverence for the great moral laws which we have been taught to trace to Him. A law of nature is merely an observed uniformity, a manner of physical cause and effect, a certain order in the way in which events follow one another. Such a law is not, in itself, capable of effecting anything. It is even wrong therefore to speak of nature as being governed by laws. A law of nature, in fact, simply our way of grouping our observations. It is a description and nothing more. Nor are we at all sure that such descriptions of grouped natural processes as have been so far ascertained, and labelled laws, are anything but provisional statements. There are indications that even such vast generalizations as the law of gravitation or the law of the conservation of energy may some day be merged in larger descriptions of the sequences which they include.

The science of today is showing good reason to believe that these laws of nature, which are essentially the description of natural processes in terms of human intelligence, are relative to our mode of grasping our experience of the physical world with a view to the satisfaction of our needs (see Bergson, Creative Evolution, Eng. tr., London, 1911, ch. ii.). They have, that is, been shaped by the practical aims of human life. It is altogether in harmony with this doctrine that the knowledge of these laws is the very means by which man employs in order to control natural processes for his own purposes. His amazing success in this work is revealed at every turn in our wonderful modern world. The absurdity of supposing that the discovery of these laws makes it improper for us to pray to God for benefits which such changes in the physical sphere is therefore manifest.

The most notable expression of the doctrine that the laws of nature forbid prayer is Tyndall’s famous attempt to show that the principle of the conservation of energy invalidates all possibility of Divine intervention in the physical world.

The principle," he writes, "teaches us that the Italian wind gliding over the crest of the Matterhorn is as firmly ruled as the sun rising from his bed in the East, that the fall of its vapour into clouds is exactly as much a matter of necessity as the rise of the seasons. ... Without a disturbance of natural law, quite as serious as the stoppage of an eclipse, or the rolling of the St. Lawton up the Falls of Niagara, no act of humiliatiou, individual or national, could call one single atom, or deflect t free beam of the sun (\"Fragments of Science, p. 335, \"Prayer and Natural Laws.").

This argument, enforced as it was by the authority of a distinguished man of science, had an enormous effect at the time when it was first presented (see Stopford Brooke, Christ in Modern Life, p. 132) and is not without influence even now. But as Oliver Lodge points out, it is open to objection—

'Even from the strictly scientific point of view: the law of the conservation of energy is needlessly dragged in when it has nothing really to do with the matter. We do not ask of God that we have no power, nor hint of any power, to override the conservation of energy, are yet readily able, by a simple physical experiment, or by an engineering operation, to deflect a ray of light, or to dissipate a mist, or divert a wind, or pump water uphill (\"Man and the Universe, p. 7, see also chs. i.-iii., and Life and Matter).

George Stokes deals with objections of this kind in a similar manner and with equal clearness and decision (\"Natural Theology, p. 220). These utterances of competent scientific authorities are in perfect accord with what has been said on this subject. The principle which they express is just this: natural law is indeed unfailing, but all experience proves that this constancy does not prevent human intelligence and skill from making use of physical forces and so effecting results which the nature of those forces would make it impossible ever to bring about. If human power can do so much, why should Divine power be helpless? As we have seen, the existence of those constant uniformities which we call the laws of nature is the very foundation of all human power in dealing with the forces of nature. Therefore we have reason to believe that, in a far profounder way, the order of nature subserves the operations of Divine Providence.

(d) Prayer and miracle.—Objection is sometimes made that prayer is in essence the request that God should interfere miraculously for our benefit. Fundamentally, it is said, answers to prayer and miracles, if such things happen, are indistinguishable. This is not the place to discuss the great and intricate question of the miraculous (see art. MIRACLE). Let it suffice to say that those who believe in miracles do not, in our time, suppose that a miracle is a violation of law. It is usually held that it is a manifestation of an exception to a group of laws, which do not enter into our ordinary experiences. But, while all this is admitted, it must be remembered, as上述 above, that natural laws, as we apprehend them, belong to abstract realms of experience and are probably relative to our mode of apprehension. There is a sense also in which it must be said that the miraculous is relative to our mode of apprehension. As the control which civilized men exercise over natural forces appears, or might appear, miraculous to the intelligent savage, so a superhuman control of natural forces may well be the true nature of what we call miracle. There is therefore no objection to miracle on the ground of scientific principle. But this is not a sufficient account of the matter. The Christian miracles, as recorded in the NT, are not mere wonders. They are not even mere displays of superhuman power. Their distinctive quality is to be found in the fact that, while exhibiting superhuman power, they also reveal the Divine event by man's immediate recognition of it as a 'acts of revelation.' Here is the force of the term 'signs' (miracles) by which they are designated. This consideration at once makes clear the distinction between a miracle and an answer to prayer. It may well be that, at the very beginning of the operation, there is no difference between them. But the former is intended to reveal the operation
of one who is able to exert superhuman power and, in exerting that power, to manifest His character. The last and greatest of these is the power of divine life. For in the former the Divine element is manifested startlingly in order to attract attention. In the latter we must expect that the Divine direction of events takes place secretly, in the inmost heart of things, producing results which are as obviously marked by the operation of a spiritual force as a louder current by the flow of a river. The difference between the two is to be found rather in the purpose which guides the operations of Divine Providence than in the nature of the method by which the results are effected. Much more is included in the phrase, 'God doth not happen,' to quote a famous phrase, in our ordinary experience. Answers to prayer occur every day.

7. Summary.—The result of our whole investigation is this: to a believer in a living God the efficacy of prayer is capable of ample justification. None of the objections which have been made against it on scientific or philosophical grounds can be sustained.


C. F. D'Arcy.

PRAYER (Christian, Liturgical).—If prayer is the natural and necessary outcome of belief in God, it is most natural and most necessary to the Christian believer, for the Christian dispensation was far off from mankind, unknowable, far above man and the needs of man. The incarnation of the Son of God brought man as it were into touch with God. God revealed Himself in the Son in the Incarnate Christ, and the Son of God, by the immediate operation of His own spirit, came into close communion with God. God was no longer far away, beyond the ken of mankind, no longer so far beyond man as to seem unable to comprehend the needs, the longings, and the understanding of His people. The Spirit, seeking the welfare of the believing in highest heaven is also Son of Man, understanding and knowing by virtue of His incarnation man's needs and man's weaknesses, loving man not only with a love divine, but with a perfect love, as we have in the Incarnate Son of God. He is of the same substance as man. Prayer, therefore, since the Incarnation, became something infinitely more real than ever it could be before—a real and intimate connexion between heaven and earth, between God and man. Our spiritual aspirations are for both God and man, and the Son of God, as Eternal Father by the mediation of Him who lived and prayed and died among us, and ascended to the right hand of the Father to be our Mediator and Saviour.

Our Lord made us pray, and Himself in this as in all things sets us an example. First there is individual prayer, which concerns the needs of the individual, whether spiritual or temporal. But there is another aspect of prayer. Our Lord teaches us above all things the brotherhood of man, that the whole race of humanity is one great family with a common Father. So prayer must also be collective, consisting of worship which is due from the whole family alike to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. We find in it necessary to our religious existence, the worship of both of the one and the other. Such a prayer as 'O God of the crosses that are laid upon us, help thy servant Apollhous,' which has survived in a 4th century fragment (Ox. Prap. vii. [1010] no. 1058), may be taken as an example of prayer to God in times of intense personal need—such a prayer as has been prayed millions of times.

Collective prayer is public, the common prayers used when the family of God gather together to give Him the worship due from all. The history of common prayer is to be found in the liturgical service of the Church. Christ came to fulfill the law, not to destroy it. The Christian Church regarded itself as the fulfillment and the perfection of the Jewish Church. Christ Himself taught in the synagogue to be taken in the synagogue worship. He went up to Jerusalem and took part in the Temple worship at the great feasts. The Eparchist was instituted by Him at the Passover Supper, and is the Christian Passion, the Suggon of the Church. So it was that the Apostles in Jerusalem after the Ascension still frequented the Temple and taking part in its worship. The Eparchist only seems to have been their own distinctive act of worship. St. James the Lord's brother frequented the Temple till the day of his death. Even St. Paul used the synagogue worship as long as he could, and it was not the Church that cut the connexion with Judaism, but Judaism that cast off the Church.

Thus, when we come to consider Christian prayer in its public forms, we should naturally expect to find that it is a Christian development of Jewish forms of worship. Unfortunately there exists very little Jewish liturgical material of the time of Christ, but none the less it seems, from that which is extant, that the elements of Jewish worship, sources, that Christian worship is based upon the worship so familiar to the majority of the first generation of Christians before they came to the faith of Christ.

Jewish worship consisted of the synagogue worship and the Temple worship. The synagogues were served every Sabbath day, and there were also services on the third and fifth days of the week, Tuesday and Thursday. The synagogue worship was the public worship done by the Mishnah of what it consisted. It began with the Shemah ('Hear, O Israel'); then came a lection

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from the Law and a lection from the Prophets; then came the blessing, followed by the Targum, an explanation in the vernacular of the Hebrew lections, and a discourse or sermon on what had been said, but not service or broken continuity from the Gospels, was not only present at on Sabbath days, but frequently took part in as reader and preacher.

The Temple service existed of course only in Judaism, and it was probably in the morning and the evening sacrifice. In connexion with these was the singing of psalms, and the eighteen benedictions or ascriptions of praise to God were made daily. Then there were the great annual festivals, at the chief of which, the Passover, many thousands of Jews gathered together from all parts of the world. The ritual of the Passover Supper we know partly at least from the Mishnah, which probably represents the use of our Lord's time. The liturgy of the Paschal Supper begins with ritual question and answer, and then the celebrant recites the Hagaddah, the story of God's mercy to Israel, speaking of the bitter treatment of the people in Egypt, and of their wonderful redemption from slavery, and closing with a burst of enthusiastic hope and prayer.

1. The Eucharist.—It is almost a certainty that the Eucharist was instituted by our Lord at this Passover Supper. The Hagaddah is doubtless represented by the expression, 'when he had given thanks, then followed the giving of the bread, and the Cup to the disciples, with the charge that they should always do this in remembrance of Him.' Thus we see how closely Christian worship is bound up with the older worship, how true was the feeling that there was an unbroken continuity between the old and the new dispensations, and how the new dispensation of Christ was but the fulfilment and perfecting of the old. For the Eucharist was the central act of Christian worship from the very first.

Of the early ritual of the Eucharist we know very little. In the Acts the Sunday reunions of Christians for 'the breaking of bread' doubtless imply the Eucharist, whether in connexion with the grace of 'reading' and prayer, or in the expression 'breaking of bread,' as, e.g., in the Didache, simply implies an ordinary meal. In St. Paul's references to the Eucharist in connexion with the abuses at Corinth (1 Cor 11) we are told nothing definite; that he had 'I have received of the Lord that also I delivered unto you' (v. 2)—seem to imply some recognized outline, at least, in the form of thanksgiving used, which would apparently include some reference to, or perhaps recitation of, the account of the institution. The Didache gives forms which are most certainly Eucharistic prayers, but the date of the Didache is so uncertain, and the authority of the work so doubtful, that it is not safe to build too much on these forms. They seem to be a form of the grace of 'reading' and prayer especially adapted to the Eucharist. These forms of grace are found again in the tract of St. Athanasius On Virginity, but simply as graces.

The first actual description of the Eucharist is found in St. Justin Martyr (c. A.D. 150) in his First Apology (65), and there are several references to it in his Dialogue. According to the description in his Apology, the Eucharist begins with the kiss of peace, then the offering of bread and the mixed cup is brought and the celebrant proceeds to offer praise and worship and thanksgiving, to which the people answer, 'Amen,' and then follows the communion. Elsewhere he speaks of the ex observation, or thanksgiving prayer, as including thanksgiving for the gift of the peace and prayer that is in it, for our redemption, and for the breaking of the power of evil (Dial. 41). His reference to the words of institution perhaps imply that they were included in the thanksgiving. But there were as yet no forms fixed except in outline. Justin's description certainly fits very well the Eucharist which would be celebrated in the same way, but, on the other hand, he states definitely that the actual wording of the prayers was left to the celebrant.

But, according to Justin, the Eucharist proper was preceded by another service, the common meal, with it (Apol. i. 67). This consisted in lessons from the Gospels or Prophecy or both, then a sermon by the bishop or celebrant, and this was followed by prayers. Closely on this followed the Eucharist proper, the celebrant reciting the formula, with the similarity between this service, which is the later Pneumaphora of the liturgy, and the synagogue Sunday service, and we are drawn to the conclusion that this first part of the Eucharistic liturgy is based upon the synagogue worship just as the anaphora, or Eucharist proper, is based upon the ritual of the Passover Supper.

St. Clement of Rome, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian also refer occasionally to the Eucharist. In Cyprian the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer is already before the 'Preface' (proefatio). Also in certain non-orthodox works of the end of the 2nd cent. or the beginning of the 3rd, the Acts of John and the Acts of Thomas, we are given partial descriptions of the celebration of the Eucharist. It is when we reach the era of the Church Orders, however, that we first come to definite accounts of the actual Eucharistic ritual. The Church Orders seem to have been almost authoritative, or certainly were a very wideogue, and are certainly based on the writings of Hippolytus. There seem to be two recensions of the Church Order, the first about A.D. 250, existing now in various versions, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic (including the so-called Canons of Hippolytus), and Syriac (embodied in a work called The Testament of our Lord, and in its present form of about A.D. 350). The second recension seems to have been made in the 4th cent., and in this the original Greek survives, with versions in Latin and Syriac.

In addition to these there is what is known as the Didascalia, a work which forms the basis of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions, the 8th book of which is the latest recension of the Didascalia. The 7th book of the Apostolic Constitutions is based on the Didache, the whole work belonging to the second half of the 4th century. In this extremely valuable collection of documents we have a detailed description of the Eucharistic liturgy of the 3rd and 4th centuries.

The two divisions of the Eucharistic liturgy are still clearly marked. First comes the Pneumaphora, consisting of a series of lections from Law, Prophets, Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, apparently unixed in number, interspersed with psalms which survive in the ancient Euchologion, and communion of the Latin Church. These are followed by the sermon, and then, as in Justin, comes the prayer for all estates, after which catechumens and those under penitence depart. Then follows the anaphora, beginning with the kiss of peace. The anaphora begins with the Susrsum corda and Preface. The Preface, or thanksgiving, contains thanksgiving for all God's mercies to mankind, leading up to the Passion and an account of the death and resurrection of the incarnate Son of God, a formal act of remembrance, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the whole concluding with the Lord's Prayer. After the communion come the act of thanksgiving and the dismissal.
ing developments. Thus in the earlier Church Order it is still definitely left to the celebrant to use his own words, the forms provided being apparently a model, or for the use of those who had not a ready flow of words. It is in the invocation of the Holy Spirit that the most interesting development took place. The invocation was originally an invocation of the Holy Spirit on the act of consecration, with the suggestion that the celebrant receive the full virtue of the sacrament. This idea extended gradually to the idea of the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements that He might make them the Body and Blood of the Lord. The invocation of the Holy Spirit was a half-way point between the two; that of St. Cyril is definitely on the elements, as is the invocation in all later Eastern liturgies, which, however, retain some signs of the earlier idea. In the liturgy of Sarapion, bishop of Thunus in Egypt (c. A.D. 300), we have perhaps the first example of a liturgy used as it was written. This liturgy consists of the anaphora only, and is interesting, moreover, in the fact that the invocation is of the Word and not of the Holy Spirit. The liturgy generally tended to become more and more fixed and written service about the end of the 4th century.

In the East the extant liturgies are all of the same structure as that of the Apostolic Constitutions, and have developed only in length.

In the West the history of the liturgy is not so clear. In the work once attributed to St. Ambrone, the de Sacramentis of c. A.D. 400, there is an account given of the liturgy. This liturgy is apparently that underlying the later Roman Mass, and is the one which is often called the Roman. The later history in the West is obscure. In Charlemagne's time there were two types of liturgy extant in the West, the Roman and that called the Gallican. The latter type, less formal and much more verbose than the Roman, was displaced by it, and survives only in the Mozarabic rite and in the Ambrosian Liturgy of Milan, though the latter has been very much Romanized. It is from the Roman that all other Western liturgies have derived. Thus the Greek service-books, the Sarum, York, Hereford, and Bangor—are all Roman, with the exception of certain prayers peculiar to the use added. This is due to the very many Continental uses, all of which had their own peculiarities, and of which that of France secured the better chance in the 19th century when they were displaced by the Roman rite. All alike are fundamentally Roman. The English Prayer Book is based on the older pre-Reformation uses, and is thus Roman in type. See also art. Litany.

2. The daily offices. The Euchist was from the first the central act of Christian worship, but alongside of this other forms of additional worship very soon sprang into being. We have seen, e.g., that the liturgy is formed of two parts, the anaphora and the Anaphora, and that the union of these two was at first very loose. In fact, it seems that the former could be and was used separately with a sermon. So it was used, in certain places—e.g., Alexandria—on the station days, Wednesday and Friday. But the growth of other services was very early, and this too seems to have been a Christian development of Jewish devotion. In the book of Daniel there is a reference to three set hours of prayer, and perhaps the same is implied in the liturgy mentioned above at noonday, will I pray. Again in the Acts we find the three hours—the third, sixth, and ninth—observed as times of prayer. In the Didache the Lord's Prayer is ordered to be said three times a day. The growth of additional devotions came in the form of the morning prayer, which at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, but these were private devotions only and said at home. There were, however, apparently, when it was possible, morning and evening prayers said publicly, and forms of these prayers are given in the Liturgy of St. Basil. The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs contains a collection of sacerdotal liturgies, consisting of psalms and prayers. Gradually the three hours began to become times of public service, and this was perhaps largely due to the rise of monasticism, by which these hours were conducted. In the case of men and women living in communities. In addition to these there was the night office, which originated apparently from the vigil of Easter, which in early days was strictly kept, and was extended to the eve of less holy days, and then became a definite night service. The night service seems to have originated as a regular observance in Syria, and it was introduced into the West by Cassian—the matins of the Breviary. In the Postulaio of Etheria (612) we are told that the hours observed at Jerusalem were matins, the sixth hour, the ninth, and vespers, and that in Lent was added the observance of the third hour. Eventually the offices in the Breviary amounted to eight, with matins, lauds, prime, terce, vespers, and complines. Originally monastic, they were enjoined on all clergy, and the laity were expected to (and did) attend at least some of them.

3. Popular devotions. But the hours tended to become more and more a cult of the clergy, and devotion became that of the laity from the 10th or 11th cent. is the Little Hours or the Primer. The 'little hours' were originally additional devotions in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and were generally called 'the Hours of the Virgin.' But they speedily became the popular devotion of the laity, and as such tended to develop so as to meet the needs of lay folk. Thus the 'little hours' contained a series of hours of prayer, sometimes several such series—e.g., 'the Hours of the Virgin,' 'the Hours of the Cross,' 'the Hours of the Holy Ghost.' To these were appended the gradual psalms, the penitential psalms, sometimes the whole Psalter; also the offices of the dead, the commendation, generally a litany, and various prayers for various purposes. These Hours were very popular, and very common, both in Latin and in the vernacular. They are frequently mentioned in wills, and a considerable number of them survive to the present day. Other popular works there were, such, e.g., as The Pater Noster. These Hours were very popular, and contain the hours of prayer, dirge, and the commendations, but with an admonition against praying for the dead. It also contains a good deal of instruction and exposition of a reforming type. This book appeared in 1534, and was printed in France on at least twice. In 1539 the Primer of John Hilsby, bishop of Rochester, appeared. This contains the hours and dirge, but many of the lessons are changed to new ones, the litany with many of the sections omitted, and the morning Mass, and other matter of a devotional and instructive kind. Both these primers were superseded by King's Primer in 1543 and its Latin form, the Orarium (1546). These were non-Dionysian in origin, and contained the hours, penitential psalms, litany, dirge, and commendations, the psalms and devotions of the
Passion, and a few private prayers. *The King's Prayer* was reprinted in the reign of Edward vi., and again in 1551 with some omissions—e.g., the 'Hail, Mary,' and the names of the saints in the litany—and again in Mary's reign. In 1553 appear the *Prayers and Sayings of the Blessed Virgin*, differing, however, in an entirely different character from the preceding books, and is simply a book of private prayer for each day of the week, followed by the collects and 'sundry godly prayers,' omitting entirely the homily and benediction of the book.

In Elizabeth's reign the *Primer* of 1551 was reprinted in 1559 and a very similar edition in 1566. The *Primer of 1553* was reprinted in 1560 and 1568. Also in 1560 she published a Latin form of her *Primer*, the *Orantia*. Differing, however, in some respects from the English book. In 1564 appeared her *Preces Privata*, containing a Latin order for matins and evensong similar to but not the same as that of the Prayer Book, with hymns, and a large collection of various forms of devotion. This was reprinted with some additions in 1573. *A Book of Christian Prayers* appeared in 1569, and was several times reprinted (with some alterations from the original edition) in Elizabeth's reign. The *Prayer Book* of James I. consists of many devotions for various occasions, and has the litany as an appendix.

By this time the English Book of Common Prayer seems to have become to lay people what the *Primer* was in the Middle Ages at the end of the Latin services. Devotional books henceforth were put forth only by private enterprise, and were simply intended to be used with the Prayer Book. One exception perhaps may be instance, and that is *The Book of Devotions*, which he published in 1627, and which was based on the *Primer of Elizabeth of 1550* and follows the old arrangement of hours. Later devotional books which had a great vogue may be instance, such as Bishop Andrews' *Praxis Privata* (Oxford, 1675), Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying* (London, 1686), Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata* (London, 1900), and through the 19th cent., the Prayer Book was commonly bound up with a *Companion to the Alter*, containing devotions, sermons, and prayers, and forms of communion, and forms of thanksgiving. In the 19th cent., this immense number of devotional books has been issued—too many to deal with here.


**R. K. JOHNSTON.**

**PRAYER (Egyptian).—**Of forms of prayer in Egyptian ritual little is known. Among the magical formulæ, addresses, statements, and adorations in the daily ritual of the temples there are few passages associated with this subject. As a matter of fact, when the officiant in the temple of Amen-Re explains, 'Come unto me, Amen-Re, open for me the gates of heaven, throw open for me the gates of earth,' etc., the demand seems directed to carry into execution the objects of the officiating priest on behalf of the deity rather than the direct benefit of any one (cf. A. Moret, *Le Rite du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902, p. 81 [several prayers in this tr. would be better interpreted as direct statements]). The funerary ritual is similar, but late copies contain a short prayer to all the gods for the welfare of the dead (E. Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerale*, Rome, 1882–90, i. 108).

While attitudes of adoration, submission, etc., are represented frequently on the monuments, there are few passages of prayer. Of times and places for prayer also little can be said; sunrise and sunset appear to have been the special hours for adoration of the forms of Re, the sun-god; the griffits on temples and sacred places belonging chiefly to the late ages of paganism show that prayers were offered in and about them.

From the Old Kingdom very little is preserved in the nature of prayers beyond the funerary formula (see below); this applies even to the enormous body of the Pyramid Texts in which ritual charms and hymns are brought together for the welfare of the dead king. The texts of the Middle Kingdom are more productive in this respect. In the New Kingdom, especially after the days of Akhenaton (the enthusiastic monotheist and heretic at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty), an age of personal piety began in which the worshipper turned naturally to his god for protection and help. But the remaining utterance in combined hymns and prayers, was never lost, though formalism and magic reassured their sway with greater strength than ever in the lives and writings of the ultra-religious Egyptians in this era.

The *Funerary formula.—*A form of prayer for the comfort of the dead, beginning with an obscure phrase, 'Grace that the king grants, grace that Anubis (or other gods) grants,' is seen everywhere from the Old Kingdom onwards, and continues almost to the end of paganism. In the Old Kingdom the prayer, as prescribed on the great tombs, usually for a good burial after a good old age, for food, etc., daily and on the feast days, and 'to travel on the roads on which worthy travelers travel,' etc., is addressed to the funerary gods; later it was addressed also to local and other deities and often greatly developed according to individual taste. TOMBKILLS request the passer-by to repeat it, adorning him by his love of life, hatred of death, and devotion to his duty; his will was bequeathed to his office to his children, and remind him that it will cost him no more than a little breath.

SALUTATION. In speech and in writing these were prayers. After the name of royalty or of one of superior it was proper to add, 'May he continue living prosperous and in health.' Letters of the Middle Kingdom end, 'May your hearing (of this) be fortunate.' In the New Kingdom a letter addressed to a king begins with prayers for his prosperity and long life (Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1898, pp. 67 ff. and 91). In later times a petition or letter to a great man commences, 'May Ammon cause his life to be long.'

In early times to 'lift up the voice' (probably wanting shout ing) in the tomb chapel was considered a gross offence, and doubtless both tomb and temple were places of solemn silence during the greater part of the day; hence religion tended to be incarnated with silence. On the vivid realization in the New Kingdom of personal relationship between the individual worshipper, however humble, and his protecting deity, we find insistence laid upon the value of secret prayer and contemplation, and the relatively secret and contemplative nature of the divine services of silence.
hear thy speech and receive thy offering.' (Maximna d'Av. 3, 1–4; see J. H. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, New York, 1912, p. 350).

At Funen, and also in Lapp regions, human ears and stones sculptured with ears were dedicated in the temples to the succouring god or goddess, ‘who heard the prayer of the traveller afar off’; and in a group of little shrines in the necropolis of Thebes the stèle were set up in honour of various deities. The shrines were laid out to resemble the pleasures inflicted on the sinner and his goodness to the repentant who sought their aid.

The goddess is a lion; she smiteth as a fierce lion smiteth and she alighteth from heaven on the main with a strong voice; she doth call to her mistress and found that she came to me with sweet breath. She was gracious to me after she had caused me to see her hand. She turned again to me in favour, she let me forget the sickness that was on me.' etc. (Erm., ‘Denkstene aus der thebaischen Grabesstätte,’ in S.B.W., 1871, p. 3080).

LITERATURE.—An elaborate examination of the funerary formula by Gardiner, who explains it as a statement rather than a prayer, is printed in N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, connected with the cult of the dead, p. 176. Hymns and prayers prefixed to the Book of the Dead are tr. by E. A. Wally Budge in various ed. of this text.

F. L. Griffith.

PRAYER (Finns and Lapps).—1. Ancient Finns and Lapps.—The ancient Finns and Lapps attributed to every natural object a living spirit. The Lapps prayed for aid to the spirits in the rocks, water, etc., men, water-spirits, e.g., were known as coccce-olmaki, ‘water-men.’ Indeed the relations between men and spirits were at first, as Castrén has pointed out, like those between men and men. As a man would naturally call a neighbour to his assistance rather than a stranger, so the ancient Finns and Lapps would pray to familiar spirits, like those of well-known trees and streams, rather than to remote beings, like sky-spirits, whom they did not know and could not expect to control. But spirits came to be thought of as good or evil, and thus the relations of beings, able to move about and occasionally visible, whose existence was not entirely dependent upon the objects of which they were the spirits and guardians, so that the spirit of one object might guard also other objects. In the course of time (before A.D. 600) they were named haltilt (Finnish) or holdle (Lappish), a Scandinavian word meaning ‘rulers’ or ‘guardians.’ The most important spirits were undoubtedly those of the dead. So avater—spirits of the natural objects in the forest or by the side of lakes and rivers, and so much more full of power than any other spirits of land or water, that they were credited with the guardianship of animals and fish, which could be reached only by those who knew the passwords. Thus, when the Lapps prayed for help in hunting, as we are told they did every morning and evening, to Leib-olmai, ‘alder-tree-man,’ the spirit to which they prayed was a forest-god, who was probably, like Yápico and Hili, the forest-gods of the Finns. It is known that the Finns believed in the spirits of the dead, and who was the tutelary spirit of the bear, the most powerful animal that they knew. Again, when they prayed, as they did constantly, to ‘water-men’ to aid their fishing, they were addressing themselves to local spirits of the dead who guarded different fishing-places. Moreover, the spirits of the dead were thought to be still in very close relationship with the living, whom they could either help or injure, so that their favour was in every case desired. The prayers were several methods by which they might be approached, viz. through (1) idolatry, (2) reincarnation, (3) shamanism, and (4) the use of special means and instruments.

(1) Among the ancient Finns spirits were located in pillars of stone or wood, in rocks or trees of peculiar appearance, and in pebbles, twigs, or rude images. All the Finnish tribes seem to have possessed as household gods loose stones or faggots, images which almost certainly embodied the spirits of dead ancestors. The Lapps too worshipped idols of stone or wood called sometimes by the Scandinavian name störjurkante, ‘great governors,’ sometimes sesitos, sometimes posegel. Every Lapp family and clan had their störjurkante standing for the forefathers, and, and private persons sometimes had one or more of their own. Prayers were offered to these idols with both communal and private oblations.

The Lapp Fjeltner described to von Düben a communal sacrifice of which he had been an eye-witness, where the wor-

shippers knelt down and prayed after a sacrificial meal. A man, before going to hunt or fish, kissed his sesito three times, and promised it some of his prey. A Lapp told Fullman that his sesito helped him as long as he kept it in a good humour? If it sesito did not help, they were often whipped or abandoned.

(2) Spirits of the dead might also be embodied in the person of a living man. They then became his guardians, and he could make a bargain with them that they should help him whenever he called upon them. According to the Lappish mythology several persons named after them by obtaining the names of several ancestors a Lapp could obtain several guardian-spirits.

(3) Dotti Finns and Lapps at one time made use of intermediaries between themselves and spirits. These were the shamans (Finnish noita, Lappish noitides), men who, owing to their exceptional nature and training, could communicate with the spirits of the dead, and through them learn the wishes of remote gods. The Samoyed shamans who lived among the Lapps in the period of their connexion with the sky-god Num to ask his will,9 various Finnish tribes practised divination for a like purpose, and Esthonian and Karelian shamans are sometimes described as ‘diviners.’ The Lapps divined through their magic drums, but they retained the primitive mysteries of shamanism; for, when their divination failed, as often happened, it was still necessary for the noitide to make a journey to the world of the dead, to appease the spirits or to obtain their help.

(4) In all the Fennos-Caucasian tribes, those could not hear men’s feeble voices. But, if ordinary words and tones could not reach them, they might perhaps hear strange shouts, mysterious whispers, or the noise of a drum. Two special means were used by the Lapps to attract the spirits’ attention: (a) juojen, incantation, and (b) mynum, magic action, especially magic drumming.

(a) Juojen.—This was a sacred chant, ‘the tenor of which no Lapp has ever been willing to confess.’ It was taught to every Lapp boy, so that he, before he could speak distinctly, had mastered the elements of this rude melody, or rather, if he pleased better, this howling.’ Averbé described it as the most

1. C. E. Lencrivst, De superstitione veterum Fennorum, Abo, 1735, p. 32.
4. Their connexion with the saito-cult, or worship of the dead, was first established by Carstén, p. 297 f.
5. It should be noted that the Finns were rigidly excluded from this worship. They paid their devotions apart to certain birth-goddesses.
6. From Düben, p. 228.
10. C. von Lappen, Lappisk lexicon och forskningar, Helsingfors, 1852, l. 207.
hides of kind yelling. In E. Lindahl and J. Ohrling's *Lexicon Lapponicum* (Stockholm, 1789, p. 60) juonuri is defined as "a kind of spell, singing, or incantation." The words of such incantations are not known. 4 Fölster said that some prayers were pronounced in a whisper with words not used in ordinary speech. 5 The omission of one word would render the chant ineffective, and might cause a shaman's death. 

5. **Shamanism.**—Shamanism is a cult that, to the best of our knowledge, has the aboriginal peoples of the whole world, though with much more strength among Finno-Ugrian peoples. 1 As a result of this reformation the shamanism was first taken to themselves the power of approaching spirits which had been restricted to an initiated class. Personal supplications, and such other charms as are used with incantations, were gathered mainly from the common stock of European magic, entirely superseded the crude mimic actions and unintelligible incantations by which the official shaman tried to enforce his will. The prayers and spells of the Finns were not like the Acanadian formula to which Lenormant compared them, 2 priestly incantations in a secret tongue, nor, like the Lapp juonuri and myrur, mere mumbling by the Lapps, in Kalevala. 3 But the prayers were aids to popular religion belonging generally to mediæval and comparatively modern times, when a man had learnt to approach the spirit world on his own account either with spells or with genuine prayers. 4

6. **Finnispr Finland.**—It seems certain that the Finns of Finland, like other members of the Finno-Ugrian family, formerly used shamanistic methods of coercing spirits similar to those of the Lapps. But they soon left the Lapps far behind, partly because the lands of the Finns were under Christian influence since several centuries earlier, but chiefly because their higher intelligence led them even before that time to assimilate the culture of more advanced neighbours. The Finns must have received their old religion loose as the rest of Europe. There are still traces of this influence. For instance, the rivalry between Finnish and Lapp wizardry which is expressed in the strife of Viinämöinen and Joukahainen in *Kalevala*, vi. 5, is a contest not in *kkaonanie* but in the singing of spells. Divination is practised by rhabdomancy 6 or by the sieve. 7 The magic drum has been forgotten and is never mentioned. 8 The rude incantations which accompanied the shaman's performances have given place to those magic songs which are so prominent in Finnish literature. The larger part of these songs were published by Lönnrot in 1880 under the title *Lätorauraja* 9 most seem to be later than the 12th century. 10

The "prayers" generally bear out Lenôv's remark that the Finns pray only for material benefits. 2 Nevertheless, they reveal the kind and simple heart of the Finn, his warm love of nature, and his peculiarly primitive poetic imagination. We may quote a short sailor's prayer: 11

**PRAYER** (Greek).—**Expressions used to denote prayer.**—The normal expression in Greek for 'prayer' is εὐφραίνεσθαι, for 'to pray,' εὐφραίνοντας, with the genitive or accusative.

4. **Sarcophagus prayer.**—The prayer is used in the sarcophagus of a woman, 1570. It is found under the name *Plegia* or *Plegie* in the *Lithuanian Prayer Book*.

5. **Talisman prayers.**—These are prayers which are used instead of charms to ward off evil. They are written on amulets or talismans, and are recited over them.

6. **St. Gregory the Great's prayer.**—The prayer is used in the *Lithuanian Prayer Book*.

7. **Petitionary prayer.**—These are prayers which are addressed to God for the relief of certain definite needs.

8. **Eloquence.**—The word is used in the sense of 'eloquence.'

9. **Oratorical prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited over a ceremony.

10. **Prayer of the publicans.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in public office.

11. **Private prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in private life.

12. **Collective prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a group of people.

13. **Public prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a public official.

14. **Prayer of the publicans.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in public office.

15. **Private prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in private life.

16. **Collective prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a group of people.

17. **Public prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a public official.

18. **Prayer of the publicans.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in public office.

19. **Private prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in private life.

20. **Collective prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a group of people.

21. **Public prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a public official.

22. **Prayer of the publicans.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in public office.

23. **Private prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in private life.

24. **Collective prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a group of people.

25. **Public prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a public official.

26. **Prayer of the publicans.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in public office.

27. **Private prayer.**—This is a prayer which is recited by a person who is in private life.
PHRALY (Greeks)

compounds προσευχέως, ἐνευχέως. Another word, used chiefly by the poets, is λατρ., or rather λατρ., with its corresponding verb λατρεύω.

In Homer the regular verb of prayer addressed by men to the gods appears but once. Neither προσεύχεομαι nor λατρέω occurs in Iliad or Odyssey. It is, however, an old and frequent verb in Attic prose, particularly in the works of Thucydides (e.g., i. 106) of propitiation, supplication, or mediation. Thucydides has no example of λατρευμαι or λατρεύω, nor do the words προσεύχομαι, etc., appear.

Εὐγάλα, then, is the normal Greek word for prayer; λατρεύω are in the nature of penitential or propitiatory prayer; προσεύχομαι is normally “thanksgiving” (e.g., Aristoph. Plut. 841, 583, Bion, 891, Pind. 500), though also used (e.g., Plato, Crit. 166 A) as practically synonymous with λατρέω.

Other expressions for ‘prayer’ and ‘curse’ are ἀποδέ袖 and ἀποδέχομαι.

There is no clear distinction in Homer between ἀποδέχομαι (occurring some 38 times) and ἀποδέαμαι which is frequently expressly equated, as, e.g., i. 114, 121, x. 295 f.; and the same is true of ἀποδέχομαι (occurring six times)—e.g., ii. xv. 309 f. But the words are quite distinct. The notion that it could mean ‘curse’ the Erinyes is utterly wrong, being consonant neither with the Homeric use of ἀποδέχομαι nor with that of ἀποδέχομαι in non-Greek authors. The latter word, in the non-Greek sense, should rather be translated as ‘prayer.’

Pindar has ἀποδέθεν only (never ἀποδεχόμενοι) in i. v. 45, where it ‘curse.’ But in the dramatica ‘curse’ is the normal word, and is the usual word in the future subjunctive, as, e.g., Soph. 70, 685, 833, 954, 954; Eur. 417, Ch. 406, 553; Sophocles, Oed. Tyr. 265, 744, 783, Oed. Col. 132, 159, 1370, 1340, 1285, 501; Ant. 857; Soph. 633 (the only examples); Soph. 751, 1201, etc. Yet Sophocles has the verb in the sense of ‘prayer’ three times (v. 501, Oed. Col. 147, 114. In later Greek the sense of ‘curse’ prevails completely.

2. Attitude in prayer.—The most striking character
development in the Homeric prayers is the increase in address. The worshipper endeavours to be, so far as possible, literally in touch with his god.

Thus, in Pindar, OI. vi. 85, when Bacchylides prayed to Poseidon, he went down into the midst of the sea. Then, in Bacchylides, 176, Ovid, Med. viii. 651; Hor. Carm. iii. 23, I.) Of the veiled head (caput velatum) of the Roman worshipper (Verg. Enni. i. 545; Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 10, etc.) there is no trace in Greek, nor of the turning of the right (east) face when they prayed. Yet Verg. Aen. vii. 7, 45, 251; Plaut. Marcell. 6; Plaut. Curc. i. 69; Val. Flacc. viii. 246; Suet. Vitell. 2; Stat. Theb. vi i. 215; Livy, v. 21). Prostration was regarded as Oriental and un-Greek. Normally the Greek worshipper stood up right. Yet a form of kneeling, with a bus-relief from the Asklepion shows Asklepios standing upright and a woman on her knees before him, touching his ἁδρόμενος with her right hand (ReEd xix. 1916) 314, p. 78).

If the Homeric worshipper stepped forward, he stroked his hands towards the sea (Hom. ii. i. 351), then Polyphemus, praying to Poseidon (Od. ix. 527), raises his hands to the starry heaven. In prayer to river nymphs the worshipper fixes his eyes on the water (Hesiod, Works and Days, 737 f). Achilles in Troad, addressing his home
PRAYER (Greek)

river Spercheios, looks over the sea (H. xxviii. 143 f.).
In prayer to a chthonian deity the hands were held down on the ground,
'Come now swear to me by the inviolable water of Styx, and with one of thy hands grasp the fertile earth, and with the other the shining sea, that all may hearken to this way. And when on my way through the island I had avoided my comrades, I washed my hands whereon I prayed to all the gods, if it haply some of them that keep Olympus,' So Pind. o. l. 71 f: "Peleus 'went up to the prayer sea in the darkness' (d.us ʃav tO) to pray to Poseidon for the safety of his son Helen' (Ἀνασκώπηθη), is said of one who prays (H. 35, Od. ii. 350).

(downwards)

It all illustrated

Therefore, to reinforce his prayer to a chthonian deity, the worshipper would beat the ground with his hands:
Althaea, 'grieved for her brethren's death, prayed instantly to the sea, for her hands she beat upon the fertile earth, rolling on Hades and dreads Persephone, while she knelt upon her knees and made her bosom wet with tears, to bring her son Orestes, Agamemnon's son, and Erinna whose walketh in darkness, whose heart knoweth not compassion, heard her from Erebus' (Hes. fr. 34). 'A grey-eyed lady Hera prayed, striking the earth with the flat of her hand, and spoke saying, 'Hearken to me now, O Earth and the wide Heavens beyond,

Similarly, his prayers on his face at the greatest mysteries, and smites the Underground Folks with rods—I mean the Doves, a typical example of such solicitousness. "And, if, dear Pan, thou dost those things, may the Arcadian boys not smile thee on sides and shoulders with equal disdain!" (Clem. iof. iv. 100, 6).

3. The utterance of prayer.—Normally prayer was not merely saying, but uttered aloud. The same was the case among the Jews, as is well illustrated by the prayer of Hannah (I S 122):

And it came to pass, as she continued praying before the Lord, that Eli marked her mouth. Now Hannah, she spake in her heart (נשיך ידך: LXX, ἵππῳ τοῦ κόσμον αὐτοῦ); only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard: therefore Eli thought she had been drunken.'

It would be impossible to illustrate this practice from all periods of Greek literature:

Hom. ii. i. 450, iii. 275: μεγάλης εὐχαρίας, 'prayed loudly'; so μεγάλα εὐχαρίας in Od. xvii. 239.
Prayer is overheard (H. xxi. 253, Od. xvii. 248; Hom. Il. iv. 55: καὶ προφητεῦε ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος τῆς θεοῦ).
The loudness of the voice increased with the fervour of the prayer. It may rise to a ρογ, or loud cry:

Αὐλοῦ ἄρειν καὶ τοῖς ἄρεσις, ἄρειν τῷ θεῷ ἄρειν (Od. vii. 142, xxii. 769, in a moment of great peril, Nestor βραχύτατος εἶναι ᾿Αργοῦν (Pind. Pyth. vi. 26).

Similarly, among the Romans, the mother prays more loudly for beauty in the case of her daughters than in the case of her boys, according to Juvenal, x. 259 f.:

"Formam optat modico puero, mauresque pueris," (v. 250).

When prayer is not uttered or is uttered in a low voice, the motive is generally expressed or implied. And the motives are several.

(a) In Hom. II. vii. 194 ff., the motive is apparently the fear that the knowledge of the prayer might enable the enemy to know a plan of attack or to trace any more potent spell; it might be in fact 'give useful information to the enemy.'

Alax is about to fight with Hector in single combat, and he asks his mother to pray to the gods:

'Yet, save me, my mother, in silence by yourselves that the Trojans may not know, or even openly, since we fear no one' (ἐφιλείς ἐμοί, ἔμοι δὲ μηκρύνοι, ἵνα μηθάληται ταύτῃ διὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ κακοῦ προειπεῖτε τῷ ἀχλασίῳ, παντὸς δὲ ναυτάκου, διὰ τὸ ρογ ἐντολή 

(4) External circumstances might make a spoken prayer impossible.

Thus Odysseus, swimming for his life, 'prayed in his heart' (προν' ἐμοῖ καὶ τοῦ ναυτάκου) (Od. v. 144); and this is the motive of I. xvi. 769, where Odysseus in the crisis of the footrace prayed to grey-eyed Athena in his heart,' (c) Another stage, the motive might be a natural desire for privacy—a desire, as we say, to be alone with God.

Thus, in Od. xii. 335 ff., Odysseus says: 'Then I went away through the island that I might pray to the gods. If it haply some of them that keep Olympus,' So Pind. o. l. 71 f.: 'Peleus 'went up to the prayer sea in the darkness' (d.us ʃav tO) to pray to Poseidon for the safety of his son Helen' (Ἀνασκώπηθη), is said of one who prays (H. 35, Od. ii. 350).

The opposite of μέγας εὐχαρίας is ψεύδορι, ‘whisper,’ and doubtless this explains the cult-title of Αἰείθαυρος, to whom prayers were whispered (cf. Tibull, ii. i. 83; Catull. liv. 104).

A leading motive is that the prayer is a salutation to the gods, and an appeal:

Pythagoras (Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 26, § 173) enjoined μετὰ φωνής εὐχαρίας. Seneca, Ep. x. 6, quotes from Athenodorus: 'Know that when you are in a critical state, and you enter a stage where you ask nothing from God except what you can ask openly,' and he goes on to explain: 'An honest prayer is the prayer of the gods; if any one hearkens, they become silent, and they tell to God what they do not want man to hear' (cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 16. 17, "The prayer, or Juv. x. 291. Cf. the 'loud voice' of the Prayer Book.

The prayers or incantations of the magician are naturally spoken in a low voice. So in the Ode of Alcman, we are told that he 'had familiar spirits and unto the wizards, that chip and that muttered' (I.XX ἀληθῆς τοῖς ἑγκατημένοις ... ἀλλὰ τοῖς καλλικράτεις).

4. The relation of the suppliant to his god.—In the earliest times the suppliant compelled his god to do his will—traces of which may be found in the beating of the ground and the flagellation of Pan mentioned above, and the smiting of the πλυτός in Paus. loc. cit.

The next move is to be one of bargain, which is the typical form of prayer in Homer. This bargain-theory of prayer may assume different forms.

(a) If ever I did that for thee, so do thou this for me.

Thus Hom. ii. i. 35 f. of the priest Chrysas: 'Then went that old man apart and prayed aloud to Kich Apollon, when Leto of the fair looks bare: "Hear me, lord of the silver hand, that standest about Chryse and holy Killa, and rulest Tenedos by thy might, O Smintheus! If ever I build a temple pleasant in thine eyes, or if I ever burn to thee of flesh of the thighs of bulls or of bulls, fulfill thou this my desire."' So Od. iv. 108 ff., Il. xv. 372 ff.

(b) If thou do this for me, I will do that for thee. A typical example is Hom. Od. iii. 300 ff., where Nestor prays to Athene: 'Be gracious, O queen, and give me fair fame—for myself and my children all; and in turn I will sacrifice to thee a heifer,' etc.; cf. ii. vi. 115.

One form of this is the explicit assertion that it is for the advantage of the gods to protect their worshippers.

Thus Theopompus, 773 f.: 'Ο Lord Phoebus, thyself didst build the High City, doing a favour to Alcathous son of Pelops; thyself keep from this city the joy and remain with joy the people may send thee glorious Hector out when spring comes round, rejoicing in cithara and decidable mirth, and at thy pleasure change the might of the enemy.' Similarly and still more frankly, Ephesylus, in Sept. 761, makes Eteocles pray to the gods to save Thobes: 'If we escape. And I think I speak for our countrymen, if we save a prosperous city honour the gods.'

(c) The third is that which J. Adam (The Religious Teachers of Greece, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 46) has compared to our 'God of our fathers, be the God Of their succeeding race,

i.e., even as thou didst of old, so do also now.
PRAYER (Greek)

Thus Hom. II. i. 450 f.: 'Then Chryses lifted up his hands and prayed aloud for them: "Hearken to me, god of the silver bow, leader of armies: from thy holy hill in heaven didst thou look upon the honour and greatly afflicted the people of the Danaans, even so now fulfill me this my desire."' Cf. II. i. 433 f., v. 115, f.; Esch. Ag. 940 f.; Soph. Col. Tr. 157 f.; Demosth. de Cor. i., and passim.

It is to be noted that the personal piety of the worshipper—esteemed was considered by the Greeks to make his prayer more likely to be answered.

5. The ritual of prayer.—The simplest form of prayer is little more than an ejaculation, and is typically expressed in Greek by the name of the god in the vocative case, followed by an infinitive (desire, wish, etc.) for which they may have 'or 'grant' understood) expressing the request.

Thus Hom. II. ii. 175 f.: 'So he spoke and each marked his lot, and they cast them into the helmet of Agamemnon, son of Atreus, and Agamemnon prayed, and they prayed for the gods; and thus would one say as he looked into the wide heaven:

ζεύγος ηλιών λατρεύω, η δόξη τινός, η αυτοί βασιλιάς πολλωροις Μικροίς!' Cf. Herod. v. 165, where Darius, hearing that Sardis had been burnt by the Athenians, 'called for a bowl, and, having received one, he put an arrow into it and shot it into the air, with these words: δάει τοιενετον μου άνθρωποι τηνασσα.'

A still shorter form of the ejaculatory prayer is the intonation of the vocative alone—e.g., άγαλμα ἀγαλματίδος (Aristoph. Av. 61, etc.); Herodas, vii. 74: ἦμερι τε κεφαλῶν καὶ σέ κεφαλή Πιθών; cf. such expressions as 'Anacreon,' 'mehercule,' 'medius fidius,' in Latin. The ejaculatory prayer is commended by Marcus Aurelius, v. 7.

The more elaborate ritual will be best explained by definite examples.

(a) The account of the Argonauts starting on their voyage in quest of the Golden Fleece:

Now when the ships were manned and everything with which they were to set sail on board, the signal for silence was given by the trumpet and they made the customary prayers. Now the ships were thought to have been joined together by a herald (εργόπο) throughout all the army, marines and generals alike making libation with cups (κηριάλα) of gold and silver which they brought, and there joined also the general crowd on shore, not only Athenians but any other friendly person who was there. And when they had sung the paean and finished their libations (κηριαλάτων καὶ κηριαλατομέας τοιούτας) they put to sea' (vi. 32).

(b) Compare with this the famous passage in which Thucydides tells of the start of the Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415 B.C.:

When the ships were manned and everything with which they were to set sail on board, the signal for silence was given by the trumpet and they made the customary prayers. Now the ships were thought to have been joined together by a herald (εργόπο) throughout all the army, marines and generals alike making libation with cups (κηριάλα) of gold and silver which they brought, and there joined also the general crowd on shore, not only Athenians but any other friendly person who was there. And when they had sung the paean and finished their libations (κηριαλατομέας καὶ κηριαλατομέας τοιούτας) they put to sea (vi. 32).

(c) Or, again, take what is really a Greek view, though it refers to a Carthaginian—the story of the conduct of Hamilcar during the battle of Himera:

'The following story is related by the Carthaginians with great probability, that whilst the Carthaginians were engaged with Greeks of Sicily at Himera, which began early in the morning and lasted to the twilight of the evening, Amilcar, continuing in the camp, sacrificed entire victims upon a large pile: and when he saw his army flying, as he happened to be pouring libations on the victims, he threw himself into the flames, and thus perished with all his army.' (Aristoph. Acharn. 435 f.)—an excellent example of the Stesichoros.

(d) Precisely the same ritual meets us in the account given by Herodotus v. 54 of the prayer of Xerxes as he was about to cross the Hellespont for the invasion of Greece:

'The rest of the day was spent in disposing all things in order to their passage: and on the next day they waited for the sun, and in the middle of the day they offered sacrifice and poured many sorts of perfumes upon the bridges, and strawed the way with myrtle branches. When the sun was risen, Xerxes, pouring a libation and laying an offering on the altar, called a godly man (φιλεληστήν την τινα δείνειν), addressed a prayer to the sun, that he might not meet with any impediment so great as to prevent him from a safe passage. And he then followed the sacrifice:

'After which he threw the cup into the Hellespont with a bowl of gold and prayed for the safety of Hellespont (vii. 26), and as a compensation made that gift to it.'

The normal ritual of prayer is: (1) the hands and mouth washed; (2) if this be omitted, libation and prayer; (3) if this be omitted, libation and prayer; (4) in all cases the pouring of libations.

Thus Herodotus, ii. 145, mentions that he offers prayer for the god the holy hecatomb about his well-built altar; next washed their hands (χρυσάνθετα και τεκεμένα) and took up the barley corns (ολικάλα). He says also that when Cleomenes the son of Nearchus handed over the city to the Persians they had prayed and sprinkled the barley corns, first they drank back the victims' libation; next they took the victims, and with as much of the meat as they could from the thighs and wrapped them in fat, making a double fold, and laid raw collops thereon, and the old man burnt them on cleft wood and made libation thereon of gleaning wine. Next they feasted, and then, 'when they had put from them the desire of meat and drink, the young men crownetl the bowls with wine, and gave each man his portion after the drink-offering had been poured into the cups. So all day long they worshipped the god with music, singing those beautiful and sweet verses at the name of the sons of the Athenians, which was making music to the Archer-god; and his heart was glad to hear.'

6. Mode of addressing the deity (εὐπλησία).—It was a matter of importance in the possession of the deity invoked should be addressed by his right cult-titles.

Thus Achilles (II. xvi. 235 f.) at Troy invokes Zeus as ζεύς άριστος, άλακτος, διάμαντις, δοκίμων, επίσημος ταμίας, ισθίων θυσίας. Apollo is invoked by Chryses in II. i. 375 f. as αὐρατόφορος καὶ ταμίατις. Especially noteworthy is Αἰακίσιος, Α. γ. 169 f., where we find the curious expression 'Zeus whoever he be, if it please him so to be called, by that title I address him,' on which the commentators refer to Plato, Cratig. 400 f. 'One excellent principle, which as sensible men, we should follow: that with regard to the gods we know nothing, either with regard to their themselves, or to their actions. Which it is evident that they call themselves by their true names. The second best principle of correctness is, as it is customary in our language, to address the gods by the titles by which we are accustomed. The same with which they are best known. And it is evident that they call themselves by their true names. The second best principle of correctness is, as it is customary in our language, to address the gods by the titles by which we are accustomed. The same with which they are best known. But there are many titles, whatever they may be, by which they like to be named (τοιοῦτοι τε καὶ επόδον χαρακτησμένοι γνωστά, the words of Plato, Cratig. 400 f.):' Hymn to Zeus, 4. 1: 'How now shall we sing of thee? as Diktytos or Lykaon? Hymn to Apollo, 47 f.: 'O Apollo, many call thee Beoristemos and many call thee Klarios, but I call thee Karellos'; cf. Hymn 67: 'Φαληρ καί Νεαρός, and Pind. Fl. ix. 60: 'Αχρεύς and Νομός and by some called Aristates'; cf. Eur. frag. 734 i. 114.

7. To whom prayer is addressed.—The general phrase for offering prayer is 'pray for the gods (ένθροις θεών)'—εύπλησία. The particular deity addressed varies with the situation: the poet prays to Apollo or the Muses, the hunter to Artemis, the farmer to Demeter, and so on. Not an unusual thing is to pray to Zeus and Apollo. And more than one god may enter into the prayer. In Hesiod (Works and Days, 463) bids the farmer pray to Zeus and Demeter. Again, a god may be invoked under a special cult-title in reference to the particular boon desired—e.g., Zeus 'Οὐρανός for rain, Zeus 'Ορφεύς for a favourable harvest. Hence the following prayer of the Acharian farmer as he holds up his tattered garment to the light:

'Ζεύς θεός καί Ναυτός του λιώτουδε ποντικίων.' (Aristoph. Acharn. 435 f.—a good example of the Stesichoros.)
Particularly interesting is the case of prayers made by special classes of people to minor deities or semi-divinities, in whom they have a, so to say, "supernatural" interest. Thus, e.g., the Druids would pray for the Phœnix, but not for the Sun; and the "Samothracian gods," i.e., the Cabeiri or the Dioscuri (Callim. Ep. 47; Dion. iv. 43; Theophrast. Char. xxiv. [XXV.]).

5. The dead and the chthonian gods.—Prayers to the dead and the chthonian gods form a special class, of which we cannot speak at present, but which cannot be altogether excluded from the accompaniment of a recital of its contents.

Thus in Exe. Ap. 220 B we hear a prayer made to prevent h gatherers from coming near a certain course. Similarly, in the Phœnix (815) Electra does not know what words to utter as she makes an offering to the divinity's tomb, but her nurse can hardly do it without some spoken prayer; to do so would be just like throwing out refuse:

Στο ἰείνη, οὐράρ σοι ἰείνη
οὐρά, τέκτανα, γάπαν χύνα
στείχος, καθώρητον ἴς τις ἵσταται
τοῦν τοῦ θεοῦ, τοὺς τινάν ἐμὲ

Prayers referring to all solemn occasions are inscribed in the following:
• at the opening of the ecclesia or the law-courts, on the new moon (Demost. Aristoph. 90, etc.; at sunrise and sunset (Hesiod, Works and Days, 3281).

For prayer at sunrise cf. Plato, Symposium, 220 D, where Socrates, having asked Euthydemus how he thought the prayers could be rendered to the rising sun and went home (εὐθυδεμὺν ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνεύρη τὴν ἐνεργεῖαν ἡπείρον δυνάμεις ἐκείνης ἑγερτῷ ἄριτον προσπέμεθα τὰ δύναμεις); the next, or at most in the morning, would not be true to say that the Greek prayer was never a prayer of thanksgiving. This conception is more a question of language than anything else, and πορεύεσθαι gives more nearly what we generally include in "prayer" than ὁμογένες. But it is undoubtedly true that prayer in general, as we find it in the Greek authors, is essentially a petition for blessings of a utilitarian kind—health and wealth, children, success in business and in battle. The general import of these cases make it at least possible to quote Simonides, frag. xxii. 17 ff., as an example of the prayer of a contrite heart.

The refinements of the philosophers perhaps hardly concern us here.1 Socrates emphasizes the efficacy of the prayers (and the curses) of parents in the Lysias, 321 C 3.

He himself 'prayed to the gods simply that they would give him good things, believing that the gods knew best what sort of things they could grant. For evil was no other than silver or a tyranny or such like, he believed that was just as if they prayed for gambling or battle or any thing else the issue of which is uncertain' ( Xen. Men. i. 3. 2).

1 See Max. Tyr. xii. 8 (πράσον ἡμῖν καὶ διδακτέον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ θάνατῳ τῶν πατέρων, πότ' ἂν γίνητε τοὺς τοῦ πατέρων); Marc. Aurel. iv. 23, iv. 40; Philostor. iii. 7. Parn. iv. 40 (πρὸς ἀγάπην, δόσεως μαν ἡ δίδακτεον); Stob. Ep. x. 32. 1.
PRAYER (Jain)—It is extraordinarily difficult to discover the exact place that prayer holds in the Jain system. Every Jain is on the defensive lest his creed should be considered atheistic, and is unwilling to make any admission that might seem to point in that direction. Again, Jainism, like every other Indian faith, is so influenced by its environment and, in especial, by borrowing so much from other faiths, that the prayer and petition of the Jains in actual practice do many things not really in harmony with the principles of their religion; the difficulty is further enhanced for the investigator by the inexplicable ignorance which prevails as to the prayers and petitions of the survivors. The most satisfactory way, perhaps, of arriving at any conclusion is to divide the subject of prayer into various elements, such as petition, intercession, adoration, confession, worship, and thanksgiving, and to note under each head the actual practice and the sometimes conflicting opinions of the Jains.

1. Petition.—As the Jain system is based on the root-idea of previously acquired karmas automatically conditioning every incident of a man's life, past, present, and future, there is no subject which could logically be affected by petition. If a man is strong, happy, and wealthy in this life, it is owing to the merit that he has acquired in previous births; but no petition can prolong his fortunate condition, for if he be ill, unhappy, and poverty-stricken, it is due to his separate sins in a previous existence, and, as long as the accumulated energy of past bad actions lasts, his lot is evil and continues to be so until the moral wrongs are atoned for. In this atoned condition, the mechanism stops, the clock runs down, and the man, having worked out that particular sentence, passes on to endure the good or evil effects of the succeeding karmas that he has acquired. But if petition can affect the mechanism of karmas, no prayer mitigate his sentence of lives-long imprisonment.

and now he begs Mazda to continue to uphold this order of salvation and to keep his followers in the truth:

'Oh, pray for Thy Fire, O Ahura! strong through Righteousness, most swift, [most] powerful, to the house with joy receiving It, in many wonderful ways our help, but to the hate, O Mazda! It is a steadfast harm as if with weapons hurled from the hands' {ib. 4}.

2. Petitions for personal enlightenment.—Petitions for mental enlightenment take up a great deal of space in the Gathas; not a few of the holy truths were communicated in the form of questions and requests addressed by the prophet to Ahura Mazda or Vohu Mano. The whole of Yasna xiv., dealing with the theory of creation and cosmology, is in this form:

'This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright—what, as a skilful artisan, hath made the lights and the darkness?' {ib. 5}.

Such questions assume the typical character of prayer when the worshipper asks for special instructions necessary for his own personal salvation:

'(Come Ye) and show me the worthy aims of our faith, so that I may approach and fulfill them with (Thy) Good Mind, the offering of O Mazda! of the One like You, or the words of prayer offered with Righteousness. And give Ye, as Your offering (of grace to me) the shining gifts of Your Immortality and Wellness; as You have prescribed therein' {ib. xxxii. 2}.

In most of the Gathas the prophet continues in the same idealistic but intellectualistic way. As the Zoroastrian believer must know—and receive—the truth in order to be saved, Zoroaster, as an example to his followers, must pray for his own and for their enlightenment.

3. Prayer for the dying and dead.—Another form of praying for salvation is seen in the prayers for the dying and the dead who belong to the religious community, the offering made for their salvation:

These prayers, which are still made among the Parsis after the death of a beloved one {see J. H. Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, London, 1913, p. 315, n. 2}, are called ofr̄ényan and sroš darān in Avesta. Their aim is to secure for the dead eternal bliss and happiness in heaven and in the future world, and they consist in sacerdotal ceremonies, celebrated on various occasions, but especially at the time when the dead are expected to visit the earth, and in connexion with funeral festivity. These ceremonies the priests invoke many gods and genii, especially the angel of death, Sroš (Sraosh), the psychopompos of the Iranians, who carries the dead to heaven and protects them from demons. In this dangerous task Sraosh must be prayed for in order to obtain for the survivors the following benefits: 'Now shall the Sraosh Yasti Hastakhosk in Ys.,' expresses a direct request for bliss for the deceased:

'Give unto that man brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones!' {Yt. xii. 2}.

4. Prayer for material gifts.—Material gifts are desired and asked for in the Avesta as in other religions, particularly as the general aim of the Zoroastrian religion is the conservation and renovation of the material world. Such petitions occur more frequently in the later Avesta than in the Gathas, whose abstract and solemn character forbids them to descend to personal and private desires. The earthly bliss that the Gatha-singer longs for is more the general state of material happiness than any single advantage. A typical strophe in this respect is Yas. xxxii. 10:

'All prosperous states in being which have been enjoyed in the past, which men are now enjoying, and which shall be known to our posterity in the future, shall be enjoyed in Thy (Yea), cause (our) bodily and personal life to be blest with salva-

The paraprases of the commentators are usually far more concerned with concrete and individual happiness—e.g., Nerosiagh comments on this strophe:

'Let them continue to live well, and be prosperous in all things, those females who are born thus,' etc. {SEE xxxii. 7, n. 7}.

They breathe the spirit of the later Avesta, which is more realistic in tone and is always seeking for the material help of the gods.

An example is found in Yasna, Ashi Vargnghi, and the other gods of the Yasna for bringing 'swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success our enemies, subdue our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries' {petition to Mithra, Yt. x. 94, Yt. x. 95}; I beseech you for workers, for the home and for an offering self-dependent whom multitudes will bless' {to Artri Saman Ashitaka, Yt.xiv. 11}. In the Fravardin it is demanded of the gods such blessing on the people as will bestow wealth and fertility on our kindred, when they make offerings to them, saying: 'May my country grow more flourishing, and for a long, long time, and for all hours and remedies . . . to withstand the evil done by opponents' {ib. iv. xxxiv. 2}.

The piety of the Zoroastrians was more realistic in the later Avesta, but not more personal or devotional than in the times of the Gathas. On the contrary, in these hymns of old we meet with strophes of a very noble tenor, where the prophet tells of his sufferings and hopes and ardently beseeches his Lord and Master for help and consolation in his strivings:

'How shall I console Thy (grace) O Lord! . . . There is no answer to prayers! I, Lord of all, beseech me for me, as friend bestows on friend. . . . Thee, for mine exhalter and commander, Living Lord! I choose' {Yt. xvi. 1-3}.

LITERATURE.—There is no general discussion of the subject; for details are the introductions to the ritualistic hymns in J. Darmesteter, Le Zend Avesta, 3 vols., Paris, 1892-95, esp. his general introduction to the Yasna. K. F. Goldner, GLAH ii. (1896-1904) 23, gives a short description of the prayers (§ 20). The ritualistic hymns are translated by L. H. Milis and Darmesteter in SBE xxxi. (1887) and xliii. (1895).

E. LEHMANN.
PRAYER (Jain)

The Jains therefore hold that logi-
cally it is of no use to pray for health, wealth, or fame,
since all are inexorably fixed by karma.

Again, not only is there no subject that could be
affected by petition, but there is no one to whom
prayer could be addressed, since the Jains acknow-
ledge no supreme God, not knowledge (jñāna),
Father, or Friend. Nor would it, logi-
cally, be of any avail to pray to the deified men
who have passed to the still land of endless in-
action; for they take no more interest in worldly
affairs. Of what use, for instance, to their
previous belief for forgiveness?—a grand, sana-
ta's saying. Jain gentleman to the present
writer, 'he would no more hear us than would a
dead animal.' Consequently, though the Jains
perhaps lay greater stress on the duty of forgiving
others for all personal slights, injuries, and offences
than the followers of any other religion, one great
subject of petition—for forgiveness for sin—is, they
hold, logically excluded, since there is no one to
forgive the sin, no one greater than the mechanism
of karma, no one who has never experienced its
sway.

2. Intercesse.—In the same way there is no
room in the Jain system for intercession. As the
belief in karma dries up all sympathy for the
suffering of others, so it impedes any intercession
for their deliverance. A child-bowler is merely
expiating the sin of adultery committed in a
previous birth; a leper is only serving his sentence
for some former, though unremembered, crime;
and no intercession could mitigate or shorten their
penalty.

Indeed, not only is intercession ineffectual, but
to Jain ideas it is tainted by actual sin—the sin of
spiritual bribery. If (since human need and
human longings are greater than any creed) a prayer
is wrung from an anguished soul in likeness
of a scratch beside the sick-bed of her little
cradle, she is told that she has committed
the grave sin of lakottara mithyävā, 1 under which
would also be included a childless woman's vow
that, if a son be born to her, she will offer a cradle
at some saint's shrine.

No people in India are prouder than the Jain
community of their loyalty to British rule, but it is
impossible for them logically to offer up prayers
for the success of the Allied cause, as the Muslim-
maharajahs and their followers do; all that is per-
missible for them is to hold meetings to express
their ardent good wishes and fervent desires for a
victorious peace.

Some well-instructed Jains account for the
fact that some of the members of their community do use such phrases as 'O Lord (Prabhu), give me
wealth,' 'O Lord (Prabhu), forgive me my sin,'
by saying that the prayer is addressed neither to
a supreme God nor to a deified man, but to their
own inner consciousness, to stir themselves up to
greater efforts; others, again, say that such phrases
are metaphorical; a third explanation sometimes
given is that they are due to the pervading influ-
ence of Hinduism.

3. Adoration.—A Jain said to the writer: 'We
are not beggars, and we cannot petition for boons
like beggars, but by remembering our Tirthankar,
we can pluck up heart to follow their example.'

To this extent one element of prayer—adoration—
is found in the Jain system. A Śāhānakārā
(śāhānakārā, an important term) comes forth into
radio in the morning, adores the great saints and the great principles of the Jain
creed; but, when the meaning of his devotion
is fully explained, one realizes that the act is saluta-
tion rather than adoration. The attitude of the
worshipper seems (to quote an illustration which
all the Jain friends consulted by the writer have
accepted) nearer to that of a French soldier paying
his homage at the tomb of Napoleon and saluting
the memory of a great hero than to the warm,
personal adoration and loving faith connected with
būddhist bhīmō, 2 the word for the bhūmika, 3
for it is the writer that the vital distinction between the
two creeds seemed to him to lie in the fact that
the Jain system had no room for bhātī. The Jain
telling his rosary of 108 beads would salute
the Five Great Ones (Aḥanta, Pyājana, Uṣāhāyaṇa,
and Sādhu) and the great principles of knowledge,
faith, character, and austerity. Then,
repairing to the monastery or to some quiet place
in his house, he would perform śūnyādyāk, 4 during
which, after begging forgiveness for any injury
done to the tiniest insect on his way to his devo-
tions, he would promise to commit no sin for the
space of forty-eight minutes, and then praise the
twenty-four Tirthankarā, saluting each by name
in a set form of Māgadhī words, and would conclude
by a salutation of a director (guru) if present; if
not, to the north-east corner of the building.

4. Confession.—This is followed by the con-
fusion of sin, or paśkoṇarningh, which is an essen-
tial part of Jain worship. The object of this con-
fusion, the writer has heard explained, is to
the sins of removal of the guilt, but, by confessing
and carrying out the penance imposed by the
director, to perform an austerity, in the fire of
which it is hoped to burn up some of the karma
acquired by sinning. A difficulty has occasionally
arisen in the minds of students of Jainism owing
to the use of such expressions in Jain prayers as
'I crave forgiveness,' whereas the accepted Guja-
rāti comment or translation of such words appears
the better to be the phrase 'be free from the fruit of
such sin.' 2 In this formal confession, however, the worshipper acknowledges
his sins in the most careful way, confessing if he
has sinned against knowledge in any of the
fourteen special ways, or against faith in five ways,
or if he has uttered any of the twenty-five kinds of
falsehood, or committed any of the eighteen classes
of sin, or in any way sinned against the Five Great
Ones of the Jain faith, being specially careful
to confess any sin against animal life, the
taking of which is considered one of the greatest
sins in Jain. This is followed by a repetition of
the salutation to the Five Great Ones, and this, in
turn, by another form of confession of the sins of
that particular day, by a vow to fast in some way
or other, if only for an hour (for the Jains lay the
greatest stress on fasting), and the whole is con-
cluded by an act of general praise. A devout Jain
will repeat these religious exercises (which gen-
erally take about forty-eight minutes) in the
evening. It is illuminating to notice that the director never
seems to pronounce an absolution: he imposes a
penance, generally concerned with fasting in some
way or other, and the penitent simply goes away
and performs it to the satisfaction of his own con-
science.

No Jain is content with the austerity of a con-
fusion of sin night and morning; it is also incum-
bent upon him to examine his conscience still more
scrupulously every fortnight, even more thoroughly
at the four-monthly confession, whilst the most
important part of the monastic life is the annual
confession Sevāwātāri (see art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS
[Jain]).

After the evening confession the Jain, before
sleeping, sings the praises of the Tirthankara, and

1 Cf. Śūnyādyāk (in Māgadhī, with Gujaṭāri tr.), p. 11: 'May
what I have done wrong be without fruit to my fire.'
tells his beads, again making salutation to the Five Great Ones.

5. Temple-worship. — Besides meditation and confession, the daily devotions of a Svetāmbara Jain include a visit to the temple, which he circumambulates three times before entering (as he crosses the threshold he touches it and utters three times the word "chakṣu," which puts on one side all sins and worldly cares). The morning ritual has eight parts—bathing the idol, marking it with the auspicious mark, offering it flowers and garlands, waving a lighted incense-stick in front of the images, waving a lamp before the image, offering rice, offering sweetmeats, and offering nuts. The first part, bathing the idol, can be performed only once, so only one worshipper can do that, but any man who has time to bathe at the temple and to don the special dress may mark the idol, offer flowers to it, and wave the incense-stick. All the worshipper would perhaps go to the temple again and perform the evening worship, which consists in waving a lamp before the idol. On great festivals and at pilgrimage resorts the worship is of course much more elaborate.

3. For whom offered. — The norito were addressed sometimes to one or several individual gods, sometimes to a class of gods (e.g., in 866 to the deities of all the provinces of the Nankaido district), and sometimes to all the gods (see Magic [Japanese]). An interesting point to notice here is that, with the coming of the Imperial palace on one hand, and ancestor-worship under Chinese influence on the other, the custom arose of addressing prayers to deceased Mikados. These prayers are not mentioned in any of the norito of the Engishiki, but only in the later norito (9th cent. onwards).

Prayers for rain were made in 841 to the emperor Jimmu and the empress Jingu; in 859 Jimmu was again besought to cure an illness of the reigning Mikado; in 861 and 865 prayers were offered to the emperor Ojin, whom, under the name Hachiman, was destined to become one of the favourite figures in the Japanese pantheon.

3. For whom offered. — Prayer was made for the emperor, his court, and his people (see Magic [Japanese], vol. viii. esp. p. 296, rituals 1–3, p. 297, rituals 4, 8–10, p. 298, rituals 12, 15, p. 299, personal prayer, e.g., Kojiki, tr. R. H. B., 25, 27). But if this very simple conception there is none of the moral ideas that lead us at various times to pray specially for the just, or for sinners, or for infidels, and so on. Similarly, there were no prayers for the dead in the soul's afterlife, and even in another world being very vague among the primitive Japanese (see Ancestor-Worship [Japanese], vol. i. p. 459).
PRAYER (Japanese)

prays for whatever will help him to attain his final goal, viz. happiness in the future life; when he asks for grace, virtue, or other spiritual blessings, it is with this ideal in view; and he does not pray for bodily or material blessings, and hence success, except means to this end. The primitive Japanese had no such ideas. Their norito have no conception of moral progress or eternal salvation; they simply seek for earthly goods—for the emperor health, long life, and a happy term of his stay on earth. Under conditions of destruction, especially fire, safe journeys for ambassadors to foreign lands, and internal and external peace for his empire (see art. Magic [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 296, ritual 8.), p. 298, rituals 11 f., 141 f., p. 299, p. 295, for the people a good harvest, protection of the crops from inclement weather or floods, rain in times of drought, safety from epidemics, and general prosperity (ib. p. 290, ritual 1, p. 297, ritual 4, p. 298, ritual 13, p. 299, ritual 25). The idea of purification, which often appears in these texts (ib. p. 297, ritual 10, and pассив), is confined mainly to ritual purity, though the moral element is not quite excluded. Sometimes the norito is meant to appease the anger of the gods, when the community feels that sufficient precautions for the purification necessary for their worship have been neglected. Finally, besides petitions and expiatory, the norito are sometimes a means of announcing some important piece of news to the gods—an accession to the throne, a marriage, the return of a victorious army, an enemy invasion, the nomination of a prince as heir or of a vestal of imperial blood, and so on. The most interesting among these announcements are unquestionably those advising a deity of his promotion, e.g., to a higher rank in the celestial hierarchy (based on the Chinese system of official ranks, in the 7th century).

In 672 three deities supplied some useful military information; as the result of the norito, the emperor, upon the report received from his generals, raised these deities to higher rank. In 838 a similar distinction was bestowed on a young god in defiance of seniority, and a jealous goddess showed her anger by pouring a volcanic shower on the eastern provinces. In 840 the great deities of Ise sent a shower of stones, and the emperor conferred the second grade of the fourth rank on her, with congratulations on her marvellous power. In 851 Susa-no-wo and Orihoko-bashii (see Narihira [Japanese]), vol. iv. lines 535 to 536, for Hasso and Hasso-Gos (Japanese), vol. vi. p. 629), obtained the second grade of the third rank, and, eight years after, the first grade of the second rank, on which basis, however, were based no higher than an important minister or a successful chamberlain. In 860 a volcanic eruption of Satsuma was placed in a lower subdivision of the fourth rank. In 875, Inuyama was raised to a main deity, and Ikuta caused seismic shocks, and were immediately presented with a third grade, and, in 885, 230 gods were raised to the rank of an emperor Daigo as a bounty, at his happy accession. In 1076 and 1173 promotions were made en masa.

These samples show the essentially positive character of the norito and the distance that separates them from the lyrical outbursts that we think of when we speak of prayer properly so called. Even in those norito which approach most nearly to normal prayer the formula is more of the nature of a contract with the gods; gifts and veneration are supposed, the gods, in return, to bestow blessings on their benefactors, and they are promised further rewards, if necessary, should their services turn out satisfactory (see Magic (Japanese), vol. viii. p. 296, rituals 1–3, p. 297, ritual 4).

5. Nature of prayer.—We must distinguish between the basis of the form and the moral dispositions and the material conditions. As regards the inner feelings, a reading of the norito shows that the primitive Japanese, though they felt sincere regard for the sacred gods (see Narihira (Japanese), vol. ix. p. 233), never had that implicit confidence in addressing them which is generally considered, especially among Christian peoples, an essential quality in prayer. On the contrary, it is clearly seen that the gods were approached on terms of equality.

6. Place of prayer.—The place for offering prayers naturally depended on the ceremonies with which they were connected. It was often the palace itself (e.g., to mention only some of the important rituals, nos. 1, 8, 10, 12, etc.), the great temple of Ise (e.g., nos. 10–24), or other sacred places, and sometimes the temple of a local god (e.g., no. 5, at Hirano, a village in the province of Settsu). In many cases the chief ceremony took place at Kyōto and was repeated in the province. There were also domestic celebrations, as at the Niki-konan (see Magic (Japanese), vol. viii. p. 296, ritual 14), which, besides its public rites in the temple, was performed privately in the family, and to which no stranger was admitted—for fear of pollution, no doubt. The texts never mention whether it is seated or standing, in the inner chamber which the gospel recommends (Mt 6).

7. Times of prayer.—Sometimes prayers were monthly (the title of the 7th ritual, Tewakami no Motsuri, shows that originally at least it was a ‘monthly’ celebration), sometimes twice a year (e.g., 10th ritual), sometimes annual (e.g., 1st ritual), at certain appointed months and days (e.g., 1st ritual on 4th day of 2nd month; 10th ritual, on last day of 6th and 12th months), or at fixed times (e.g., 3rd ritual, at sunrise; 10th ritual, at sunset). Others were used only when the occasion for which they were suited arose (e.g., 14th ritual, at the accession of a new emperor). The priestly functionaries, especially the highest ones, had to have prayed much more frequently; we know, e.g., that a high official called haku, who presided over the Jingikwan (‘Department of Religion’), took the emperor’s place whenever he was prevented by illness from saying his daily prayers. But here again the texts make no mention of daily prayers, far less of prayers twice or thrice daily, among the people, and it is probable that they were usually content to leave that duty to those whose professional function it was to offer prayers.

8. Typical example of Shintō prayer.—As a
typical example, in which the general features of the rituals are combined under the recognized form, we may quote the 3rd norito, which is neither among the finest nor among the poorest, but is a good average, and is short. It is addressed to the god of the harvest-fields at the Mikados (see NATURE [Japanese], vol. ix. p. 239), last graph, and p. 240), and, secondarily, to the gods of ravines who send water to irrigate the imperial farms.

As (the nakatomi, in the name of the Mikado) declares the august name of the sovrin god whose praises are fulfilled at Kahahi in Hirose [a village in the district of Hirose, where the god of the harvest-fields has his shrine, her child]. Declaring her august name at the Young-food-woman's augustness [Waka-o-hono-no-miko mikoto, one of the alternative names of the goddess of the harvest-fields over the late, her skill in the august presence of this sovrin deity. He says: "Hear all ye kami and hofuri the fulfilling of praises, by sending the princes and councilors to lift up and bring the great august offerings of the sovrin august child's augustness."

He says: "Delight to declare in the presence of the sovrin deity that as great august offerings which are set up, he deposits in abundance and offers up, as to august clothing, bright cloth, glittering cloth, fine cloth, and coarse cloth, five kinds of things, a mantlet, spear, and august horse; and as to august offerings, the best, [the best] high thing filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the beer-jars, in soft grass, in coarse grass. [I.e. bulled rice and paddy]: as to things which dwell, the things sweet that appear round the hair birds and beasts]; as to things which grow in the great field plain, sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell, with the things wide, the grasses narrow of fin, down to the weeds of the olive and weeds of the shore."

He adds: "Sovereign lord, this day that the sovrin deity has the sovrin sovrin virgin with the peaceful and tranquil heart accepts as peaceful august offerings and sufficient august offerings the great august offering, and if the time for the offering is over, he will declare how to perfect and bless in many-banded ears the sovrin deity's harvest-fields in the first place and also the late-reaping august harvest which the august children (princes of the blood) bring. The princes, councillors and great august people of the region under heaven shall make it dripping to the front from the arms of the august deity, drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs, in order that it may be taken by the sovrin august grandchild's augustness with his four and eight hands and distant august food, he will draw thither the firstfruit both in liquor and in husk, even to a thousand plants and many thousands plants, and piling them up as a range of hills, will offer them up at the autumn service." He says: "Hear all ye kami and hofuri."

He sets up the great august offerings of the sovrin august child's augustness, bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, the five kinds of things, down on the mantlet and spear, in the presence of the sovrin gods who also dwell in the entrances of mountains of the six august farms of the province of Yama to. As to the setting up of offerings in this region which the god has set up on the sovrin god, the bellies of the beer-jars, filling down the ravines from the entrances of the mountains which the god has set up as sweet, as sweet, as sweet, as sweet the gods of the mountains) will deign to bless the late-reaping harvest which the great august people of the region under heaven have made, and will bless it in that he will wind the offerings, the princes, councillors, functionaries, down to the male and female servants of the six august farms of the province of Yama to, norito, to the mouth of the main (number month of this year, to set up the firstfruits in juice and in husk, raising high the beer-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the beer-jars, piling up the offerings like a range of hills, and plunging down the root of the neck coronetwise in the presence of the sovrin gods, will (fulf) praises as the morning sun rises in glory! (Hirose o-hono no matsuri, tr. E. Satow, in TAJJ VI. pt. IV. p. 483).

9. Modern prayer.—Later, when the nationalist spirit took up the sovrin Shinto, in opposition to Buddhism and Confucianism, the most devout of them, Hirata, composed in 1811 a book of prayers called Tanada-tanuki, which, unlike the ancient norito, was meant for private worship. It is a great interest how prayer was conceived by the chief theologian of modern Shintoism. Hirata's views are as follows:

As the number of the gods who possess different functions is so great, it will be convenient to worship by name only the most important of them, the rest being left in a general invocation. The whose daily affairs are so multitudinous that they have no time to observe the details of the four thousand prayers, if they content themselves with adoring the residence of the emperor, the domestic kami-damu (the shelf on which the household gods are placed), the divine ancestors of their local palaces, the god, and the deity of their particular calling in life. In praying to the sun, the blessings which each has in his power to bestow are to be invoked, a few words are not to be annoyed with greedy petitions: for the Mikado in his palace offers up petitions daily on behalf of his people, which are far more effectual than those of his subjects. Rising early in the morning, wash your face and hands, rinse out the mouth, and cleanse the body, and then, turning towards the rising sun, strike the palms of the hands together twice, and worship, bowing the head to the ground. The proper posture is that of kneeling, with the body held erect, giving a superior.

Here follows a specimen prayer: 'From a distance I reverently worship with awe before Ame no Mi-hashira and Kun no Mi-hashira, also called Shina-tsu-hiko no kami and Shina-tsui hiko no kami, the nature goddess and the nature god,' (see NATURE [Japanese], vol. ix. p. 239), last graph, and p. 240), and, secondarily, to the gods of ravines who send water to irrigate the imperial farms.

Without emphasizing the artificial nature of these prayers, which, in spite of the express aim of their author to the contrary, are patentely inspired largely by Buddhist tendencies and especially by Chinese Buddhism, who many questions whether they were ever used by the wari-sambei for which they are intended, for the first five volumes of Hirata's book were not printed till 1829, and the following four not till some time after his death, which occurred in 1845.

Official norito are composed to this day, for all special occasions (e.g., the conferring of posthumous honours on early Mikados, invocation of the gods of war, etc.). On the other hand, the common people offer informal prayers to various familiar gods (e.g., to Inari, originally the protector of agriculture, then a kind of Japanese Providence, when they are sowing rice or beginning a commercial enterprise, etc.). The worshipper who may be seen standing in front of a temple, pulling the white cord that rings a bell to attract the attention of the god, and then praying for a moment with clasped hands, is usually offering a personal petition of the most paltry kind. The more general type of modern prayer asks for peace to the land, safety to the household, and abundant harvest.

But modern Shinto prayers, like those of twelve hundred years ago, are always essentially positive, inspired by human wisdom alone; and, whenever a somewhat elevated moral or mystical idea appears in them, it is the result of Buddhist influence.
we meet for the first time with forms of prayer, which are to be uttered on the occasions of offering the firstlings and the tithe. Among the prayers of the earlier time, those of the Exile and the time of the Prophet Jeremiah are of the highest order (Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte*, p. 263 f.).

1. The prophets.—The work of the prophets in making religion more of an inward thing, which found expression in the new forms of prayer, was chiefly in the manifold and varying forms of the sacrificial cult, did not have its full effect among the mass of the people till the time of the Exile, when it found its natural expression in the prayers of the Jews. Towards the end of the Exile the prayer-form was established. Gradually the sacrificial cult, which had been a part of the future as a ‘house of prayer for all peoples.’

2. The Psalms.—At a later date the prayers known as the Psalms took their rise, but, owing to a tendency of a still later period, they were referred back to remote antiquity—to the time of David. They are far more probably the fruit of the religion of the prophets, giving in prayer-form the thoughts that had entered into the consciousness of the people from the teaching of the prophets. After the return from the Exile, and when the second Temple had been erected, the Psalms became the Temple liturgy, in spite of the fact that, to a considerable extent, they formed a protest against the sacrificial cult of the Temple. The psalms demand and needs no sacrifice, but only the pure heart and the good deed, is a constantly recurring theme of the Psalms. Besides the moral teaching of the religion of the prophets, the Psalms deal chiefly with the sufferings of the people—particularly of the righteous—the sins of the nation and of the individual, memories of the nation’s past, hopes of the final mercy of God, and His justice and power in nature and in history.

The collecting of the Psalms, which was gradually accomplished between the Exile and the Maccabean period, was undoubtedly made in the first place for liturgical purposes; still it is very questionable, in the case of many Psalms, whether they were originally composed as songs for the congregation, while, in the case of others, the titles themselves as well as internal evidence point to their liturgical use. In form the Psalms are very varied and differ much in value, but, as far as their contents are concerned, they represent the highest product of the religious poetry of all nations.

*After reading the prayers of other nations, no unreduced critic would deny that the Hebrew Psalms stand out unique among such prayers of the whole world, by their simplicity, their power and the majesty of their language, though, like all collections of prayers, the collection of the Psalms also contains some which one would not be sorry to miss*’ (Max Müller, ‘On Ancient Prayers,’ in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 40).

3. The synagogue.—The Psalms, which indeed still presuppose the sacrificial cult, and more in connexion with it, symbolize the transition to the new form of worship which we find in the synagogue. The origin of the synagogue is hidden in obscurity, but it is pretty certain that the work of Ezra, in introducing the Tórah as the law-book and book of devotion for the people, led to the establishment of the institution of the synagogue (beth hokkí'neath, ‘house of assembling’; then translated Gr. ἱερός ἱεραρχία), the first mention of synagogues seems to occur in a Maccabean Psalms (16:29), who possessed at least place the synagogue served the purposes of religious instruction, and was the means by which the Tórah entered into the flesh and blood of the people—a result which we see clearly in several Psalms (19:9–119). In the reading of the law and of the Psalms, the congregation, whether unprejudiced, interpreted, or interpreted in the light of the Exile and the appliance of the Aramaic dialect of the people, which took place on all the Sabbaths, feast-

days, and the market-days (Mondays and Thursdays), the people were at first entirely passive, merely listening to the reading. Gradually as the Tórah was added—at first only in the form of several important sections of the Tórah, which bore the character of a devotional or edifying reading, and which were repeated by the people as a sort of confession. This is the Tórah, which was read in the Syna- 

gogue. It was regarded by Josephus (Ant. iv. viii. 13) as an institution that had long existed. Gradually the Sh'márı'asher was provided with a framework of intro-

ductory and concluding pieces, which were no longer taken from the Tórah, but were original compositions that, as far as their contents were concerned, were prayers in the real sense of the term.

Besides these, there arose, perhaps at the same time, a quite independent prayer, which was designated as the prayer z'wró b'nei yisrael, as z'wró b’nei yisrael. This prayer, which has gone through a consider-

able historical development and in its later form was called Sh'móni'’e Ḥévréi (i.e. ‘eighteen,’ because it contains eighteen benedictions), seems to be influenced in some way by the Hebraic Psalms of Sirach (51). The oldest part of the prayer is composed of the first three and the last three benedictions. The Sh'móni'’e Ḥévréi remains to the present day the real congregational prayer of Judaism. It was well adapted to this purpose, as it unites in simple speech the four chief kinds of prayer (thanksgiving, praise, petition, and con-

fession), and gives expression to them from the standpoint of the people as a whole.

4. Family prayer.—Along with the synagogue the home also became a place of worship. It is doubtful whether the praying three times a day mentioned in Ps 55 and Dn 6 was a standing institution. In any case it is certain that at an early date family prayer, with a special liturgy for the evening of the Passover and for the beginning and end of the Sabbath (Qiddiṣh, Ḥabbálátá), was customary. Then, too, prayer was offered at the beginning and end of every meal; and, later, on the occasion of every enjoyment whatever, at the commencement of every important work, at every outstanding event or experience, a special b'rakáh (blessing) was spoken. Thus in course of time every activity of life, every place, and every portion of time were permeated with thoughts of God. The demand of prayer every morning, every evening, every night (sh’máрей gáyn, ‘to the name of God,’ consecrated to God) was thus literally fulfilled and the whole of life became a Divine service with interruptions (M. Steinschneider).

5. Rivalry between synagogue and Temple.—This new form of worship in the synagogue and in the home constitutes perhaps the greatest and most radical reform in the whole history of the Jewish religion. For, although we possess no historical support of any revolt against the intro-

duction of this worship, there naturally existed from the beginning a deep-seated opposition between the ancient Temple cult, which presupposed only one central sanctuary, and the synagogues, which existed in countless numbers and could be erected wherever the Jewish community, wherever Jews were to be found. In the Temple a hereditary priestly aristocracy conducted the service, while the new form of worship was based on a purely democratic foundation, and any one of those possessing sufficient knowledge, either written or transmitted, who wished, might officiate. In the case of sacrifices, which at least in part were of a sacramental nature (e.g., the sacrifices of atonement and purification), the chief part of the service, while the Temple clergy had the monopoly of the Temple, the synagogue, on the other hand, the model of a purely spiritual service was seen for the first time. Here
there was to be found nothing mystical or symbolical—only prayer and instruction, without any ritual accompaniment. In this respect the synagogue differed from the temple and the people's religion. It made Judaism entirely independent of the Temple, and prepared men's minds for its overthrow.

6. Use of the popular dialect.—It is also worthy of mention that everywhere the dialect of the people was used in prayer along with Hebrew. In fact, in many important prayers the popular language was prescribed for those who did not know Hebrew. The Egyptian Jews in particular, who had left Egypt so long ago and had no connection with their original homes, continued to use the local dialects of the land of their sojourn. From the 3rd century on they, in preference to the Hebrew of the Talmud, used the Egyptian dialect in their prayers and other public services. The Egyptian dialect is the most representative of Jewish religious life, became the only centre for the formation of the Jews of the Dispersion. From this time onwards the scribes sought more and more to establish, as far as possible, uniformity in the services. With the exception of a few ancient prayers in the Aramaic dialect (e.g., the Qaddish), Hebrew alone came to be used in public prayer.

The language of the prayers also became more fixed. In the Tosephta, for example, we know what was at the time for at least a final revision; new prayers for the service of the congregation were composed; the time and the outward form of the service as a whole were more and more fixed with painful exactness. While at an earlier date the element of instruction held the chief place, now prayer came to occupy an equally important position. The reading, translation, and explanation of the Scriptures on Sabbaths and feast-days constitutes an integral part of the service. In addition to the reading of the Torah, lessons were also read from the Prophets, to which the name haphtarot (i.e. "closing") was applied, because they concluded the service, or because they concluded the reading of the Torah. The explanation of these lessons was called midrash, and developed gradually into lectures based on a Scripture text and embracing the whole body of Jewish religious and national ideas. These lectures formed the model for the Christian sermon.

The classical work of Zuna, Die gottheitsdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, gives a critical history of the Midrash and at the same time of the synagogue service, while it brings out clearly the intimate historical connexion between prayer and sermon, which mutually completed and enriched each other.

The content of the prayers was widened after the destruction of the Temple, when the desire for the restoration of political independence, the rebuilding of the Temple, and the re-introduction of its worship came to occupy an important place. This desire was connected with the hope of a messianic connection with the Messianic hope, which is found in prayers from the time of Sirach, but first obtained decisive significance in the consciousness of the people after the great national catastrophe. This hope appeared not merely in the Temple, but in the purely external conception that an earthly and spiritual kingdom of God would free the people from misery and servitude, now in a deeper and more spiritual form in the vision of the coming of the Kingdom of God (Malkhuth shamayim), i.e. the time when God shall be acknowledged and worshipped by all peoples, and when righteousness and peace shall reign on the whole earth.

This thought finds full expression in the prayers appointed for the New Year Festival and for the Day of Atonement, partly composed at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

As an example we may refer to the prayer ascribed to Rabbi (175-247) based on Sirach 56 (22R): 'Lay then Thy fear on all Thy creatures, that all Thy creation may know that all whom Thou hast created are before Thee, and that all may make one only covenant to do Thy will with all their heart, as we have long known that the power and the might belong unto Thee, and that Thy name is exalted over all that Thou hast created.'

In the liturgy associated with these two festivals the creative religious genius of Talmudic Judaism was specially manifested. It was regarded as a New Year's liturgy in beautiful and thoughtful prayers was really the first thing to lend a religious significance to this festival, and to give it the place which it has since held in the popular consciousness alongside of the festival of the Day of Atonement as one of the chief festivals of the year. These prayers, in which the national element recedes into the background, ascribe to God the dignity of the world's Judge on the one hand and that of the Father of all peoples on the other, giving us a clear view of the whole Jewish system of doctrine regarding sin, repentance, and forgiveness.

II. TALMUDIC AND MEDIEVAL.

1. Prayer and Services of the Talmud.—The predominating place which the synagogue service came to occupy in the religious life finds outward expression in the fact that the Mishnah, the official law-book (closed about A.D. 200), begins with the treatise Brakhot, which deals with prayer in all its aspects. The wealth of material contained in this treatise, as well as in the treatises Megillah and Ta'anith in the Mishnah, and in the contemporaneous but unaccepted collection Tosephtha, was materially increased in the following three centuries in the high schools of Palestine and Babylon, and its religious and historical significance has never been sufficiently appreciated. In spite of the scruples entertained among Jewish scholars about reducing prayers to a fixed form, and regarding them even as those who could not vary them, and opposed the writing down of prayers ('Those who commit prayers to writing burn the Torah' (Tos. Shabbith, xlii. 4)), the necessities of life brought about a uniformity in the synagogue service and a partial canonisation of the service. This was the ease among the whole people, the individuality of the worshipper being disregarded. It required several centuries, however, before congregational prayer really assumed a fixed form. Within the prescribed prayer rooms was of course left at various places for the individual needs of the worshipper.

This stated synagogue service was of the greatest importance in the religious training of the people. Prayers were offered three times every day (shaharit, min'ah, ma'ar'eh); on Sabbaths and feast-days a fourth supplementary prayer (ma'ar'eh) took the place of the earlier sacrifices. By means of these services the most important religious duties, the chief doctrines of Judaism, and the most important bonds which united the people ever afresh brought home to the consciousness of the worshipper, so that he never was actually freed from the atmosphere of prayer.

On the other hand, there was a danger in these prayers that they should sink purely and simply into a form as to hour, content, and form. They tended, among the masses of the people, to make prayer a purely external and mechanical affair. Hence the scholars who were the framers of the public liturgy constantly emphasized that prayer was not as an obligatory service, but as a 'worship with the heart'—that 'God desires the heart.'
Accordingly, short prayers were frequently recommended, and as early as the beginning of the 3rd cent. a short extract was taken from the Sh'monah 'Eser (Habbinon). In this connexion the writer, however, naturally deviates somewhat when he states that we have no term in any other ancient language—not even in the NT—namely, kawwainah, 'devo-
tion' (more exactly kawwainath kalath, 'direction of the heart'). The kawwainah is, in numerous passages, associated with a meal, and denotes the requirement for every prayer. These passages have been collected by Maimonides (12th cent.), who has expressed the demand for contemplative devotion in the following form:

1. **One who prays with devotion shall pray once more.** He whose thoughts are wandering, or occupied with other things, shall not pray. . . . If he then is devotion? One must free his heart from all other thoughts and regard himself as standing in the presence of God. Therefore, before engaging in prayer, the worshipper ought to go aside for a little in order to bring himself into a devotional frame of mind, and then he must pray quietly and with feeling, not like one who hurries, and throws it away and goes farther. Then after prayer the worshipper ought to sit quiet for a little and then depart. This plies folk of old waited an hour before prayer and an hour after, and engaged in prayer for a whole hour. . . . One ought not to go to prayer immediately after jest or frivolous talk, or continuing to engage in some task, or any sort of discourses of a religious tenor (Mishnah Torah, Hilchoth T'phillith 4:1).**

2. **Social significance of the service.**—Since in the prayers of the congregation the individual's private interests had to take a second place, the public services constituted an important social factor. In the synagogue there was no room for egotistical prayer, and even in the prayers for the congregation requests for material good were subordinated to petitions for the enlightenment of the spirit and for moral power. As these prayers did not satisfy the individual needs of the worshipper, personal prayer is formally and in practice, for private devotion which differed in outward form from the prayers of the congregation by the use of the singular, while the latter invariably use the plural. These personal prayers were said at the end of the public prayer (cf. Eliezer, Studien, p. 41). They are characterized by a special tenderness and inwardsness and only a few of them have been included in the Jewish Prayer Book. As an example of these private prayers we may quote the prayer of R. Yehuda, the redactor of the Ma'环卫, who is still preserved in the daily morning prayer:  

'May it be Thy will, eternal God, our God, the God of our fathers, to keep us [in the Prayer Book 'me'] from insensibility [tubilah], to exalt in [habanim] and to enlighten our spirit [kalath] and to save us. In the midst of our enemies, of man, an evil fate, an evil instinct, an evil companion, an evil neighbour, from the tempter who brings destruction, from a cruel judgment-seat and a cruel enemy, be he a son of the covenant [i.e. a Jew] or he be a stranger' (Dirlichth, 165). A number of other private prayers are found translated in the present writer's Boussesit. lit. des Juventuts . . . kritisch untersucht, p. 89.**

The basic thoughts on prayer are to be found scattered through the whole of the Talmudic literature, and they testify to a sound moral judgment as well as to keenness in psychological insight. We may here quote the most interesting sentences:

'I can be discovered from the prayers of a man, whether he be a talivath hokham (i.e. a man of culture in the moral and religious sense) or an uncultured person' (Tos. Dirlichth, l. c., and parallel passages).

3. **External form of the service.**—Regarding the external form of the service, we can gather very little from ancient sources. The reason for this seems to be the unnatural simplicity of the service, which was devoid of anything like ceremony. Owing to the lack of any written prayer-book in the age of the Talmud, the prayers had to be spoken by a reciter (shlitchah sabb). It is duty of the congregation—later, bechattan, and the people took part in them, repeat-

ing in many places 'Amen,' but often expressing their agreement in longer responses. Any full-
grown male Jew might act as leader in prayer, but the duty was preferably entrusted to the most learned of the congregation—the leader was often chosen by lot, i.e. according to the way of the Stoics. Of the positions of the prayer-goers during the Sh'monah 'Eser, which thus came to be called 'Amirath. At other parts they bent their heads, and at some portions sank down on their knees. During prayer the worshippers were covered or seated, and during the t'philah which was provided with fringes (gittith). On week-days the phylacteries (t'phillim) were also worn on the head and the left arm. The use of these was based on the literal interpretation of the two passages contained in the Sh'mud (viz. Dt 6:4 and Nu 15:37). The t'philah and t'phillim were supposed to serve as memorials (lot), but not as amulets. Neither to any of the customs mentioned nor to prayer at all (contrasting with Christianity) was there any kind of material influence. The impetus, and the form, and the use, did the bene-
diction of the priest have any external effect, 'as God but not the priests can grant blessing' (Siphah, § 43, on Nu 6:25). Moreover, the strict mono-
theism of the Jews permitted no kind of mediation in prayer by higher beings. Only in a few places (and in none of the official prayers) do we find the angels called on to intercede, while eminent scholars protested emphatically against the custom. It was not till the Middle Ages, when, owing to external pressure and internal ignorance, a darker spirit took possession of Judaism, that the expression 'the angel of mercy' was introduced into the Prayer Book by the Kabbalat. Even the names of the angels invoked in prayer—Sandalphon and Metatron—show that we have here to do with ideas introduced from without.

The close of the Talmod (c. A.D. 500), when all Jewish traditions were reduced to writing, did not by any means give the liturgy a stereotyped form, although certain books can be traced back to the 7th century. On the other hand, we have now, much more than formerly, alongside of the statutory prayers, to reckon with the minhah, i.e. the local usage which not only decided on the form and length of the daily prayers, but also often directly opposed the Talmod. In consequence of the dispersion of the Jews in the different lands, climate and external circumstances exerted quite as strong an influence on the minhah as the language, customs, and civilization of the neigh-
bouthing peoples. In order to restrict the variety that thus arose in the ritual, the G'onim, or heads of the Babylonian high schools, whose authority was recognized by all Jews, gave reasoned decisions, in answer to questions addressed to them. Some of these decisions were so soundly and are preserved to the present day. We have to thank the G'onim for the first ordered form of prayer with reasons for the same, called Siddur of which the eldest extant is that of G'on 'Amram, with certain modifications in the so-called Siddor of G'on Na'ady (10th century). The later and more complete collections of this kind were called Minhah (lit. 'year-cycle')—an expression which came to be used for prayer-books generally, and particularly in connexion with the feast-days.

In spite of all decisions and ordered forms for prayer, in spite also of all endeavours of the great codifiers (among them Maimonides [q.e.]), the attempt to obtain uniformity of service was not successul. In fact, there came to be two groups
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of sharply contrasted liturgical services which were further subdivided into many smaller groups: (1) the Palestinian group, which permeated the nations of N. Europe, and thus came to be called the 'German'; and (2) the Arabic group, which drew its adherents from the Jews dwelling round the Middle East (i.e., the countries of the Near and Middle East) of the 9th to the 16th century (Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Italy), and, as it was in use principally in the Peninsula, was called the 'Spanish' group. These two groups, which still exist alongside of each other, differ particularly with regard to the poeticical prayers which, since the 9th cent., it has been the custom to recite on the fast-days and on certain Sabbaths to insert in the principal prayers.

4. The synagogue poetry.—Little can be discovered with regard to the origin of the synagogue poetry—piyyut, as it was called.

It is not at all improbable that the Syrian and Greek hymns of the Church had an influence in the matter. The term applied to the poet of the synagogue—piyyut or piyyut (from πιαυος) points at once to a foreign origin. Zunz rightly emphasizes the fact that the Jews had in their Psalms an ancient foundation, that is, the old and the new trouble the same materials. Any account of the history of the piyyut must be based on the work of Zunz, Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters.

The oldest poetic compositions were without rhyme or metre, and for the most part with alphabetical arrangement of the lines and sections. Rhyme is found as early as the 9th cent., while verse measure was introduced by Spanish poets after the second half of the 10th century.

Zunz traces the origin of synagogue poetry to the tendency 'to give a historic and sacred reminiscence of Israel a form embodied by art and beautified by song, and (by changing the commanded service into a spontaneous homage) in this way to make the prayer to the Jew what the Homer and tragedians had been to the Greek—a place where the national genius was embellished and spiritualized, where it was seen and felt that a poet was wondering the compositions of the every individual' (Literaturgesch. der synagogalen Poesie, P. 1). The authors of the oldest synagogue poems are unknown to us. These were composed, no doubt, for the most part by the leaders in prayer themselves, and were, to begin with, only listened to by the congregation but not repeated. Before long, however, these poems were also sung, so that also a voice of song in divine service, which had been silent since the destruction of the Temple, was heard once more, and the leader in prayer became the preacher. Poetical sections were first inserted in the Psalms and later poems were composed to them by the choristers, and hence their names (צאַר, צאַר, צאַר). But the main endeavours of the piyyutim were directed towards adorning the first blessings of the vphil- lāh. The compositions belonging to this class were called qimnatim (cf. Syr. ḏāḵrebī, 'inances'). Further poetical compositions were provided for the Day of Atonement (Cahbatōmel, a description of the Temple service at that day in old times), for šabbāḥ (or šabbāḥ, enumerations of the precepts of the Tórah), for the 9th of Ab (the Day of Mourning), for the last day of the Temple (the Temple called qimnā, 'lamentations'), and for the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, called hšhānā. i

In course of time the piyyut found its way into every part of the religious life and every portion of the service. Nor was it confined to the synagogue. It entered into the family, and had its place there at the Sabbath meals, at the close of the Sabbath service, and as in the days of the house of births and at funerals (Zunz, Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters, P. 115).

Material for the piyyut was found in the inexhaustible wealth of ideas contained in the Midrash, whose place was gradually taken in the course of the centuries by the piyyut, as the ever-increasing number of poetical compositions quite displaced the Midrash. A specially important kind of synagogue poetry is the ślōh, prayer for forgiveness, penitential prayer. The service for the Day of Atonement was the first to be enriched with special prayers, which belong in part even to the age of the Talmud. The length of the service, which lasted from morning till evening, and the special significance of the day led to the expansion of the liturgy. Thus Bible verses referring to God's forgiveness were collected, and poetical prayers dealing with the same subject were composed (Spain and Italy), and, as it was in use principally in the Peninsula, was called the 'Spanish' group. These two groups, which still exist alongside of each other, differ particularly with regard to the poeticical prayers which, since the 9th cent., it has been the custom to recite on the fast-days and on certain Sabbaths to insert in the principal prayers.

The piyyut gives history and Midrash, the ślōh feeling and presence; the piyyut tends to become prophecy, the ślōh is prophecy and history. While in the piyyut the element of teaching is in the forefront, the ślōh is in form and content more the expression of the feelings with which the people were filled, and thus more a prayer in the strict sense of the term. The chief theme, which is treated in endless variations, is sin and suffering. The unceasing affliction which a thousand years of persecution brought upon the Jews finds as touching expression as does the believing humility with which they face the reason of the punishment, and make themselves rather than in the injustice of God. We also find the undying hope that God will finally put an end to their sorrows. Thus the ślōh are the most valuable testimony to the piety of the Jewish people during the Middle Ages, and along from this point of view be regarded as the continuation of the Psalms.

See, further, for the synagogue poetry, LITERATURE, (Jewish), III. 5, Ibn GABIROL, Ibn EZEAI, HALEV.

5. Influence of philosophy.—In spite of the fact that we possess synagogue poems from almost all the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages, from Sa'adya onwards, and although the greatest poets were also philosophers, we have comparatively only a few philosophic prayers (e.g., 'the King's Crown' of Gabirol). The reason for this striking phenomenon is probably to be found not so much in the difficulty of clothing philosophic thought in prayer form as in the fact that prayer was an attempt to reach the purest of the pure, the grandest of personal outpourings, which the coldness of philo-

6. Influence of mysticism.—If there are few traces of philosophy proper in the prayers of the synagogue, on the other hand, there have exercised a most harmful influence, since the end of the 12th cent., on both the conception and the content of prayer.

Although the more respectable mystics did something for spiritual religion and for devotion as opposed to thoughtless formalism, yet the liturgy lost more than it gained by their influence (Zunz, Die liturg., p. 94).

Since the beginning of the 16th cent. the liturgy has hardly been enriched except by additions from the Ḳabbālā, which only burdened the form and content of the service. On the other hand, the mystical sect of the Ḥasidim, which arose about the middle of the 18th cent., originated a most important movement among the people. This movement directed itself chiefly against the rigid codification of all matters relating to prayer brought about by Joseph Karo's ritual code, called Shulḥān 'Arukh (1565), and has been held up to the present day. Unfortunately this important move-

ment, which at first seemed likely to be so fruit-

ful, soon exhausted itself, owing to the opposition of the rabbis and to internal degeneration.
he furnishes us with numerous examples of Aztec devotion, of a public and ritual as well as of a private character. As he lived and worked in the sixteenth century, when the Spanish conquest of Mexico, and had abundant opportunities of meeting and speaking with natives who well recalled the times of Aztec paganism, there is no reason to believe that these productions are not the genuine outpourings of the Aztec mind or that they have in any manner been sophisticated.

The ritual and public prayers consist for the most part of appeals made to the various gods on the occasion of religious festivals, war, sacrifices, marriages, and the like. They are more or less baneful if the deity is addressed in the most exalted terms, it is impossible to judge the relative importance of the gods from the prayers offered up to them.

Private prayers, which appear to have been of a ritual character, are not officially prescribed. The necessity of having the means to obtain the necessary of life, for agricultural reasons, and, indeed, for heavenly assistance in every activity of life. The exhortations to parents to children, which have frequently been called prayers, and are so characteristic a feature of Mexican life, are, in reality, advisory sermons embracing codes of conduct for young people. The whole body of matter has been brought together in the sixth book of Sahagun's work mentioned above. LEWIS SPENCER.

PRAYER (Muhammadan.—1. The ritual of the daily salât.—The most important part of the Muslim liturgy was, from the beginnings of Islam, the ritual prayer, or salât. It was Mahomed's intention in prescribing this ceremony as a religious duty to his followers was undoubtedly to imitate the ritual prayer of the Christians and Jews in the Orient, at least as far as it was known to them. Like this prayer, the Muslim salât consisted chiefly of standing in a particular posture, the reciting of formulae, etc. The name salât is not originally Arabic, but borrowed from the language of the Eastern Christians and the Jews (viz. the Aramaic σεβαστα'). The Muslim law prescribes in great detail how a Muslim must perform his salât. A considerable proportion of these regulations may really be based upon the old synax (the common practice) of the Prophet and his contemporaries, but many of the rules concerned with details, as to which there still existed different opinion, in the first centuries after Muhammad's death, must be of later date.

When performing a salât, a Muslim stands, raises his open hands on either side of his face, and says: 'Ali ashuk akbar!' ('God is most great!'). This ejaculation is called takbir (or takbira). Then, still standing, he recites some verses of the Qur'an, especially the Fātīhā (i.e. the opening chapter, 1-17). After this recitation the various inclinations and postures follow (dastūr), viz.: (1) S. of Lane, Al-Hiṣn, p. 23; (2) the Modern Egyptians, London, 1855, ch. iii., with figures in the text; (3) Smith, Early Mohammedan Inclinations in Islam, 1855, 1956; (4) Sanhedrin, i. 41; (5) the Samaritan liturgy; (6) the Samaritan liturgy, i. 1, Oxford, 1913. FELIX PERLES.

PRAYER (Mexican) —The great repository of Mexican aboriginal prayer is the Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España (3 vols., Mexico, 1829), in which
through the same again (the recitation of some verses of the Qur'an, as the two sujud) before and after each wuṣūd of every rak'ah he recites the takbīr; and after the last rak'ah he recites: (1) the bāḥādīḥ or (as the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be on him, used to say) the last of the (most of) the eight formulae and (2) a second salutation (the taslihah, i.e. the invoking of a blessing, saying 'al-ṣalām 'alākhum'), which is considered by most Muslims to be addressed to the guardian angels who watch over the worshipper.

At first—i.e. immediately after the hajrāh—the Prophet used to turn his face towards Medina during the salāt, i.e. the prayer prescribed during the second year after his arrival at Medina a revelation (Qur'ān, ii. 136-136) changed this, Muhammad having quarrelled with the Jews in that town. Ever since that time the Muslim must turn his face towards the Ka'bah in Mecca, to perform the salāt.

While performing the salāt, the worshipper is in a state of consecration (iyākhum) and must observe special prescriptions. According to the primitive conceptions, every worshipper was supposed to be exposed to particular dangers from evil spirits when he was adoring his Lord. Many of the religious observances of the salāt may originally have had no other purpose than to protect the worshipper from the presence of the evil demons. 

Thus (1) he must take care that his body is sufficiently covered; according to the Muslim law-books, a woman must cover her whole body during the salāt (except her face and her hands) and at least part of his body between his waist and his knees; the heads of both men and women are also supposed to be covered.

(2) He must say before reciting the Qur'ān verses: 'I seek my refuge near God from Satan' (cf. Qur'ān, xv. 59) and in pronouncing every takbīr in order to avert the evil spirits that may be present (or, according to the Hanafites, he must do so only in pronouncing the first takbīr, the takbīrat al-ḥārām; cf. Goldziher, 'Zauberelemente im Islamischen Gebiet,' in Festchrift-Niedler, Glessen, 1906, i. 320-322). (3) Special emphasis is laid on ritual abstinence before the salāt. It was a general custom of the ancient Arabs to employ water as a charm against demonic influences (see Goldziher, 'Wasser als iyyākum,' in JR Alt., 1910, 20-46); some of the earlier Muslim scholars held that an abstinence was necessary before every salāt (cf. Qur'ān, v. 8), but this view was rejected by other authors (see Goldziher, Die Zaubersprüche, Leipzig, 1927, p. 15). Moreover, the two schools, a ritual abstinence (wdādah or ghulūd) is required before the salāt only when the worshipper is in a state of ritual impurity. It must be observed, however, that this ritual abstinence is usually considered simply as a purification (see art. PURIFICATION [Muslim]; the original purpose of this ceremony may have been forgotten by the Muslims. (4) Further, it is desirable for a Muslim to recite the formule of the adhān (i.e. the call to prayer; see below) before beginning a salāt—at least when he is not alone—by the ḥaḍān that is chanted from the mosque. This usage must also be regarded as a kind of charm; the demons are supposed to flee when they hear the sound of it; the same is true

2. Obligatory and supererogatory daily salāts.

—Some of the earlier verses of the Qur'ān (see xi. 116, xvii. 80, xxx. 161, lxxiii. 1) require Muslims to perform the salāt thrice every day,—in the morning before sunrise, at the close of day, and during part of the night. On another occasion, he added after the hajrāh, the 'middle salāt' (salāt al-mustatil), mentioned in Qur'ān, ii. 239, probably an imitation of the Jewish mid-day prayer (the minhāj). Moreover, the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be on him, prescribed and continued other salāts on various other occasions. In the first generations after his death it was a subject of discussion which of the daily salāts must be regarded as obligatory, and there was also difference of opinion as to the exact times of day at which the Prophet had usually performed his devotions. But gradually it was recognized in the whole Muslim world that the five following salāts were obligatory for every Muslim: (1) the salāt al-ṣunah (at daybreak); (2) the salāt al-ghur (at noon, or rather about one hour later, when the sun has begun to heat the earth); (3) the salāt al-‘asr (in the afternoon, about half-way between noon and nightfall); (4) the salāt al-maghrib (at sunset, or rather about five minutes later, for it is forbidden to perform a salāt just at sunrise or sunset, because the heathen Arabs used to do so); and (5) the salāt al-iḥšā’ (at nightfall, when it is quite dark). Each of the five prescribed periods ends just before a new one begins, except that of the salāt al-ṣunah, which ends just before sunrise. Thus it is only possible to perform every salāt at the beginning of the prescribed period as possible.

The salāt at daybreak must consist of two rak'ahs, that of sunset of three, and each of the others of four; it is meritorious to add an odd rak'ah to the beginning of each of the five daily salāts. The four fiqh-schools disagree as to the exact number of these voluntary rak'ahs.

The five following daily salāts, though not prescribed by the law as obligatory, are regarded as commendable and meritorious: (1) The salāt al-tahajjud (the night-salāt) mentioned in some verses of the Qur'ān (see above).—This salāt has evidently been greatly increased by many Muslims. At Medina; not all the members of the continually increasing Muslim community had time enough for the whole ceremonial. Hence in many Muslim lands a sign is given in the mosque about midnight to announce the time of the tahajjud.

(2) The salāt al-witr.—It is meritorious to make odd the even number of rak'ahs of the last salāt of the night (i.e. the salāt al-ṣunah), by adding one rak'ah (or, for 5 rak'ah, or at least one rak'ah). Usually the salāt al-witr is added to the salāt al-ḥaṣā’a (since most people neglect the tahajjud), and the Muslims therefore a certain respect towards the Prophet. According to the Hanafites, the salāt al-witr is even obligatory.

(3) The salāt al-ṣaḥā’ah (salāt in the morning) at the time between sunrise and noon, consisting of two to twelve rak'ahs.—This ceremony also is not obligatory, though some of the earlier Muslim scholars thought it was. According to some traditionalists, it was a custom of the Prophet to perform this salāt every morning, but this is denied in many other traditions.

3. The mosque and the daily public service in the mosque.—The so-called mosque of the Prophet at Medina was an open enclosure, adjacent to his dwelling. On one side there was a kind of portico, open only on one side, supported by four pillars. This was where Muhammad usually performed his salāts, either alone or with some of his followers. But this masjid was also used for various other purposes; it was, e.g., the place where Muhammad received the news of Arabia's submission and where he gave banquets to his guests. We may assume that the houses of other men of rank at Medina had also a masjid of the same type.2

the mosque in Muslim society took the place of the old heathen miqta, the open space near the tent or dwelling of the head of the tribe where all deliberations of the tribesmen took place (see H. Lammens, 'Ziad ibn Abi,’ in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, iv. [1911-12] 240 ff., and L. Caetani, *Arabia*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 482 ff.; C. H. Becker, 'Zur Gesch. des islamischen Kultus,' in *Der Islam*, iii. [1912] 394 ff.). Once a week the Muslims were convened to an assembly in Muham-
mad’s *masjid,* a mosque probably originally introduced by the Prophet (see below) for the weekly congregations of the Christians and Jews. But the Muslims assembled on Fridays—at least at Medina, some time after the *hijrah.* One Friday, just before the service, a caravan with merchants and be
dealed among the believers forgot their religious duty, being occupied in buying and selling. Then Qur’an, ii. 9, was revealed:

> When the call to prayer sounded on Friday (or on the day of the congregation), then go to praise the Lord and abandon business, etc.

About a.h. 7 or 8 a *minbar,* a sort of wooden throne or stepladder, on which two steps, was placed in Muhammad’s *masjid,* and the Prophet always sat upon this when presiding at the meetings (see Becker, 'Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam,' in *Festschrift-Nöldeke*, pp. 331–351). On special occasions Muslims would assemble and his head chamber of Meccan to the *muqalla* (the place where the *salat* and other ceremonies were performed in the open field). Later, a lance was carried before the Prophet as an emblem of his authority; on the *muqalla* this lance was stuck into the ground before him, marking the direction of the Ka'bah. After Muhammad’s death the Muslim liturgy remained very simple. In the great encampments of the Arabs in the conquered countries each of the tribes had its own *masjid,* where the tribesmen assembled. There was also a general *masjid* near the dwelling of the *waqf,* the head of the place or the governor of the province. Originally this head mosque was very simple, often being only a large open square, surrounded by a ditch or by walls and with an open porch in front facing towards Mecca, supported on stone pillars and covered with a roof (see, e.g., Tabari, i. 2450). It was a general place of meeting, not reserved for the Friday service and other religious purposes. With Muhammad, however, the believers were convened to a public *salat* before the further transactions, and the *waqf,* or, in the residence, the *khutbah* himself, presided at these meetings (see Goldzweig, in *ZDMG* s.v. [1895] 313; Belzendorf, ed. M. J. de Groot, Leyden, 1886, p. 228, 3 [Fragenstück. Arab.], ed. E. Goeje and P. de Jong, do. 1869, p. 217 s.]; al-Bayān al-Mughrīb, R. D. Dozy, do. 1848, p. 55, 16; al-Fahdi, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha, 1860, p. 85, 11; Belzendorf, in *Der Islam*, iii. 395 s; and Caetani, *Rivista degli studi orientali*, iv. 242 ff.). The Unayyid *khutbīh* and also many of their high functionaries in the provinces used to sit on a *minbar* in these assemblies just as the Prophet had done before them. At first, however, this was regarded by some people as improper for a *waqf,* the *khulafa* ‘Amr forbade ‘Amr, his governor of Egypt, to sit on a *minbar.* It was only gradually that the mosque became a place exclusively dedicated to congregational *salat,* when its ritual was instituted, and the Muslim were nine *masjids* at Medina besides that of the Prophet; see also the traditions concerning the *masjid al-qubur* (mentioned in *Marib*, iii. 1182).

At a later time it was still a custom in some Muslim countries to indicate the direction towards Mecca by means of a *fāna* (the roughly triangular flag or standard which the leader of the community held himself. The *salat* was then performed *alā l-*ʿum (i.e., in the direction of this staff).

Liturgy began to develop and take fixed forms. The service of the Christian churches and Jewish synagogues may have influenced this development (see esp. Mittwoch, 'Zur Entstehungsgesch. des islam. Gebets und Kultus,' in *Gesch. der islam. Gesch. des Kultus*). It became a general custom to announce the times of the daily *salat* from the minarets of the mosque (the origin of the minaret is discussed in detail by H. Thiessen, *Pharas: Antike, Islam und Orientalter: Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1909). The *adhān,* which is chanted from the minaret by the muad-
din, consists of the following formulæ:

> God is most great! (this is said four times); I testify that there is no god but Allah; (twice); I testify that Muhammad is Allah’s apostle! (twice); ‘Come to prayer’ (twice); ‘Come to security’ (twice); ‘God is most great!’ (twice); ‘There is no god but Allah.

The public *salat* in the mosque requires a leader, since all worshippers must perform the prescribed ceremonies together and at the same moment; every mosque has its own *imām,* who officiates over all who may be present at the times of the daily *salat.*1 It must be observed that the position of this *imām* is very different from that of a priest, since he does not perform an act of *salat* or *iqamah,* but to act as the leader of the *salat,* and, according to the theory of Muslim law, he may even cede his place to any other member of the congregation who is competent for the office. The beginning of the *salat* is announced by a second call to prayer, the *iqamah,* which consists chiefly of the same formulae as the *adhān,* though the most of the formule of the *iqamah,* however, are recited only once, and the words, ‘The time of the *salat* is [now] come,’ which are twice repeated, must be recited after the formula, ‘Come to prayer’ or ‘Come to security.’ The *imām* then places himself before the *mibār,* the niche that indicates the direction to Mecca,2 and performs the *salat* with the congrega-
tion. Only the voice of the *imām,* who recites the prescribed formule, may be heard during the *salat.* In the great mosques, however, where the congregation is usually so numerous that the believers cannot all see and hear the leader, the *nikbah* of the *imām,* marking the various postures of the *salat* (see above), is performed by persons especially charged with this office (the *mubālighīn*).

4. The Friday service and the public *salat* on feast-days and other occasions.—On Friday the *salat* *al-jummah* (the sabbath, or the ordinary noon-prayer). It is a service celebrated by the whole community in the head mosque (jāmi‘) of the place, consisting chiefly of two parts: the *khutbah* (‘sermon’) and a *salat* of two *rakāhs.* In later times the khutbah pre-
ceded the *salat*; but this was not the original usage. According to Muslim tradition, it was an innovation introduced by the first Unayyad *khulafa,* Muʿawiyyah. Before the beginning of the sermon the *adhān,* which has already been chanted from the mosque, is repeated in the mosque. The preacher (the *khutbah*) then delivers his sermon, standing on the *minbar,* and holding, as prescribed by ancient custom, a staff or wooden sword (or a bow) in his hands (see *Preaching* [Muslim]). When the *khutbah* has finally concluded, he descends from the *minbar,* then the *iqamah* is chanted, and the whole congregation performs the two prescribed *rakāhs* of the *salat al-jummah.* It is considered meritorious to perform, before and after this, the *salat* on Friday evening, the *salat* sup-
eratory *rakāhs* of noon.

The Friday service formerly required a general

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1 Other persons perform the lower offices in the mosque—lighting the lamps, sweeping the mosque, reading the law of the daily prayers, the ‘Adab, etc.

assembly of the whole community. Muslim law therefore forbids that this service should be celebrated in different mosques of the same town, unless the place is so populous that it would be practically impossible to assemble in one mosque. Moreover, the Shiiites, and the majority of the orthodox among the Sunnis, think that the jum'ah is valid only when at least forty persons join in it; the Hanifites, on the other hand, hold that no fixed number is required, and that the Friday service can be validly celebrated by an imam and only three persons.

Twice a year, on the two Muslim feast-days (at the end of the fasting month and on the 10th of the month of Dhi-ul-hijjah, in connexion with the sacrificial feast of the pilgrims in the neighbourhood of Mecca) a special service, the qabah al-id ('feast-qabah') is celebrated which resembles the Friday service in many respects. There are, however, some points of difference: (1) the time recommended for the qabah al-id is the morning, about half-way between sunrise and noon; (2) it is supposed in the lawbooks that this service should take place not in a mosque but in the open field; (3) the service consists of a khutbah and a qabah of two rak'ahs like the Friday service, but there is an addition of two (4) the al-muqadha and iganah are omitted; the muqadha before the service only calls: 'Al-qabah jum'atun!' ('Now perform the qabah together!'). We may assume that in all these respects the feast-qabah is still nearer to the ancient form.

Another religious assembly takes place on each evening of the fasting month. It is counted meritorious to perform the qabah al-tarabh ('the qabah with pauses') after the daily qabah al-azr in this holy month. This ceremony consists of twenty rak'ahs in the course of which is separated from the rest by a taslimah (see above). Though this qabah is not obligatory, many persons usually take part in it. This great zeal for the qabah al-tarabh can only be explained by its particular connexion with the holy fasting month.

When there was a great drought, the pagan Arabs tried to induce rain by enchantments. These heathen practices were replaced in Islam by the qabah al-istiwa (the qabah for invoking rain). But this qabah is not celebrated on the feast-day service on the two feast-days. It is still characterised by the following ceremony: after the qabah the imam and the other worshippers who are present move about and shake their upper garments in order to clear away the dust from their body; and this is followed by a survival of Arabian heathenism (see Goldziher, 'Zauberemehle im islamischen Gebet,' pp. 308–312). During an eclipse of the sun or moon a public service is celebrated which resembles the feast-qabah in most respects. As regards details of the liturgy on these and other occasions, the opinions of the different high-schools disagree.


PRAYER (Roman).—As in many other phases of religion, the religious life of the Romans offers an exceptional opportunity for the study of prayer. Between the prayers of Cato and those of Marcus Aurelius, we have, as it were, a complete gamut of religious experiences, and, though these two landmarks are less than 400 years apart, Cato represents many centuries before his time, and Marcus Aurelius is the prototype of many centuries to follow. Prayer, as distinguished, on the one hand, from magic and, on the other, from mystical absorp­tion, is the orthodox communication between man and those powers outside of him which are called God or gods according to circumstances. Upon the orthodoxy of the act depends this distinction, and it is this element of orthodoxy alone that makes magic and primitive prayer distinguished in the one case from religious prayer in the other; magic and primitive prayer are mystic and mystical, and advance prayer to religious absorption. But, before we begin even this outline study of Roman prayer, we should make ourselves fully aware of three facts: (1) that the actual number of Roman prayers transmitted to us is relatively small; (2) that many prayers, so called, especially those in the poets, do not represent trustworthy evidence, and are apt to be either fanciful or under Greek influence, and therefore not available for our present purpose; and (3) that there is scarcely an operation in the world more delicate, and therefore more difficult, than the attempt to deduce the religious attitude of the individual from the formal experiences handed down to us.

1. Primitive prayer.—Here it should be noted that this title includes not only prayer as practised by the most primitive people, but also prayer as practised in later times by persons of primitive intelligence, but also many primitive forms of prayer retained by religious conservatism and practised by all orthodox persons. This obligation of observance is very necessary owing to the peculiar conditions under which the religious life of ancient Rome had its development. This development represents a series of accretions—a mechanical rather than a physiological growth. Man's spiritual development has branched out itself not nearly so far as the transforming of the old formulae as their absolute conservatism and the adding to them of outer coatings, new tree-rings of more modern thought. This was possible because of the absolutely formal character of all Roman religious concepts; and the only exceptions to it are found in the more spiritual cults of the Orient and in the impotent enthusiasms of a spiritual philosophy. The success of primitive prayer depended principally upon two things—the scrupulous exactness of expression and the correctness of the name and title of the deity addressed. Exactness of expression is an absolute requisite. This idea, of course, common to both prayer and magic, and the orthodoxy of the one and the illegiti­macy of the other are unchangeable verities, and a test of distinction. The question whether all primitive prayers were of a rhythmical character—the eurhythmic, common to both prayer and magic—is a difficult one to answer, but certainly very many primitive prayers were, for we have instances of them.

Every effort was made to obtain the strictest verbal accuracy, on the theory that whatever was said had legal validity. The formulae themselves were collected and preserved in the books of the priests. The formulas were never changed, even though the language was so archaic that the priests themselves scarcely understood it. This was true, e.g., of the prayers of the Salli, of which Quintilian says:

'The Salli were loosely understood by the priests themselves, but religious conservatism forbade the changing of them, and the consecrated forms must still be used.'

1 Cf. R. Westphal, Theoio der griech. Metrik, Leipzig, 1857, iii. l. 67, Allgemeine Metrik, Berlin, 1892, p. 222; C. Rand, Vers, lat. ant., London, 1859, p. 30. 2 "Verba certa; Cie. de Nat. Deor. ii. 10, and Paul, p. 88, s.e. 3 Eurythmic. 4 Cf. Festus, p. 173: "As the tongue has spoken, so is the law." and Cie. de Oro. i. 245. 5 Gell, xiii. 23. 1. 6 Inst. Or. i. 6. 40.
PRAYER (Roman)

In the cult of the Arval Brothers a similar state of affairs existed, and as a safeguard against mistake the people sang as they danced, as they danced. In other cases the worshipper repeated the words of the prayer as they were said by an assistant. The penalties for an error were indeed great, for a trifling mistake rendered the whole performance null and void. In the case of the Arval, if the words of a prayer were wrongly pronounced, the worshipper might possibly the secret names were so secret that they never existed, but the principle underlying the whole discussion is a genuine one.

Practically all the writers on Roman religion, with the exception of Wiedemann, have emphasized the magical and the legal bargaining aspects of Roman prayer. These two aspects were indeed prominent, but alongside of them existed. If only in rudiment, the concept of the prayer as the power and fulcrum of the decrees of the divinity, the goodness, or else the misanthropy of man. "The language is the language of prayer, not of compulsion or even of bargaining." We see this most clearly in the famous four prayers in Catu's "Farm Almanack"—prayers which are some of the most unique documents that the quoting of them in full is better than many pages of explanations.

PRAYER at the flowering of the pear-trees (Cato, de Re Rust. 131 f.). "At the flowering of the pear-trees make sacrifice for the continuance of the good weather. Give to Jupiter Dapalis a measure of wine, as much as you see flourishing on the trees. [On the morning of the day who is to make the sacrifice] you milk the cow, receive the milk of the goat, and the milk of the sheep to a wine in which I make thee in my house and in my family, mayst Thou be graciously increased by this sacrifice. Then wash your hands and the sacrifice be the wine, saying, 'O Jupiter Dapalis, mayst Thou be increased by this sacrifice which I make unto thee, mayst Thou be increased by this wine which I offer Thee.'"

PRAYER before the harvest (Ch. 136). "Before commencing the harvest, it is necessary to sacrifice a pig in the following manner: The sacrifice of a female pig should be made to Ceres before harvesting the following—spelt, wheat, barley, beans, and turnip. Before sacrificing the pig, invoke with incense and wine Janus, Juno, and Juno. Present the pig to Janus and Juno. With this prayer: 'Jupiter, the gods, be propitious to me, to my sons, to my household, to my house, to my family. Be Thou increased by this offering.' Then offer the pig to Janus and Juno, saying, 'I offer this pig to thee, O Jupiter, I pray that Thou wouldst be propitious to me, to, my sons, to my house, to my family. Be Thou increased by this offering.' Afterwards give wine to Janus as follows: 'O Father Janus, just as in offering the pig to Thee I prayed good prayer to Thee, for the sake of this thing, mayst Thou be increased with the wine which I offer Thee.' And thereafter pray to Jupiter as follows: 'O Jupiter, mayst Thou be increased with this offering, and mayst Thou be increased with the wine which I offer Thee.' Thereupon slaughter the pig.

PRAYER at the lighting of the oil (Ch. 139). "According to the custom of the Romans, thus should a clear be made. Make an oil lamp and take a very little oil. You have said: 'Whether Thou be god or goddess to whom this wood is sacred, be there peace to Thy thy due, the expository sacrifice of a pig should be made to thee. But if it is not to me that whether I perform the sacred act or others do so at my command, may it be well done, even as if has been done. With this intention with this pig sacrifice to thee, O Jupiter of mine pious prayers that Thou shouldst wish to be kindly disposed toward me, my house, my dependents, my sons, Therefore mayst Thou be increased by this pig of expiation which I am offering to Thee.'

PRAYER at the instillation of the fields (Ch. 141). 'Thus should the instillation of the fields take place. Thus shall you order the suovetaurillae to be led about them: 'With the consent of the gods and with every favourable omen, I commit you, O Manius, the task of leading the suovetaurillae about my farm, my fields, my coverts, in whatsoever part you should think best, for they should be led about.' Then make libation with wine and invoke according to formula Janus and Juno, and speak as follows: 'O Father Mars, I pray and beseech of Thee that Thou wouldst be well willing and propitious to me, to my house, to my dependents; and for this reason I have ordered that the suovetaurillae should be led about my farm, my fields, my coverts, that the earth should hold back, hinder and drive away sickness visible and invisible, desolation, ruin, devastation or storm, nor should the fruits of the soil, the grain, the vineyards and the thicket; that Thou wouldst keep the field in full bloom and the farm prosperous, and shouldst give prosperity and health to me, to my house and to my dependents. For these reasons and because, as I have said, I am about to make this sacrifice, I pray that thou wouldst be propitious to me.' Therefore in my name and in the name of my family, mayst Thou be increased by this suovetaurillae which is being offered to Thee.'

2. Prayer as a votum. — Prayer in the religion of the Roman State was virtually a bargain

1 Bel. Exper. of the Roman People, p. 182 f.
2 Ib. p. 159.
between man and god, whereby man, the party of the first part, agreed to pay to the gods the party of the second part, such and such things if the god, the party of the second part, performed certain acts for man, the party of the first part. Such prayer was called a votum, a 'vow,' because the promise and binding itself was this general promise to pay if service was rendered. As a rule, payment was not made until the deity had performed the desired acts. But there was one important exception to this general rule, the dedications, by which case the deity was paid in advance. It is not at all impossible that such payment in advance may have been intended as a means of binding the god and thus exercising a species of compulsory magic. The devoto is the vow uttered by a Roman general in the moment of battle whereby he agrees to give up his own life in order that his army may be victorious. If he succeeded in this act of self-destruction, it was felt that the gods had accepted his death, and that, having accepted it, they were compelled to grant the victory to his ingo. This curious religion was carried one step further, and it was thought that the gods were free from any obligation if the enemy succeeded in opening their ranks and letting him pass through unpunished. This strange form of prayer before described as in a certain sense forming the link between the magical and the legal point of view, for all ordinary vota were a strictly legal performance. The favours demanded of the gods were as infinitely various as were the promises to pay in case of fulfillment. These promises included votive offerings, games, sacrifices, the building of an altar or of a temple.

3. Outward characteristics of Roman prayer. — The worshipper faced the image of the god, and, as the god usually faced west, so the worshipper usually faced east in the moment of devotion, as a rule, was standing, though occasionally he walked round the altar. 1 During the actual prayer itself the worshipper often held the altar. 2 Generally the hands were raised, but sometimes special positions were required; e.g., in a prayer to Neptune the hands were stretched out towards the sea, 3 while in praying to Tellus or Ops the suppliant touched the earth. 4 We also find references to kneeling. 5 At the end of the prayer there followed the mumification (adoratio) by which the worshipper put his right hand to his mouth. 6 Prayers were normally said in a distinct and usually a loud voice. This was the natural method in antiquity, just as all reading was done aloud. This fact makes possible many scenes in the drama when prayers are overheard. 7 Silent prayer was sometimes motivated by modesty, 8 and sometimes by shame; 9 but whispered prayers were not orthodox, 10 and he who indulged in them fell readily under the suspicion of practising magic.

4. Spiritual prayer. — Philosophy and the spiritual cults of the Orient, which entered Rome at the beginning of the empire, tended to introduce gradually an entirely new concept of prayer.

It was no longer a formal process by which man obtained the promises of the gods binding the deity to give a reward by compulsory magic or by legal bargaining. It became instead an effort of adoration, a communion with God, a moment of spiritual exaltation; 11 and it was into this atmosphere that Christianity came.


PRAYER (Teutonic).—1. Prayer to the gods. —Our knowledge of heathen prayer among the Teutonic peoples is very scanty, and comes almost entirely from Scandinavian sources. From the prose Ædda we learn that prayer was a regular part of the worship of the Asur and Asynjur. Njörr is to be invoked for seafarers and voyages and for hunting (Gylfaginning, xxiii. [Die pros. Ædda, ed. C. W. Heimbach, 1881, p. 292 ff.]). Frey was particularly well-disposed towards those who pray to her for help in love affairs (Gylf. xxiv. [p. 34]). In the sagas we frequently hear of men who have a special devotion to Thor, whom they invoke in dilemmas in which they are in dire need of personal or important undertaking. In these cases it is hard to distinguish between prayer and divination.

'Thef Roarof Mostraverson made a great sacrifice and went to consult with Thor, his beloved friend' (V. Holkham, Allteids. Lesebuch, Weimar, 1896, p. 64). 'Helgi was very much in his faith. He put his trust in Christ and named his homestead after him; indeed he would pray to Thor on sea-voyages, and in hard stress, and in all those things which he thought were of most account to him' (Eddnahandbok, n. xiv. 3, in V. Sigfusson, The Historical Documents of the Nort. Sagas, 1896, p. 119). 'Then Anr-ly called upon bishop Patrec, but as for Call he called upon Thor' (ib. i. vii. 2).

In Vignygam’s Saga, 9, there is an interesting example of prayer to Thor.

'Thorolf had been compelled to sell his land to Glimm. But he departed from Thveri he went to the temple of Frey, leading thither an ox, and said: 'Frey, who long hast been my patron, and hast accepted many gifts from me and rewarded me well, now I give this ox to thee, so that Glim may leave Thvalerand as monuments of thy will as I do now; or may accept whether thou acceptest it from me or not.' At this the ox bellowed loud and fell dead, which Thorolf liked well, and he was lessened, and sturdier, and thought his ox was heard' (R. du Chatill, The Viking Age, London, 1890, i. 322).

There are several stories of Earl Hakon’s devotion to Thorger Ólafsgárdur (also Hörnsicr, Horgansdr) and the earnest prayers that he was wont to offer in moments of crisis. On one occasion Hakon desired her help for his friend Sigmund, whom he led into her temple.

‘Hakon and Sigmund with a few others went into this house, where there were many gods; it had also many glass windows so that there was no shadow in it. At the inner end was a woman magnificently dressed. The Earl threw himself down at her feet, and lay there a long time. Then he rose up and told Sigmund that they should make her some offering, laying the money on the seat in front of her, ’we shall have this token,’ said he, ‘it is the only thing that I have wished for thee to give the ring that she has on her hand. From that ring you will have good luck.’ Then Sigmund then laid hold of the ring, and it seemed to Sigmund as if she closed her hand, so that he could not get it off. The Earl lay down again before her, and Sigmund was astonished that he had not noticed that it was in his power. Again he stood up, and laid hold of the ring, and this time it was loose. He gave him the ring’ (Flateyjarbok, 144, quoted in W. A. Craigie, Scandinavian Folklore, London, 1898, p. 41).

An instance of prayer addressed to a stone occurs in Hórr’s Saga, 37:

‘Hórr’s brother-in-law Ælfræð wished to stay the bound Thórir and Gwas (p. 351) from the way to his sacred house, whither he was wont to go. When Thorstein came, he entered the sacrifice house and fell on his face before the idol, a sign of worship (which stood there, and then he spoke to it) (du Chatill, i. 358).


PRAYER (Teutonic)
PRAYER (Tibetan)

K. Hildebrand, Paderborn, 1912, p. 50), 'Dutra's obëcit an sëophobic,' may perhaps be translated, 'It is better not to pray at all than to sacrifice overmuch'; and prayer and sacrifice are here contrasted or considered as practically synonymous. Certainly in Tengtanic as in other religions the two modes of worship were closely connected.

This describes a prayer offered up with gifts. And wherever there was occasion for prayer, there was also for sacrifice (Grinn, Text. Mythol. I, 29).

Gives a detailed account of the worship of the Scandinavians:

'As soon as the ship arrives in the haven, each one of them goes aboard, taking with him offerings of gifts and intoxicating drinks, and makes his way to a tall piece of wood set up, which has something resembling a human face and is surrounded by small stones behind which he erected, and other tall pieces of wood. He goes up to the great wooden image and throws himself down before it, saying: 'O ye lord, I come of thine hands, bringing with me such and such a number of maidens, and such and such a number of noble skins. When he has counted up all his stock, he proceeds: 'I have brought this gift to thee,' and lays down what he has brought before the wooden statue and says: 'I desire that those who shall concern one with a merchant who has plenty of gold and silver and will buy from me all that I wish to sell and will challenge nothing that I say.' He then goes aboard, and the boat does not proceed forward until the stay is too protracted, he comes again, bringing a second or even a third offering. The difficulty in correctly interpreting this refers to the fact that he brings a gift to each of the little images and asks them for their intercession, saying, 'These are the wives and daughters of the inhabitants of this forest. Give wisdom and eloquence to two of the images, and hands of healing during their lives.' (Signif. Wurden, h. 3 [Hildebrand, p. 317]).

When Earl Hakon and Guthred were pursuing Harpp, who had plundered the shrine dedicated to Thor, Thorgerðr Holgabjôr, and Erp, the earl went aside by himself, away from the other men, and praying piously addressed them: 'Queen Erp, queen Holgabjôr, if you hear me, come to me. If you do not hear me, I shall turn the castle over your heads, and so he stays awhile. He fell down on both his knees, and held his hands before his eyes; after that he went back to them.' (The Story of Skjong, tr. G. W. Dasein (Everyman's Library), London, 1911, p. 150).

During his flight with the Jomsborg Vikings Hakon prayed to Thorgerðr Holgabjôr, but his prayer proved unavailing until he had sacrificed his son Erling (cf. Craige, p. 33).

3. Manner of prayer.—Little is known of the form and manner of heathen prayer. Tacitus (Germania, 52, 5) says that in Germanic heathenism the divination was practised by a priest or pater-familias, ‘having prayed to the gods and glanced up to heaven.’ In the sagas we hear frequently of worshippers protraying themselves before images of the gods.

The island was thickly wooded, and Hakon went to a clearing in the forest, where he lay down, looking to the north and prayed in the way he thought best, calling upon her in whom he put all his trust, Thorgerðr Holgabjôr (Craige, p. 33; for the heathen custom of turning to the north in prayer cf. Grinn, I, 34).


PRAYER (Tibetan) Prayer prayer is more prevalent among the people of the Lamas than among any other nation perhaps in the world. This is owing partly to the extreme devotion fostered by the hierarchy which wields the temporal rule of the country, and partly to the intense pious feeling of the generation long associated with it and exalted by allusion from the rest of the world, amidst environments where Nature in her severest moods tends to inspire a superstitious dread of malignant spirits, who can be appeased or coerced only by prayer and sacrifices. The Lamas are thus almost always of the laity in all spare moments, apart from the daily priestly services in the temples, and in the houses of the well-to-do, which generally possess a small shrine with miniature altar, before which domestic prayer is rendered.

1. General character of the prayers.—The prayers are generally genuine petitions addressed to one or more bountiful Buddhas or Buddhist divinities, whose spiritual or material succour is entreated; or they may be the prayers uttered in praise of the particular deity or deities invoked; and, in nearly all, one or other Buddha, human or celestial, is referred to in addition to the other deity invoked. The frequent repetition of such formal prayers tends to degenerate into a mechani- cal routine of soundings, although usually of formal litanies and other rituals extracted from the Indian and Tibetan Buddhist canonical scriptures, spontaneous private prayers are not uncommon. The present writer has often heard Tibetan votaries, after making an offering of lamps on the altar of wayside temples, address God for spiritual and temporal blessing, for prevention of bodily peril or ailment, and for provision for daily wants, very much after the manner of Christian worshippers at this present day—prayer for the sick, for rain, for war, for the emperor and the great men of the state, for good weather, for victory at war, and the like. The class of canonical works furnishing these prayers is generally the same as that employed by the 'Southern' Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam for the purpose, under the name of peritta or perl (＝ 'protection'), and are translated from the Pali canon specially composed and prescribed by Buddha himself 1 to be recited as prayers to avert malign influence, for recovery from disease, to remove physical difficulties, and to procure happiness and a good rebirth. They are addressed to the moon, sun, and various other divinities, especially the yaksba—a general term for the orthodox Buddhist gods on Asoka's monuments (250 B.C.), though latterly viewed as more or less malignant. While the Tibetans thus use for prayers the corresponding canonical texts to the Hinayana Pali canon of the Southern Buddhists, 2 they have the advantage over the latter in that they have translated these texts into the vernacular so that the people can understand the meaning of the prayer or incantation, whereas in the Southern countries the texts are in the foreign and long dead Pali, which is unintelligible to them, making the 'prayer' an unmeaning mummary. Even the ingenious Bon religiousists in the remoter districts have now generally assimilated their prayers to the type of the dominant Buddhists.

3. Deities and saints invoked.—The gods chiefly invoked by the Tibetans are found by the present writer to be orthodox Buddhist gods. For, contrary to the statements of Western writers on primitive Buddhism, 3 he finds that gods enter very largely into the religion of Sakyamuni himself, as evidenced in the earliest Pali canonical books, and into that of his greatest propagandist, the emperor Asoka, not only in his inscribed monuments at Bharhut, but also in his objects. Thus the latest authoritative reading of the Sahasrâk rock-inscription states:

Men in Jaunh-dvipa (India) who up till this time had been unassociated with the gods, have (now) been made associated with the gods. 4


2 For list of the Buddhist canonical texts used as prayers in Pali, and tr. of several, see Gogerly, p. 389-393.

3 E.g., T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, p. 1135.

The first deity or divine saint to be invoked is Buddha himself, though not the most frequently addressed by the Tibetans. This is also paralleled in Southern Buddhism, in which the Bodhisattvas, especially the Pāramitā-bhūta, are invoked as a still existing divinity, and not merely pious memories:

1. bow my head to the ground and worship
2. The sacred dust of his holy feet
3. If I have sinned against Buddha
4. May Buddha forgive me my sins.

He is also invoked daily in the refuge-formula: ‘We go for refuge to Buddha, to his word or law (Dharmas), and to his order of monks (Sangha),’ in Tibetan as in Southern Buddhism, as if he were still existent.

More frequently than the quondam human Buddha are invoked the celestial Bodhisattvas of the Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. They are regarded as everlasting gods, and are reflexes of the Hindu gods to whom the title of ‘Buddha,’ or Buddha's other favourite title, ‘Jina,’ or ‘the Victor,’ has been transferred. Of these the purely personal self-existent Bodhisattvas, or the late Brahmānist creator-god Brahmā, is Adībuddha, and he bears various titles according to different sects of Lānas. Thus he is the ‘Thunderbolt-Holder’ (Dev., ‘Rākṣasātaka), ‘Receptacle of Light’ or ‘Ever-shining’ (Nam-paśaṇa-nsāda), a form of the popular solar Buddha, Amitābha, or the ‘Boundless Light,’ the god of the Western Paradise, though nominally different from the latter, of which there was a fivefold division of these celestial Bodhisattvas according to the five directions, namely the four quarters and the zenith.

Much more frequently invoked are the celestial Bodhisattvas, or nominally potential Buddhas among the gods, most of whom are everlasting gods of an energetic order and invoked for their active aid. One of these, common to Southern Buddhism and Indian Mahāyāna, is the Buddha-Messiah Manuṣya-Muṇi, whose image was placed by Sākyamuni in the heaven of Indra or Sakra. Gotama's (or Sākyamuni's) frequent references to him and to his abode in Indra's heaven offer another confirmation of the statement so frequently made by the Pali school of writers that Budhism was atheistic and did not recognize the Hindu gods in his system. Of this Buddhist Messiah, many colossal images are carved on cliffs along roads in Tibet, and are the object of prayer to passers-by. But the most frequently worshipped and invoked of all is the Indian Buddhist goddess the ‘Saviours’ (sGrol-ma, pronounced Dö-mi, the Skr. Tārā), who is the primonial Mother-goddess, Māyā, which was also the name of Buddha’s mother; and, under the Tibetan title, Tārā is worshipped by the Burman and other Southern Buddhists. She is the special patron of women and children, and succourer in distress on land and sea. She is the Queen of Heaven, independently on her own account as well as in the form of protector to the Indian Avalokita (sPān-ras).”

zigs, pronounced Chā-rā-si), the ‘All-Seeing One’ (Vishistā, according to its Tibetan translation). The latter as the god of transmigration is the special favourite and patron-god of the Tibetans, and is associated with two others, as the defenders of Lāmān, who also are of Indian origin, the Thunderbolt (Dzö-pa, Th. Yoga-bhūta, Skr. Vajrapāni), the Saivistic Jupiter Pīrvu, and the ‘Sweet-Voiced’ god of wisdom or Buddhist Apollo (Jam-dran, Skr. Mājñūn)—all three of whom are in great request, though Avalokita, to whom the ‘On the pre-eminence of the Bon sects. But the Saivistic forms of the Thunderbolt-Holders are not technically regarded by the Tibetans as devils, are really demonical and are identical with the demonist forms of the Hindu god Siva as the spirit of destruction and death. These demonist forms were not inventions of the Tibetans, as generally asserted, but were all borrowed by the Tibetans ready-made from medieval Indian Buddhism, which, to maintain its popularity, had been forced to adopt these depraved elements from the degenerate Indian Brahmanism, and to assimilate them to the local philosophy. But they were all right, as they imported them from the home of Buddhism at Both Gaya. As a result, each Tibetan monk has to select one of these demonist Sivas as his tutelary, and each morning he privately invokes him for his protection throughout the day. But the unsophisticated laity now invokes for this purpose the deified saint Padmasambhava, and the women invoke Dö-mi, or Tārā, when they proceed beyond the self-sufficient ‘On marpad kyi."

4. Prayers in celebration services.—The priestly arrangement of prayers for the worship of each Buddhist divinity among Tibetans is usually divided into seven stages, and the text is printed or written in separate little pocket manuals or prayer-books for each deity, all in vernacular Tibetan. The stages are these: (1) the invocation—calling to the feast or sacrifice; (2) inviting the deity to be seated on the altar; (3) presentation of sacrificial offerings—sacred cake, rice, water, flowers, incense, lamps, musical instruments; (4) the invocations; (5) the special spell of the deity in Sanskrit; (6) prayers for benefits, present and to come; (7) benediction. When demons have been worshipped, they are ‘invited to depart’ before the benediction.

5. Examples of ritual prayer.—A good example of the formal prayers is seen in the following:

2. For details see ibid., p. 424 ff.
ing extract from the ritual of Tārā, the Queen of Heaven, which has been translated in full by the present writer. It is composed in metre.

Invocation.

' hail! O verdant Tārā! The Saviour of all beings! Descend, we beseech thee, from thy heavenly mansion at Potasa! With all thy host of gods, titans, and deliverers. We humbly prostrate ourselves at the lotus-feet! Deliver us from all distress, O holy Mother!'

Presentation of sacrificial offerings.

' We hail thee, O revered and sublime Tārā! Who art adored by all the kings and princes. Of the ten directions, of the present, past and future. We pray thee to accept these offerings of flowers, incense, perfumed lamps, precious food, the music of cymbals and the other offerings! We sincerely beg thee in all thy divine forms to partake of the food now offered. On confessing to thee penitently their sins

The most sinful hearts, you, even the committees of The ten rites and the five boundless sins

Will obtain forgiveness and

Reach perfection of soul, through thee!

If we have amassed any merit in the three states,

We to the hint od good fortune, when we consider

The unfortunate lot of the poor (lower) animals

Still piously engulfs in the ocean of misery,

Un their behalf, we now turn the wheel of middleness.

We implore thee by whatever merit we have accumulated To kindly regard all the (lower) animals.

And deliver them, when his merit has reached perfection, Let us not, we pray thee, longer live in this world.

Ippana in Tārā's praise.

(The hymns are in verse, the metre of which is not here reproduced.)

'Hail! exalted Tārā-the-Saviouress! Heroic mother, the Messenger Of the three-world Lord. Rich in power and compassion. Hail to thee whose hand is decked By the golden lotus, Eager soother of our woe, Ever tireless worker, thou! (and so on for 21 verses).

Repetition of the spell and prayer of the deity. Here is repeated 108 times on the rosary, or, if time presses, as often as possible, the special mantric spell of Tārā in Sanskrit, namely:

'Oha! Tārā tu Tārā tu! Tārā Svā-hā!'

Prayers for blessings.

'We implore thee, O revered Blessed One, O Victorious and Merciful Mother! purify us and all other beings from the two evil thoughts.

Wherever we dwell, we beg thee to soothe there disease and power, fighting and disputes, and increase the true religion.

Let us obtain the favourite tutelary angels of our former lives and entry into the paradise of the Buddhists of the past, present and future.'

Benefaction.

'Now, O mighty Worker, speedy Soother and gracious Mother, Holding the vipāla-lotus flower, may thy glory come and all happiness!

One of the ordinary hymns to Buddha opens as follows:

‘Om! Hail to the Omniscient Ones: Buddha, (His) Law, and (His) Order of Monks!

Hail to the blessed Buddha, the victorious and all-wise Tathā-gata Arhat, who has gone to happiness! He is the guide of gods and men. He is the lord of virtue, the mountain of treasure. He is adorned with perfect endowments and all beauty. He is the greatest flower of all the race. He is admirable in all his actions, in the eyes of all. He delights in the faithful ones.

He is the Almighty Power, the Universal Guide. He is the father of all the Bodhisattas,

1 See Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, p. 435. 2 k'hara’s circle.’

That is the four cardinal points, the intermediate half-points, the northwestern or the southwestern.

4 This goddess has different forms and names as incorporating all aspects of the primordial divine mother; see Waddell’s tr. of Tibetan Dhārani, in J.A.S.I. (1914) 27-56.

5 The three mystic worlds of Brahmānism: desire, form, and formlessness (bhūta, bhūtāna, and amṛta).

6 Bhagavat, the feminine of bhagavat, the ordinary title for Buddha in the Pāli and often in the Sanskrit.

7 Lit. ‘spirit’ or ‘gods’ (bhūta).

The king of the revered ones and leader of all the dead. He owns infinite knowledge, immeasurable fortitude. His commandments are all-perfect, his voice all-pleasing. He is without equal, without desires, without evil. He delivers all from sorrow, from sin, from worldliness. He exerts the usefulness of the sharpest sword. He bravely cuts all knots. He delivers all from deepest misery, from earthly woes. He has crossed every danger. He is perfect in foreknowledge. He knows the past, present and future. He lives far from danger. He lives in the pure land of bliss, whence entreated he sees all beings!'

6. Rosaries.—The supposed efficacy of the mechanical repetition of prayers as devotional exercises has led in Tibet, as in the Roman Church, to the extensive use of the rosary; and nearly every layman and woman in Tibet carries a rosary to register the performance of these pious tasks. The rosaries are formed of various materials of mystical significance, and the beads reach the mystic number of 108. The leading prayer-spell formula recited on these beads are of a Sanskrit character, and are shown in the following table along with the deity or saint to whom they are addressed and the kind of rosary employed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prayer-spell</th>
<th>Kind of rosary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Om mani padme hum</td>
<td>Conch-shell or crystal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Om Tārā mani padme hum</td>
<td>Human skull or ‘stomach’ stone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Om mani padme hum</td>
<td>Bodhi - tree wood or turquoise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Om mani padme hum</td>
<td>Bodhi - tree wood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Om maṇī padme hum</td>
<td>Nanga - pārśa - seed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Om maṇī padme hum</td>
<td>Conch-shell or crystal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Om maṇī padme hum</td>
<td>Yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Om maṇī padme hum</td>
<td>Bodhi-tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Om maṇī padme hum</td>
<td>Coral or bodhi-tree.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Graces before meat.—Before drinking tea, the usual beverage, the Lāmas, like the Romans in regard to wine, pour out a little as a libation to the fāres and other gods. A usual grace for tea is:

'We humbly beseech thee that we and our relatives throughout our life-cycles may never be separated from the Three Holy Ones! The blessing of the water-essence into this drink!' Then, before drinking, they sprinkle a few drops with the tips of the fingers on the floor or ground, and continue the grace:

'To all the dread local deities of this country we offer this good Chinese tea! Let us obtain our wishes, and may the doctrines of buddha be extended!'

When any flesh-meat is in the diet, 'Oha abhīra khechara, Rūha! is repeated to counteract the sin of slaughter and of cutting flesh, and by the efficacy of this prayer-spell the animal whose flesh is eaten is supposed to be reborn in a higher state of existence, and even in heaven. 8. Prayer-wheels and prayer-flags.—With the laity the panama prayer-formula is the ubiquitous

1 For details see Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, pp. 202-210.
Oṁ mani padme hūṁ, which is the Pater Noster of Tibetans, though it is of Indian origin. In virtue of the supposed efficacy of its mechanical repetition, it is printed thousands of times on long strips of paper which are coiled inside revolving machines, and then wound on spools, which form the production hall, 'prayer-wheels' which are the most conspicuous part of the pious outfit of the Tibetans, laity and Lāmas, and are carried spinning in their hands, in the belief that each revolution of the printed sentence is an equal number of times (cf. art. PRAYER-WHEELS). On the 'prayer-flags,' which are erected on tall masts in the neighbourhood of temples and wayside shrines, and, fluttering in the breeze, cast a pictorial feature of the landscape, are inscribed various prayers of an astrological kind, especially for the good fortune of the person erecting these flags, which are really 'luck-flags.' Their name lung-rtu-ma means 'lightning,' a name to incorporate the Chinese long-ma, 'horse-dragon,' which has an analogous ritual. After several spells in Sanskrit we find written in Tibetan:

'May all the deities (Arahatas and others) prosper the year of the birth of the Buddha; may the sacred words of the Divine Vow and the holy prayer, speech, and mind of this year-holder and master of divinity (the guru)' be found and be used.'

Analogous paper banners, in the shape of dragons and other animals, are offered also by the Southern Buddhists of Burma at temples and other shrines inscribed with similar sentences in Pali and the vernacular, such as:

'May the man born on Friday gain reward by this pious offering.'

'May the man born on Monday be freed from sickness and the three calamities.'

'May this be a blessing to the oxen and the sheep of this day.'

'May the children of Wednesday be blessed by spirits and men.'

These Tibetan luck-flags are also tied to certain bushes over dangerous parts of streams and near cairns, like the rag-bushes in Muhammadan and other oriental countries.

L. A. WADDELL

PRAYER, BOOK OF COMMON.—1. Introduction.—(a) The English Prayer Book, as we now know it, was composed in 1549. A study of the title-page alone is sufficient indication of this. It runs thus:

'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England.'—together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said according to the Form of Matins, Evensong, and Compline.'

The cumbersome title of this book is not merely a relic of the days when such prolix titles to books were in fashion, but is also due to the fact that by the middle of the 16th cent. the still recent invention of printing and the constant improvements in it enabled our Reformers to begin to bring together into a single volume all the more necessary services and other matter for public worship, which had as a rule hitherto been copied out with much labour in several separate volumes. Thus 'the Common Prayer' represents the former Breviary (and perhaps we may add the Primer); 'the Administration of the Sacraments,' etc., represents the Missal and the Manual; 'the Psalter' speaks for itself; and the 'Form of Making,' etc., stands for the old Pontifical. This, of course, is far from exhausting the books in use before the Reformation, such as the Hymnals of which we now have no authorized representative, the Antiphoner, Lectionary, etc. Some of these (e.g., the Antiphoner) have been almost entirely removed from the services in the present book, the reason being thus stated in the Preface of 1549:

'For the performance of Angells, Responds, Invitatories and such like things as did break the continual course of the reading of the word.'

Others are either provided for as by the references in the Table of Lessons or printed in full as in the Epistles and Gospels of the Day, etc., while the use of hymns in numerous unauthorized collections has been almost entirely done away with, 1549, etc.

The musical notes, however, which the old books often supplied are now wholly wanted, 2 except by prescriptive use, though the rubrics in various places contain references to the clerks and their singing; which we now recognize the place of music in public worship as legitimate; and the Psalter is specially said to be 'pointed' for singing or saying 3 in churches.

In the Ordinal, which was first issued separately in March 1549-50, the most notable omission, when we compare it with the anthem, it is the absence of any provision for the consecration of churches and for the coronation of the sovereign. It is not easy now to account for this serious oversight, which, at least in the case of opening new churches for public worship, has been a matter of regret ever since. We have no exact guide as to what was the mind of the Church at that period, and the celebration of the divine mysteries as an essential of the rite has usually been almost entirely lost sight of.

(b) We may now proceed briefly to review the reasons and principles which guided the first comilers of the new book, and which have been accepted in the bulk by all subsequent revisers. 4

(1) The main reason for the fundamental change of substituting English for Latin throughout is the obvious one and is thus stated in the Preface of 1549: 'that the people might understand and have profit by hearing the same.' But it is a mistake to suppose that this was entirely an

1 A few traces, however, are left: (1) the reference to the Advent antiphon 'O Sapientia' (16th Dec.); (2) the mention of the anthem 'in Quirens and Places where they sing' at Mattins and Evensong; this rubric, however, dates from 1602; (3) old antiphons have been introduced into (a) the Litany ('O God, etc.); (b) the Bidding Service ('Man that is born,' etc.); (c) the-Vision of the Sick ('O wondrous mystery, etc.); (d) the Collect for Ascension day after Ascension day is an adaptation of an old antiphon.

2 Only one musical hymn is now contained in the Prayer Book, viz., 'Venite Creator Spiritus.'

3 Merbeck's translation (1550) was apparently to be the norm at one time; but see Procter and Freer, New Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer, 219.

4 'Sing'=recite with musical inflections; 'say'=read in cadence.

5 Obviously, if this contention is correct, the usual method of a priest celebrating the Holy Communion before the consecration by pouring the wine into the chalice, and then proceeding to the service almost to a farce. In the order of consecration provided in the American Prayer Book, Holy Communion does form an integral part of the service, though it is rather split by too much attention being directed to the wine which precede it.

1 Cf. Procter and Frere, More recent History of the Church, London, 1914, p. 129: 'There was no idea of a special liturgical language at that time [for the first 2 centuries]; people said their prayers in the vulgar tongue.'

2 For the Reformed Prayers of Henry VIII's reign see Procter and Frere, p. 431.
and thus for a considerable period the more thoughtful and religious folk had become familiarized with a certain portion of the Church services. Still the restoration of the use of the vernacular into public worship—a use which had ceased for many centuries—was a new departure of the very highest importance and was under God due to Edward VIII. and his advisors. 

The first step taken in that direction was in 1543, when the Canterbury Convocation ordered Lessons from the English Bible to be read at Mattins and Vespers. But the first service proper to English use was the Litany in 1544. 

It is interesting to note that the reason which suggested this was very similar to that which originated litanies in the West in the 5th and 6th centuries, viz. the prevalence of bad seasons and other troubles at home and of wars abroad. 

The next step in the same direction was at the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign, when—pending the decision as to the use of English in general—an order was published in English instead of Latin, in March 1548. This contained the Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, the 'Comfortable Words,' the Prayer of 'Humble Access,' nearly as we have them now, and was to be inserted in the Latin Missal to be used in public worship. The Epistle and Gospel were also to be read in English. 

Three other principles guided the Reformers in compiling the Prayer Book, as the original Preface makes clear: 

(1) They aimed at clearing away that which was only legendary and calculatved to foster superstition: 

Here are left out many things, whereof some are untrue, some unnecessary, some impossible to observe like tradition as we find to have been used ... in former times. And therefore ... we have rejected all such alterations as were ... of dangerous consequence as strongly striking at some ... established practice of the Church of England or of the whole Catholic Church of Christ. 

(2) They aimed at selecting a regular and orderly reading of the Holy Scriptures by day by day together with the monthly recital of the whole Psalter. 

(3) They greatly simplified the forms and ceremonies in vogue: 

The number and hardness of the rules ... and the manifold changes of the service was the cause that ... many times there was more business to find out what should be read than to read it when it was laid down. 

At first this process was much more drastically carried out in the case of the Daily Offices than in that of the Liturgy proper, where in 1549 a very considerable portion of the ancient usages was retained. The Liturgy in Morning and Evening Prayer were reduced to a bare minimum—suitable, as it was thought, for the busier members of the laity as well as for others. But later changes (especially in 1552) in the Liturgy itself were far less conservative and liturgically defensible. Even so the first paragraphs of the present Preface drawn up by Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, and prefixed to the original portion ('Concerning the service, etc.') so late as 1602 still profess: 

'to observe the like moderation as we did to have been used ... in former times. And therefore ... we have rejected all such alterations as were ... of dangerous consequence as strongly striking at some ... established practice of the Church of England or of the whole Catholic Church of Christ.' 

(4) They desired uniformity of use throughout the kingdom: 

... whereas before there hath been great diversity ... some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, etc. ... now, from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use. 

Yet another principle of the Reformers has so far been taken for granted rather than asserted, except as the use of the English tongue and supplication of the forms give evidence of it, viz. their intention to give the laity proper facilities for joining in the divine service. This of course especially related to the Daily Prayer Book which always had been that the people as well as the clergy should attend the day hours in the parish church, though it may be doubted if it was ever very generally put in practice. In 1549 and onwards the aim was to facilitate the practice as much as possible, though still with doubtful success. 

The Preface, as it now (since 1662) stands, bids 'all Priests and Deacons to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause' (in 1549 'preaching and studying of divinity' had been particularized). 'And the Curates ... being at home and not being otherwise hindered ... shall cause a bell to be tolled in the Bishop's or other Church of the diocese in the morning and evening of the Lord's Day.' 

This emphasis was likewise given to the obligation in 1662, when the words 'daily to be said and used throughout the year' were added to the first title of 'Morning and Evening Prayer.' 

It should be observed that much of the original Preface recalls the title and tone of Quiggin's 'Preface to the Books of Common Prayer' (1555), because it shows that the Spanish Reformer's ideas had clearly as much influence on Cranmer as, if not more than, those of Luther and other less conservative Reformers on the Continent. 

2. Historical Summary. It is now matter of common knowledge that, though a great deal of the work of constructing the Prayer Book had been done in Henry VIII.'s reign, yet the first edition was not actually published till 1549, when Edward VI. was on the throne more than a year. It was to come into use on Whitsunday, 9th June. But the great and rapid progress made by the extreme Puritan party during this reign availed very soon to bring about much more radical changes, and by All Saints' day 1552 the First was superseded by the Second Book, the contents of which are much more nearly what we are familiar with in our present Book; in fact most of the subsequent modifications have been by way of addition to, rather than alteration of, its text. 

Edward died in July 1553, and during the reign of Mary the old unreformed services and ceremonies were restored in their entirety. 

When Elizabeth came to the throne (1558), she had to be content with the fewest possible improvements in the Second Book, which was then again (1559) brought into use: such as the addition of Sunday Lessons, the omission of the petition against 'the Bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities' from the Litany, and the present words of distribution in the Holy Communion, which combine the formulas of 1549 and 1552. By the end of her reign the Puritans had regained such strength that they hoped on the accession of James I. (1603) to get rid of much that they disliked, but at the Hampton Court Conference, to which both sides were summoned, hardly any of their demands were conceded. The most important change was the addition to the Catechism of the celebration of the sacraments by John Overall, then dean of St. Paul's, afterwards bishop of Norwich), which the Puritans can hardly have regarded as favouring their views. 

The next stage in revision was that the Restoration of Charles I. (1633) brought the Prayer Book back into use, after being suppressed during the Commonwealth. In 1661 a conference was held in the Savoy, at which it was again felt 

But without the Ordinal at first (see above, p. 260).
impossible to entertain most of the Puritan proposals, such as the doing away with the sign of the cross in Holy Baptism and with the kneeling posture at Holy Communion. A fair number of changes were, however, admitted into the direction of John Cosin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and they were mostly by way of distinct improvement. They came into force in the year following (1662).

Another attempt at revision made in 1659 was ineffectual, and not much has been done since then. The schedule of State services drawn up for occasions of national importance in the 17th cent. only one has been retained since 1659, that for the king's accession (revised 1901); (b) that a new Liturgical was introduced with the Act of Uniformity 1662, and Year-Convocations in 1781; and (c) that a limited permission was given in 1872 to shorten or modify the service and use hymns. Of these changes the first two must be reckoned as of advantage, while the third is of more questionable value. It is true that the time has come, or ought to have come, when yet another general revision should be taken in hand to meet modern needs on carefully considered and wisely conservative lines is obvious to many. Meanwhile, as the only available tentative proposals are forthcoming and 'ad lib. sub iudice eis est,' though a certain amount of progress has recently been made.

3. The contents of the present Book in detail. The liturgy first made known to us in the various contents under separate heads. We must be content with drawing attention to salient features as best we can.

(a) The Preface. —The first five paragraphs were prefixed in 1549 by Edward Coke, assisted by Sarum and Lincoln, and slightly altered by Convocation before approval. The next five paragraphs were the original Preface (1549) which is still the one in the Book. The 1552, when Certain notes for the more plain explanation and convenient exposition of things contained in this Book were then expunged. Besides one or two verbal alterations of small importance, three interesting sentences are now omitted. The first has been already quoted (p. 203, n. 4), the second justifies the adoption of a single use throughout the realm, and the third, which only in a general way bound to the saying of a single use by the clergy as well as by the laity in the cathedral and other churches, has given way to the present much more definite and stringent regulation (see above, p. 206). It is pretty clear that the Preface as it now stands contained a special provision for the first three months of the year, and it is to be regretted that the revisions of 1549 treated them as 1st and 29th (or 30th) Feb. respectively and the rest of the days of the month shifted forward by one (i.e. 1st Feb. became 29th), and leap years were treated as if they had 4 days (between the 25th and 26th) the Psalms (and Lessons) of the previous day were to be repeated. The order about repeating 'Gloria Patri' at the end of each Psalm, always provided for in the rubric, was not originally inserted here.

(b) The order how the rest of the Holy Scripture, etc. —The original provisions in this section were modified in 1571 to suit the New Liturgy now in use. It is impossible here to compare the old with the new course or to indicate the changes made and the principles of selection.

(c) The Calendar proper as published in 1549 contained but few commemorations and of these the only one that calls for notice is [St. Mary] Magdalen (22 July), because it was at first a date of the Masses of the Dead in the liturgical books of long standing, and was then added, brought up its observance to about once a month throughout the year. The direction that it is to be said in Memorial is given in the Rubric, and the Mass is for the dead.

(d) The Litany in its present form is perhaps Cranmer's work, and every meditation on the use of medieval litanies will appreciate the masterly skill with which he has by various devices (such as the grouping of petitions under headings and the frequent use of the formula, 'O Lord, be merciful unto me') combined wisdom both in selection and in omission. The 1549 form was turned at will into formal strings of names and short petitions into an astonishingly rich and satisfactory inventory of devotion—suitable for events for occasions when humiliation of the soul and deep penitence are timely, even if we could desire an alternative form which should be more suitable for times of uplifting and rejoicing.

As to the second part of the Litany after the Lord's Prayer, it is impossible to give here a complete description of the materials of which it is built up. The first verse, response, and collect is taken from 1 Peter iv. 13, and the other headings. However, the ancient, being 'in Missa pro tribulatione cordis,' a 15th cent. English form of the old Roman litanies, it was used in southern England. Moreover, it has its origin in a section taken from a litany for Rogation days; it consists of an antiphon and psalm with 'Gloria Patri;' only perhaps by accident it has been stripped of its original use of repeating it at will. The versicles and responses, which come next, ought properly to be sung by the clerks: they were for the Mass, finding (in July) fasting or by

1 Much that is reasonably and usefully to be said on opposing views of this rubric will be found in Mr. Macmullen's The Library and the English Habits of Prayer, p. 516 ff.
2 Not included in the English Calendar (1551), but added in 1559, the 30th Oct., it was head of Elizabeth's birthday and therefore a public holiday for some years. Similar national or even local reasons may have guided the selection in other cases (e.g., St. Andrew 30th Nov., the great E. Anglian fair-day.

3 Be that as it may, I should think the whole work of the Litany in the English Church a splendid achievement of our forefathers. 1240 (cf. 1541) Invocations of St. Mary Mother of God, the angels, blessed spirits, patriarchs, etc., were retained, but in 1549 they were dropped.

4 But this reaches the anthem is unusual, but it would be better to leave the original 'Fill Davidi,' as it was 'Fill Davides.'
PRAYER, BOOK OF COMMON

The concluding versicle, response, and collect are freely adapted from the Sarum Rubric (335) MT 1257-40 (see 205). The Form was published in 1559.

(1) Holy Communion.—We here deal only with the present order, characterizing the contents seriatim as briefly as may be.

The first Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity appear in the same form in the Sarum Order. (The words 'In thine own habitation,' &c., were added by the Mass; hence perhaps he is repeating the former alone, 'Amen,' and all)

The 'Ten Commandments' have been a special feature of our service since 1552. Apparently they are intended to recall or represent the Lectio Prophetica (Gen. 15:1-10); they are an exact replica of the Liberal service, with the tenfold (instead of the former ninefold) repetition of 'Kyrie eleison' (spécially applied to God alone, 'Krisi ouermon'; but not to Mary). The words 'and to which, in spite of certain difficulties of interpretation and application, English Christianity owes much of its certainty as to what is to be done." The rubric on 'answer' is unexampled. The (alternative) Collects for the King, composed in 1549, were then ordered for use after the collect of the day, not before.

The Collect proper may be divided into three classes: (1) those which belong to the pre-Reformation period, some of them as old as the 'Louvine' or 'Gethean' or 'Gregorian' books; (2) those first issued in 1549; (3) those issued in 1552. But it must be remembered that many of the older forms have received important additions or modifications in either 1549 or 1552 or at both dates.

As to the Epistle (during which the right position for the people is that of sitting), it is worth noticing that out of 30 passages used in the Sarum service only 6 are old and the rest are derived from the services of the Reformation. There are 80 Prophets (only one of these being for a Sunday, viz. that next before Advent), thirty-six of the Acts, and four out of the Romans. It is noticeable that the Ten Commandments are not used on the three Sundays following Trinity Tuesday. The rubrics concerning the people's 'presence' (which especially orders the people to stand), all that need be said is that the ascription before ('Glory be,' etc.) Inserted in 1549 was removed in 1552 and has been restored. The old rubric in the Scottish Office (1607) together with 'Thanks be,' &c., afterwards.

The rubric ordering a person after the Creed is one of the very few references to preaching during service in the Book, which makes it appear that the religious content of the service in the Ordinal is the Sermon is put before the Litany instead of in the usual place. The traditional and natural place for an exposition of the reading is the Proper or Expositionary or Oratory sentences. In 1549 one or more of these were to be sung 'where there be Christis,' but this direction was removed in 1552. The insertion of 'prayers of the day' by the priest is mentioned.

The Prayer for the Church [s Militant here in earth, 1552].—This portion of the Canon of 1549 was separated from the consecration of the elements and placed here in 1552; and at the same time the Lord's Prayer, with which in accordance with ancient use the Canon ended, was placed after the Consecration of the people as now, and the first of the two following prayers was moved from his place in the Ordinal of 1549. The Prayer of Thanksgiving now.

It is observed (1) that with the Church militant are now included 'all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear' (which is strictly inaccurate), and (2) that 'oblations' are removed (which is a good one), the rubric suggesting a constriction to the 'alms' for the poor; but there are grounds for holding that they more correctly refer to the vernacular offerings which follow. The 'alms' are, however, still included in the offerings in general.

The rubrics which follow are a special feature of our Book originally introduced in 1549; since then they have been subjected to many changes, and are still printed, though but seldom used, the need of them having now in a large measure gone. Nevertheless, they contain much valuable teaching and advice, though sometimes of it has given rise to unfortunate misunderstandings (e.g., as to the 'unworthiness' of those who receive). The first is for ordinary use in giving notice of Consecration, and suggests the lines on which private consecration to a minister is desirable in the English Church; the second (attributed to Peter Martyr) is to be substituted when there is negligence in attendance; the third is to be used at the Communion itself, after the communicants have been 'conveniently placed' for the reception. No rubrics are given for the withdrawal of non-communions now remains.

The exception from 'Ye that do truly,' etc., down to 'We do not, etc., came after the Consecration and immediately before the people's Communion at first (see above, p. 206). It was

1 In the Non-juror's Prayer Book (1713) MT 2257-40 was substituted for them. The Scottish Office (of 1764) allows these verses as an alternative for the Decalogue. The present Author's Note (1559) says 'Access' 'is now placed in the place of the rest of the section by the first part of the Canon.'

2 The Consecration is repeated in Latin, 'in thine own habitation,' &c., and with thy spirit,' in 1540, in accordance with ancient usage; but this was omitted in 1552. It is now much broken up, and other traces of unbiologicalism have disappeared; and the rubric which says those mentioned have been obliterated.

In the beautiful Epiphany of 1540 has gone: "With thy holy spirit and with thy power direct our hearts to that purity of life which these words of creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Christ; and let his grace be vario directed for the man act, removed in 1552, were brought back in 1562.

The present form of words at the people's Condemnion happily combines both the forms of 1549 and 1552 and dates from 1599 (see above, p. 206).

The second form (for the prayer of thanksgiving) was composed in 1549 and then stood alone, but is now (since 1552) an alternative for the prayer of obligation (see above).

The 'Glória in Excésis' in 1549 occupied its ancient place between the 'Kyrie' and the collect, but was removed in 1552 to the end of the service; but this position is contrary to all precedent, it may justly be considered a fitting conclusion to our worship.

The 'Blessing' (1540) is likewise a distinct improvement on the rather abrupt ending of the Roman Mass ("Tiles misa est"); to which, however, since 1604 an appendix with a short blessing has been added.

1 The last six collect, of which the first, second, and fourth were taken from the Litany, were removed from use 'after the offertory, when there is no Communion,' but may now be used at other times.

(4) Holy bread and wine.—The three offices now supplied the first, as issued in 1549, was mostly derived from the ancient use. 'The form which we use for the making and blessing of the bread' and the use of salt and the Ephphatha were omitted, but the chief points then retained and now since 1552 given up are the exorcism, the blessing of the bread and wine, and the censing the service. The sign of the Cross, and the reception into the Church and, however, still kept. The novel feature is the insertion of the several exhortations suggested by Luther's Baptistery. Day and Hermann of Cologne's Consistitute (1543).

A second form of the real presence (subsequent reception into the Church, if the child survived) also appeared in 1549 and has always been retained with such modifications (esp. in 1600) as were considered necessary to safeguard the doctrine and also to bring it into conformity with the first office as altered in 1552.

The third form (for baptism of infants) was added in 1552 (George Griffith, bishop of St. Asaph, being the chief member of the committee that drew it up) to meet the growing needs of the natives in our 'plantations' (colonies) and others converted to the faith (from anabaptism, etc.). It follows the lines of the first office with such adaptations as are appropriate, and the rubric prefixed definitely recognizes (1) that the bishop is ultimately responsible for the administration of the sacrament (see p. 53), (2) that fasting as well as instruction and prayer should form part of the candidates education. (1549) is in 1549 and has not been altered since. The latter part (on the sacraments of the Gospel) was due to Overall, dean of St. Paul's, who inserted certain definitions of the sacraments, which is the whole a valuable manual of elementary instruction in Christian doctrine, so far as it goes.

(7) Confirmation.—In order the Book of Common prayer in 1549 began at 'Our help,' etc., and included the signing on the forehead as well as the laying on of hands, which for many years had been abolished at 1552 and the present prayer at the imposition of hands substituted for the older form. The preliminary exhortation, which incorporates the substance of a former rubric (and this account for its complete inappropriateness) together with the bishop's question and the answer, were not added till 1602. This addition has had the unforeseen effect of obscuring the true meaning of the rite in the minds of many.

(8) Holy matrimony.—This office has remained without any change of much importance since 1549. But the following are of sufficient interest to be noted: (1) a phrase in parentheses. 1552 ('after bracelets and jewels of gold, given of the one to the other for tokens of their matrimony;' after 'as Isaac and Rebecca' in the prayer 'O Eternal God,' etc., was omitted, in 1552, when the words in the English prayer in which suggested by the ancient form were left out, and the phrase about the robes of 'Uly Ass and Sarah the daughter of Raguel' was altered to the sending of 'thy blessing upon Abraham and Sarah' in the prayer 'O God of Abraham,' etc.) (an unimportant improvement); (2) the phrase 'living . . . husband' in the prayer 'O God who, etc., was substituted in 1602 for a quaint reference to the widows and virgins of Rachel, Rebekah, and Sarah which thither the English and the Sarum, etc., whilst another rubric required the newly-married persons to receive the Communion the same day. These indicen

1 See Fortescue, p. 392. E.
2 E.g., the rubric in the Sarum Prayer Book does not usually contain the gist of the question; the unity of God is not established, and there is no mention of the Church and its constitution.

See E P. Conflation, the Apostolic Age, London, 1909, p. 13 n.
tions of the retention of a neutal was not obliterated till 1662, when the order of prayer for the dead and afterwards it is only stated to be 'convenient' (i.e. suitable) that they should communicate at the first opportunity.

The next rubric (1) relates to the situation of the prayer in 1549 proceeded with Ps 143 (omitted 1552). The second collect, 'We ask', etc., made mention of Peter's word at the last supper, the communion was to be administered in both kinds. The third collect, 'Lord Jesus Christ', was omitted in 1549, and 'the grace of the Lord' added after 'the mercy'.

The second part begins with an exhortation and proceeds to an examination of the sick person with a view to his confession and preparation for death. The last was originally a confession with a conclusion of the celebration of holy communion and weighty matter (on the lines laid down also in the Holy Communion Office (see above). Since 1549 it has been left to his own initiative. The form of absolution here is naturally more affecting for the personal than those in the Daily Offices and at Holy Communion.

The third part consists of collect (partly altered) and Psalm 71 with anthems (sung without words) and blessings. The communication to God's mercy was added in 1602 and also the appendix containing four well written though somewhat long occasional prayers.

A service for anointing the sick was added in 1549, has been omitted since 1552.

(1) Burial of the dead.—The present form dates practically from 1552, when the definition of the 'pardon for the dead and the Holy Communion made in 1549 were omitted. The last 'collect' was originally the collect at the Communion Office: (see above), the second collect was a primitive Ps 121 (omitted 1549) and the lesson was then transferred to its present place, having previously been read at the grave between the anthem ('I have been but with thee a very few days'), Ps 116 (omitted 1552), and the blessing added in 1692.

(2) Blessing of women.—The title (1549) was 'Purification of women', altered to its present form in 1552. In the first rubric (1) the phrase 'decently apparelled', added in 1602, is thought to refer to the old custom of wearing a veil which had been discarded during the Commonwealth; (2) the words 'convenient place' had been more carefully defined as 'near unto the place where the Table standeth' (1552). Ps 121 (1549) was replaced by Ps 116 and the alternative Ps 127 also added in 1692.

(3) Washing of hands.—The form was used on Ash Wednesday only in 1549. The present title was given to the service in 1552, when it was ordered to be used at 'divers times in the year'. Its use on Ash Wednesday was again specified as well as in 1662.

The opening address advocates the restoring of the primitive church discipline of open confession and penance, which had gradually given way to private confession (whether occasional or regular). The final prayer of humiliation by minister and people was added in 1662.

The special form of Blessing (from Nu 6:24-26) was added in 1692.

(4) Prayers to be used at sea.—These were first inserted in 1549 but the composition of the original was made subsequently in 1644 by order of parliament.

The form was altered in 1662 (1) better to guarantee episcopal ordination after the lability which had prevailed during the Commonwealth, (2) to raise the reference to the death of L. (e.g., cassock, surplice, and hood) as had fallen into disuse during the Commonwealth, and (3) that it is now interpreted. In 1550 they were to wear a plain al'; in 1552 no direction is given at all. So too, in 1550 the 'Gospel Deacon' was to 'put on a tunicle' (for which see also the 4th rubric before Holy Communion (1549)). But since 1552 this direction has been omitted.

The special petition in the Litany did not actually mention either the deacons or the priest's office till 1662; in fact the petition was omitted altogether in 1552. Since 1585 the Oath of the Royal Supremacy has not been administered to deacons or deaconesses during the Litany.

The present Gospel (Lk 12:28 at the Making of Deacons) was substituted for the Gospel of the day in 1662.

In 1662 the first petition of candidates came after 'Veni Creator', which followed the Gospel, till 1602, when the Ambrosian version was made.

The present Epistle (Sph 276) was substituted for two others, which were alternative, in 1662.

The choice of the alternative Gospel (for priests) in 1552, but this was omitted in 1562 and is now one of three alternatives at the consecration of bishops.

The second petition of candidates (In all probability by Cosin) was added in 1602 and is far superior to the device of a Latin prayer (1552) almost totally untried and improved since then but is very seldom used.

The Commission 'Receive the Holy Ghost'.—The very important addition to the Office and Work of a Priest. . . . was made in 1662.

The ancient ceremony of handing the chalice or cup with the bread to the priests had been omitted since 1552.

In the Consecration of bishops the collect was added and the precise rubrics of ordination were inserted in 1552. There has been no praeludium instrumentorum since 1552; in 1549 the bishop elect received the pastoral staff and the bible was given to the deacon or sub-deacon (who was to be a good shepherd) was substituted in 1552. In 1560 he was no longer a deacon but an elder who had been ordained to the clergy of the church who had presented him (also their staffs); in 1552 no direction was given; the present rubric 'vexed with his rochet' was added in 1552.

(5) Accession service.—This is now the only survivor of four State services (see above, p. 307). The present revision, which provides three separate forms (one for 1662, and one for 1692) and a sound liturgical form. We may note in particular the careful way in which the language of pointing preserves the eucharistic character of 'Te Deum'.

(6) The Articles of Religion (1671), though usually printed in the volume of common prayer, were part of the Act of Uniformity (1552).

LITERATURE.—Of the large number of books that have been published on the subject, only some of the more practically useful (and most modern) are here mentioned:

(a) The Irish Prayer Book, 1577; the Welsh (only a tr. from the English), 1567 and onwards; the Scottish, 1577; the Communion has important differences which have undergone various vicissitudes (see J. Dowden, Annotated Scottish Comm. Office, London, 1884); the American, 1792; alterations have been made in 1865 and 1892.


C. L. Feltoe

PRAYER FOR THE DEPARTED (Christian).—1. The custom earlier than the development of doctrine.—That prayers for the faithful departed as, not a matter of history, depend necessarily on any particular doctrine of the intermediate state between death and judgment is seen from the fact that they existed long before the doctrine on which that subject were developed. Even in comparatively late times the form of the prayers for the departed was framed before the teaching was stereotyped. The only thing that the custom necessarily and necessarily the third condition of them, which make progress in holiness after death and before the Last Day.

The custom does not necessarily even assume that the departed are conscious; for it is quite conceivable that pro
ducents might be made by an unconscious soul. But it was a practically universal belief of Christian antiquity that the souls of the departed, good and bad, are conscious, the belief being based chiefly on passages such as the promise to the penitent robber (Lk 23:43), the descent of our Lord to Hades (I P 38:6, etc.), the number of Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16:19), and the desire of St. Paul to be absent from the body and at home with the Lord, to depart and be with Christ (2 Co 5:8, 2 Th 4).

This article, then, will not deal with doctrines about the intermediate state except so far as it is necessary to refer to them in order to explain the historical custom of prayers for the departed.

2. Jewish background of the custom.—It was only in the two centuries immediately preceding the Christian era that Jewish consciousness about the dead were developed. But in 2 Mac 12:30-41 we find prayers for the departed mentioned and defended. For the soldiers who had fallen, when it was discovered that under their garments were consecrated loaves of old dough, they believed this was because of their death, their companions 'betook themselves unto supplication, beseeching that the sin committed might be wholly blotted out'; and Judas Maccabees sent angels to Jerusalem to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the deliverance, because of the resurrection: 'If he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again,
it were superfluous and idle to pray for the dead.' This book is an abridgment of a lost work by Jason of Cyrene (224). Jason wrote c. 150 B.C., and the abridgment was made between that date and the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). The passage in question (v. 14, 15) is one of the few which survived of the works of the Jews of the custom under consideration in the 2nd cent. before our era; but whether Judas extended it beyond the limits afterwards approved by the Christians (below, § 6) is another matter. This argument is closely parallel to 'Requiescat in pace,' and that in later times (as at the present day) they habitually prayed for the dead, is universally agreed; but the dates of the tombs are uncertain (for the evidence on these heads the reader may be referred to Luckock, After Death, pp. 56-65). It has often been said that the Jews would never have borrowed the custom from the Christians. This is a line of argument which history shows not to be very safe; but in this case we have the evidence from 2 Mac. for the early existence of the practice among the Jews. We must not, however, push this argument too far; the practice was, almost certainly, not universal among the Jews at the beginning of our era, for the Sibyls would not have had a service like that for which a Jewish law was required to say that our Lord approved everything in the teaching of the Jews which He did not condemn.

3. Early Christian evidence.—The silence of the very earliest ages on the subject is somewhat remarkable. The first view of the fact that the custom was in existence among the Jews. Our Lord does not refer to it. A phrase in the Pastoral Epistles (2 Ti 198) has been not unnaturally judged to be a prayer for Onesiphorus after his death (see the context); the wording is not much more than a pious wish; 'the Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day.' The late- discovered liturgical portion of Clement of Rome's Epistle to the Corinthians (59-61), though it contains intercessions for the living, has none for the departed (c. A.D. 96). The Didache (c. A.D. 120 ?) in its prayers at the agape (or eucharist) only prays God to remember His Church and deliver it from all evil, perfect it in His love, and gather it together from the four winds (§ 10)—a petition which is necessarily repeated when a Christian church is discussing the character of an agape, or commemorative feast, for the departed (e.g. Can. of Hipp., loc. cit.; Apost. Const. viii. 44; see also art. AGAPE). And we frequently read of alms being given for the benefit of the departed in the Testament of Our Lord (chaps. 255, 350 ?) they are taken out of the deceased's possessions and given to the poor that he may be profited (ii. 15, 23).

As the earliest written liturgies known to us are of the 4th cent. (but see below), we cannot tell whether the departed were prayed for at the ordinary eucharists before that time; and, indeed, the intercessions were probably developed into fixed forms somewhat later than the other parts of the service. The evidence of the Testament of Our Lord is not overwhelming. In the early liturgy known as the Old Ethiopic, which some believe to be a translation of Hippolytus's liturgy of the 3rd cent., there is no intercession given (Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, ii. ii. 180, 181); but the departed were prayed for either in the 'Great Intercession' or in the 'people's prayers' given in the Testament of Our Lord, by Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348), by Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt (c. A.D. 350), in the Apostolic Constitutions (vii. viii.), and the Arabic Didascalia (c. A.D. 400 ?), as in all the

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1 Origen is clear that the departed pray for the living—e.g., Con. in 2 Cor. ii. ii. 2. So the date of the Testament of Our Lord [11] is a work probably of the 2nd cent. a.d. (ed. M. R. James, in TS ii. 2 (Cambridge, 1882), p. 94).
Great Liturgies of the following ages. Sarapion also gives a prayer for the departed, to be used at a funeral (§ 19).

5. The purpose of the prayers.—In several of our authorities the language is severely restrained, the prayers being, as in Sarapion, for the repose of the departed in 'chambers (ραμποί) of rest' and for his resurrection 'in the day which thou hast overspread with mercy,' and his transition from sins not remembered (§ 18), or, as in the prayer which follows the recitation (ἐπορεύεται, lit. 'prompting') of the names of the departed at the eucharist, for their sanctification. So in the Testament of our Lord: 'Ask for a place of rest and remembrance (τεθλοιτία) for the soul of thee ... until the resurrection.' This prayer is said, and the name is written down in a copy of the fourth century (i. 23, 35). Note especially the oration of Gregory of Nazianzus on his brother Cresarius (c. A.D. 369). He prays for him that he may have an entrance into heaven, and enjoy 'such repose as the bosom of Abraham affords,' and 'behold the choir of angels and the glories and splendour of sainted men and share their joy,' etc. (§ 17). Nothing is said of suffering for sin. Compare also Gregory's oration on his deceased sister Gorgonia (§ 29). Many of the Great Liturgies have an equal value. The Byzantine 'St. Basil' and 'St. Chrysostom' (Brightman, i. 332, 388); the Greek 'St. Mark' (Egyptian [ib. i. 129]), which asks for them rest and that they be made worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven; the Coptic (ib. i. 170), which has nearly the same language, but somewhat amplified; the Greek 'St. James' (Syrian rite [ib. i. 57]); and the Armenian (ib. i. 440).

In other cases the forgiveness of the sins of the departed is explicitly prayed for. In Arnobius we find the first instance of this (above, § 4), though perhaps he means 'pardons' for the living and 'peace' for the dead. But forgiveness of sins is emphasized by Augustine (Conf. ix. 34.13; [ib. i. 230]), who is speaking of his mother Monica; and in the Apostolic Constitutions (viii. 41: 'that God ... may forgive him every sin, voluntary and involuntary'), and in several of the Great Liturgies, as in the Syrian 'St. James' (Brightman, i. 95), the E. Syrian 'Addai and Mari' (ib. i. 265); and in the West in the Leonine, Gregorian, and Gelasian sacramentaries (for the Gregorian see H. A. Wilson's ed., Henry Bradshaw Soc. [London, 1915] p. 268, etc.). Théodore tells us (ib. [v. 26]) how the emperor Constantine, whose mother, the Empress St. Chrysostom was brought to Constantinople, left his head against the bier and 'prayed for his parents and for pardon on them who had ignorantly sinned, for his parents had long ago been dead.' Augustine (Enchiridion, 29) uses the word 'propitiation.' Cyril of Jerusalem had already spoken of 'propitiating our merciful God both for them (the departed, though they be sinners) and for ourselves' (Cat. xxii. [Myst. v.] 10).

6. Who were prayed for.—(a) There seems to have been a difference of opinion in Christian antiquity as to whether all the faithful departed should be prayed for, or the martyrs and great saints should be excepted. Cyprian (Ep. xxxix. [xxxvii.], ib. x. 30) prays for faithful martyrs 'as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs in the annual commemoration.' At the end of the 3rd cent., in Africa, Arnobius makes no limitation (see above, § 4: 'for all!'). In the Apostolic Constitutions there is a prayer for the departed in the Testament of our Lord (i. 28, 35), and Epiphanius of Cyprus expressly says:

'4 We make our memorial on behalf of righteous and of sinners; on behalf of sinners praying for the mercy of God, and on behalf of the righteous, the prayers and sacrifices of apostles and evangelists and martyrs and confessors, and bishops and archbishops and all the estate (ἐπάγωμα) of men, that we may separate the Lord Jesus Christ from the order (καθαρῆς) of men by means of the honour given to him, that we may be put into the order (καθαρῆς) of men by offering the body and blood of the Lord to us, so that he may not neglect the offering of the Lord that is not to be put on the same footing with a man.' (Herr. xxv. 8.)

Already, it seems, there was a tendency to exalt the greatest saints to a superlative position.

In Syria the Apostolic Constitutions mention assemblies in the churches with lections and with psalm-singing (ψάλμοι λεγομεν) on behalf of (ὑπὲρ) the martyrs and all saints who have fallen asleep (vi. 30) and, in the liturgy of Syriac, 'for the souls of the patriarchs, martyrs, confessors, etc.' (ch. 12).

In the era of the Great Liturgies the same feeling still survived in some Churches. The Greek 'St. Mark' prays for rest and remembrance for the souls of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and others, including St. Mark himself by name (Brightman, i. 128). In the Byzantine rite the Greek 'St. Chrysostom' and the Armenian liturgy have an almost identical prayer (ib. i. 387 f., 440).}

On the other hand, there was a tendency in some circles to the 4th cent. to refrain from prayers for the martyrs, or the greatest of the martyrs, Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking of the Great Intercession in the eucharist, makes a distinction:

'5 We commemorate ... first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, etc., and pray for all the faithful, whose prayers we ought to commend ourselves.' And we see the same feeling in several of the Great Liturgies—in the Greek 'St. James' (Syrian rite [Brightman, i. 471 f.]), the E. Syrian 'Addai and Mari' (ib. i. 284), and the Abyssinian Liturgy (ib. i. 266, 298, 288 f.). The Coptic takes a middle line (ib. i. 169). It asks for rest and remembrance for all the great saints, including the 'holy Theotokos Mary,' but goes on to say: 'Not that we should pray for these to be excused for their disobedience ... but that ... they may in recompense intercede for our poverty and weakness.'

The question is one of decided much on whether it was believed that the greatest saints have already received their full reward or await it at the Last Day. That they have already received it is denied by Justin Martyr (Dialog. 80) and Irenaeus (Harr. vi. 31). Tertullian (de Anima, 55, de Res. Carn. 43) makes an exception only in the case of the martyrs. In the 3rd cent. Origen makes no exception (Hom. in Lev. vii. 2: 'not even the apostles have yet received their joy'). So, indeed, Augustine, though with some hesitation, makes the Last Day the time for all the faithful to receive their complete reward (Serm. ccvxxx. 5). But gradually in the West the view prevailed that all the great saints, whether martyrs or not, are already reigning with Christ, and ought not to be asked for intercession. This is the case, it seems, in the present subject see A. J. Mason, Purgatory, pp. 81-96.

(b) There was a general feeling that it was of no avail to pray for the heathen departed, for any but the baptized. There might, indeed, be an exception, especially in times of persecution, when the name of Christ was not, or was not known. There is a beautiful poem by Alexius Khomiakoff, asking his dead children to pray for him (Birckbeck, Russian and the English Church, p. 21).
of a catechumen who desired baptism but died before he could receive that sacrament. The *Canons of Hippolytus* (x., ed. Achelis, § 63) say that catechumens are already 'Christians,' and so the writer adduces the example of Constantine (A.D. 318). The former work (xix. [101]), the *Egyptian Church Order* (Sahidic, § 44), and the *Testament of Our Lord* (ii. 5) recognize a mortified catechumen as ‘baptized in his own blood.’ But, generally speaking, only the baptism of *water* was celebrated by Augustine; Augustine says (Enchirid. 29): ‘We offer... for all baptized departed.’ We do, indeed, read that Perpetua prayed for her brother Dionocrates, who, as we gather from her own words, was unbaptized, though, who are very bad. In the 3rd cent. Cyriac had forbidden the eucharist to be offered for the soul of a certain person who had seriously transgressed an ecclesiastical rule and had died impenitent (Ep. 1. [iv.] 2, to the clergy and people at Paesu).

7. Early objectors to the custom.—In the 4th cent. Aerus, a presbyter in Pontus, the founder of the sect named after him (it seems scarcely to have survived his death), protested against prayers for the departed. We learn about his history and his views from Epiphanius, who says that he was alive in his time (Hær. Ixxv. 1), and from Augustine (de Har. liii.). He had been disappointed at not being made bishop, and lapsed into Arianism. Among other things he said that the eucharist (or ought not to be offered for them that sleep). He adduced as the reason for his objection the danger of a man leading a sinful life in the hope that he would be saved from punishment by the prayers of his friends.

Though Aerus is the only person in antiquity known by name who objected to prayers for the departed, there must have been others. Cyril of Jerusalem says that ‘many’ held that they were profitless (OEc. xxvii. [Myrd. v.] 10); and the language of Augustine (Enchir. 29) and others seems to imply that the question was frequently debated in the 4th century. Yet the objection cannot have been much pressed, for Augustine (Ser. cxii. 2) says that the custom was universal, and Epiphanius (Hær. Ixxv. 5) traces it back to the time of Christ to prayers for the departed.

8. Mediæval Western views.—As doctrines about the intermediate state developed in the West, chiefly in consequence of the tentative suggestions of Augustine and the visions related by Gregory the Great, the prayer for the departed came to be the deliverance of souls from a penal purgatory. The schoolmen discussed the matter at considerable length. Their speculations concern us here only so far as they resulted in the particular shape taken by the prayers. When purgatory was conceived as a place of punishment whose tortures differed from those of hell only in not being eternal, it is not surprising that men’s energies were directed to the deliverance, by prayer and alms, of their friends therewith. Yet the prayers of the medieval Latin service-books show great restraint, and do not reflect popular beliefs to any very large extent. But they exhibit a sadness which is not found in earlier services. The keynote to the Sarum service for the burial of the dead is struck by the opening antiphon: ‘Circumdederunt me gennatius mortis, dores inerni circum-
dectarunt me, et auctoritatis mea mansuetit,
Monnastica ritualia Exaltatione *Anspuriae,* Oxford, 1832, i. 143.)

The popular conceptions about purgatory are not necessarily the official views of the Church of Rome. According to Roman Catholic writers of repute, the only statement which is of faith in that communion is that ‘there is a purgatory and that the souls detained in it are helped by the prayers of the faithful’ (Credo of Pope Pius V.). The Council of Trent (Concilia decretal, sess. x.xii. § 2) attacked this view, and declared that those who departed in Christ not yet fully cleansed; and sess. xxv. (decrees on purgatory, A.D. 1563) has the words just quoted from the Credo, adding ‘especially the acceptable sacrifice of the altar,’ and enacting that ‘a same doctrine of purgatory, handed down from the Fathers and of others, is to be believed and taught.’ The last words probably are meant to rebuke the extravagances of some popular teaching.

9. The Church of England at the Reformation took a middle course. In the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1549) there were explicit prayers for the departed. But since 1552 these have been removed from the public services; the only relics of them remaining are the petitions in the Common Service (perhaps purposely left ambiguous) that ‘we and all thy whole Church may obtain remis-
sion of our sins,’ etc., and (in the prayer for the Church militant) that ‘with them (the departed) we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom;’ in the latter case the title does not exactly correspond with the contents of the prayer, as it is sometimes the case in the Thirty-nine Articles. In the Burial Service there is a prayer ‘that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name may have our part and portion in the world to come, and bliss,’ etc. But, while thus removing explicit prayers for the departed from its Prayer Book, the Church of England declined to condemn the practice in itself. In the original draft of art. xxi. it was proposed to do so, but the condemnatory words were struck out (see E. C. S. Gibson, The Thirty-
ine Articles, London, 1897, p. 537 f.). And the Act of Uniformity of 1552 expressly declared that the First Book of 1549 was ‘a very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church.’ In the Second Book of Homilies, on the other hand, the homily on prayer repudiates prayers for the dead; and this book is said by art. xxxv. to ‘contain a godly and wholesome doctrine,’ though all its opinions are not necessarily the official position of the Church. That position of that Church is thus a mediating one. It neither commands nor condemns the practice, and leaves it, as far as private practice is concerned, to the discretion of its members.

10. The Commissioner’s Commission.—This was adopted as a standard by the Presbyterian General Assembly in Scotland, A.D. 1647. It takes a very precise line on the subject now under considera-
tion. It says:

‘Prayer for the dead made... for all sorts of men living, or that shall live hereafter; but not for the dead, nor for those of whom it may be known that they have sinned the sin unto death’ (xxii. 4).
The same statement (with a slight difference of wording) is found in the Larger Catechism of 1648 (qu. 182), but is not contained in the Shorter Catechism (qu. 42). After 1653 the Scottish National Covenant, when denouncing (in the strong language of the day) ‘that Roman Antichrist,’ had repudiated among many other things ‘his purgatory prayers for the dead.’

The exhibition of wheels for the departed in the Westminster Confession is seen in its teaching as to the state of the faithful after death. All progress after death is denied. After saying that at death man’s soul does not die nor sleep, it goes on:

‘The souls of the righteous, being then [at death] made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies: and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell... Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none’ (xxxii. 1).

Very similar is the wording of the Larger Catechism (qu. 86). The well-known words of the Shorter Catechism (qu. 37) are:

‘The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection.’

This may be taken to be the general teaching, not only of Presbyterians, but of a large number of other Protestant communities throughout the world. It is, however, quite possible that the practice of praying for the departed (see S. C. Gayford, The Future State, London, 1903, p. 58).

11. The Eastern Orthodox Church.—The teaching of this Church remains much the same with regard to prayer for the dead as that of the Greek Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries. It is remarkably cautious in refusing to dogmatize. The eminent Russian layman, Alexis Khomiakov, remarks (Birkbeck, p. 217 f.):

‘Each person owes his prayers on behalf of all, the living and the dead, and even those who are yet unborn... We do not acknowledge purgatory, that is the purification of souls by sufferings from which they may be redeemed by their own works or those of others... Who will forbid us to pray [God] to glorify his saints and to give repose to his elect?’ (see above, § 8).

The official treatise On the Duty of Parish Priests (§ 16 [Blackmore, Doctrine of the Russian Church, p. 281]) says that we ought to pray for the departed in the hope and faith of the resurrection of the dead... and be working for them the work of Bar 3rd, 2 Mac 12th, and on apostolic and primitive tradition. The Synod of Jerusalem (or Bethleham, A.D. 1672) went farther than Khomiakov and most Eastern theologians would approve. ‘The doctrine of purgatorial fire has never been recognized or admitted in the Eastern Church’ (Duckworth, Greek Manuals, p. 63); but the Synod, which was held at a time when the Eastern Church was largely under Roman influence, pronounced in favour of some sort of punishment in purgatory for a certain number of sinners, and affirmed that ‘they are released by God’s goodness in answer to the prayers of priests and the benefactions done in the name of the departed by their kinsfolk,’ and that for this the Christian is ‘of especial expectation and hope to the increase of the time when they know not’ (ib. p. 64 f.). On the other hand, Archbishop Philaret of Moscow, the author of the Longer Catechism of the Russian Church in its present form, denies that there is such a thing as punishment after death, and holds that their torments have for their purpose to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, but affirms that they may be aided towards the attainment of a blessed resurrection by prayers, eucharists, and works of mercy offered for them. It says of all the righteous dead that they ‘are in light and rest with a foretaste of eternal happiness,’ while the wicked are ‘in a state the reverse of this;’ the righteous do not attain to perfect happiness till the resurrection of the body.

12. The Separated Churches of the East. The services and prayers for the dead mentioned above were all performed at home. The Church has also been concerned in the worship of the dead (for the custom among the Eastern Churches see A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, The Catechisms of the East, London, 1885, p. 354; for the Armenians see F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, Rituals Armenorum, Oxford, 1906, pp. 54-60). This custom appears to be a curious survival of paganism.


PRAYER-WHEELS (or ‘magical wheels’).—This name is applied to wheels or cylinders which are made to revolve in the expectation of gaining some spiritual or magical profits. Sometimes they are actual wheels, hung in a temple and turned by hand or by means of a cord. To this category belong the small metal wheels fixed in the wooden pillars at the entrances of certain Japanese pagodas. Such wheels are sometimes called ‘wheels of fortune,’ suspended from the ceiling or attached to the pillars of some Breton churches. Worshippers are allowed to turn these on payment of a few pennies, and thus to obtain a so-called ‘sacrament’ of a saint whose image is placed alongside, and which bears the name ‘Soul’s Wheel’ (Santich-ar-rodd). The Japanese wheels have metal rings, which slide along the spokes and make a silvery sound. The Breton wheels produce the same effect by means of the small bells with which they are decorated. The use of these instruments is of long standing in the Church. According to the Monastic Anglicanus, St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester in the 10th cent., introduced into his cathedral a wheel of gilt metal, with several little bells (‘tininallitibus plenam’), which was made to revolve on saints’ days, to increase the devotion of the faithful (‘ad majoris excitationem devotionis’). Among the ancient Greeks the grammarians Dionysius of Thrace notes the wheels which were revolved in the temples of the gods. Plutarch and Heron testify to their presence in Egyptian temples of a late period. Plutarch makes them a symbol of the instability of human things, Heron an instrument of purification: ‘When the wheels of the Egyptian temples are placed movable bronze wheels which are turned by those entering, in the belief that the bronze purifies.’

4 Yuma, xiv.
Again, the instruments used may be cylinders, or rather cylindrical boxes, containing texts or sacred objects. Such are the praying-mills, which have assumed special importance among the Buddhists of the North. The smallest ones are bobbin mills, often with the wheel attached to a wooden handle, which the lamas by a slight movement of the wrist keep steadily revolving for whole days, while they repeat the invocation engraved on the surface—generally the famous formula, ॐ प्रभुमुद्रा हिम. ॐ The jewel in the lotus. Other cylinders, of a larger size, generally of wood painted in bright colours, are to be seen in the vicinity of the monasteries. Passers-by make them revolve by means of a handle which returns to the hand, making a bell ring several times. As many as 300 of these wheels may be found, placed side by side like barrels in a beer cellar.1 Some are of such a size that it requires several persons to set them in motion. The traveller Gérard saw one at the monastery of Samun which carried 108 lighted lamps. Others contain shrines, images, and prayers, and occasionally a number of manuscripts. Each revolution confers on the worshipper the same spiritual benefits as the reading of all the texts. Many of these cylinders, which were veritable libraries—circulating libraries, as William Simpson wittily called them.2 Gabriel Bonvalot mentions having encountered, in the monastery of Doton, 100 large bobbins, each containing 10,000 invocations. As a few minutes suffice to revolve the whole in succession, one may thus rapidly gain the benefit of the indulgences attached to the recitation of 1,000,000 formulae.3

In the Himalayas these mills are often erected above a rushing stream, which turns unceasingly a wheel with blades dipping into the water. It appears that the merit mechanically engendered by these applications of natural forces goes to increase the karma of those who constructed the apparatus. E. R. Huc,4 Gilmour, and W. W. Rockhill5 report that among the Mongols there are mills made of paper and hung in the tents over the fireplace in such a way that they may be set in motion by the displacement of the heated air.

Such is the fashion in which the Buddhists of the Northern school have materialized the ‘wheel of the Law,’ the Dharmachakra, the chain of causes and effects. There is no mention of praying-mills in the oldest Buddhist treatises. Nor are these instruments known among the peoples of the South. Nevertheless the symbol of the wheel was in very early times held in high esteem by the followers of the Buddha. It is to be seen on Buddhist monuments prior even to the first appearance of the image of the Master. The wheel figures in the oldest Buddhist sculptures, in the place of honour upon altars, where it receives the homage of the faithful.6 A. Cunningham supposed that it represented the Buddha himself.7 But it is more probable that it personified his teaching, the ‘wheel which he set in motion for the salvation of humanity,’ by the revelation of the Four Great Truths in his famous sermon at Benares.

We may suppose that the Buddhists have combined their symbolism of the wheel with a magical rite previously practised either by the Scythian races of Central Asia or by the Brahmins of the North. In the former, the wheel of fortune. In the latter, William Simpson has found in the Satapatha Brâhmana a text which shows beyond question that the Brahmins revolved chariot-wheels horizontally around a stake fixed in the ground, while they chanted a hymn from the Sama veda in honour of the sun-god Savitri.8

What was the original purpose of this rite? The wheel, which has a round shape, and which implies a movement of translation in space, has everywhere been one of the images most frequently employed to represent the sun. The latter is called by the Latins rota altivolans;2 in the Edda ‘the beautiful wheel’ (fangravel), by the Celts ‘the luminous wheel’ (roth fail), and the Rigveda invokes the god who directs ‘the golden wheel of the sun’ which sometimes comes the symbol of the regular course of the sun, and consequently of the celestial or cosmic order, the rita. Another passage of the Rigveda speaks of it as ‘the immortal wheel which nothing stops, on which all existence depends.’ It was this symbolism that the Buddhists applied to their ‘wheel of the Law,’ with its thousand spokes, the Dharma chakra, ‘that wheel which not by any Sahanma or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahmā or Māra, or any one in the universe can ever be turned back.’18 All observers agree in stating that the praying-mills must turn in the direction followed by the sun.

On the principle of imitative magic, to revolve the wheel in the apparent direction of the sun’s course is to facilitate or assure the beneficent movement of the sun, and thus to secure general luck, as in the similar case of circumambulation (q. v.). Hence the popular customs, described by Mannhardt and Gadow,9 in which the inhabitants of certain objects— in Germany and England—may be seen driving a wheel, sometimes set on fire, across the fields. As Mannhardt maintains, this is simply a solar charm, intended to secure an abundant harvest.

Finally, mention must be made of certain forms of rattles used by the inhabitants of New Mexico. In so far as they are magical instruments, they resemble in construction the invocation-cylinder, but they belong to quite a different symbolism.


Goblet d’Alviella

1 This identification is questioned by Percy Gardner, who reproduces the text in his Indian Coins and Currency. See also ‘Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India,’ London, 1895, pl. xxvii. no. 12.
PREACHING (Christian).—1. The early Church.—From the accounts of Christian worship in the NT, especially in the Epistles of the primitive Christians, although there was a real praise a great row that the preaching to speak should come from the Spirit of God. As early as the Didache the prophets are mentioned as a separate class, the members of which wandered from community to community in the exercise of their gift; but already their inspiration was so far from being above suspicion that the churches were coming to be better satisfied with any authentic light they could receive from their own elders than with the illumination afforded by those wandering stars. This tendency was increased by the growing sense of the inexhaustible treasures of wisdom and spiritual power lodged in the Holy Scriptures the canon of which was gradually forming. From the synagogue the Church had inherited the practice of reserved writing and attaching to this reading the word of exhortation. When the Christian community had the whole of the NT and the OT thus to draw upon, its view would not lack the bread of life, if a moderate amount of attention or skill were paid to the application of what had been read to the life of the individual and the community. At all events the first form of preaching was homiletical, a homily being a running commentary on a passage read. This is known to have been the form of instruction given at the first college for the training of preachers, the Catechetical School of Alexandria, of which Clement and Origen were the shining lights. Many of Origen's homilies have come down to us; and they show how boundless a thesaurus it was, that he was so capable of possessing in the Word of God, though the heritage left by him to succeeding ages was sadly vitiated by the introduction of the allegorical method, which tempted nimble wits into excessive ingenuity, but, in incompetent hands, could almost any passage of Scripture mean almost anything.

During the first 300 years of its existence Christianity, in spite of the persecution to which it was subjected, made more rapid progress than it has ever done since; yet the names of outstanding preachers, after the death of the apostles, are so few that it cannot have been by this means that success was gained. It was rather by a kind of preaching which has been too little practised in subsequent centuries, but will have to be rediscovered if the world is to be fully evangelized. At the first the gospel was so intense a blessing that no one who heard it with faith could keep the secret to himself. Neighbour told it to neighbour, slave to fellow-slave; the sailor carried it to every shore visited by his ship, and the soldier communi cated it even to the enemy whom he had conquered on the field of battle. Justin Martyr, after becoming a Christian, continued to wear the philosopher's cloak, because this gave him access to those to whom he 'talked,' the gospel, and the very 'to talk' is a good name for preaching in the NT.

2. The Middle Ages.—When, at the beginning of the 4th cent., Christianity was adopted as the religion of the Roman empire, there immediately took place a great change in the method and content of preaching; for it was no longer necessary to confine such testimony to the places where the myrmidons of persecution could not find the worshippers, but, under imperial auspices, Christian places of worship, of growing size and magnificence, rose all over the empire. The first Christian emperor himself set an example of preaching, like a well known imperial figure of the present day; and, as at least one of his efforts could be seen, one can judge of their quality for ourselves. It is by no means bad preaching for an emperor. Even the apostate Julian, who attempted to restore heathenism, betrayed his consciousness of the importance of preaching by exhorting his priests to make sermons with the pagan myths for texts and by setting an example himself. But his attempt was very soon at an end; and in the courts of the Christian emperors by whom he was succeeded preachers and preaching held a conspicuous place. The more famous became as much topics of conversation at court as favourite charioteers or actors had been before; and in the sunshine of imperial favour preaching attained to a notable development. The 4th and 5th centuries contain many outstanding names, the greatest of which in the West is that of Chrysostom, in whose hands the homily was transmuted into an oration, which the hearers applauded in church, as they might a speech in a political meeting. In the West the greatest preacher was Augustine, whose sermons, being addressed to audiences of fishermen, were more simple and practical. But the first impression made by even the greatest sermons of that age is, how much the long continued exegesis of the Scriptures through the Christian centuries has benefited congregations; for, in explaining the book of Acts, e.g., the humblest preacher has now within easy reach materials far more true to the text and useful to the people than were at the command of even a genius like Chrysostom, who has left lectures on this book of Scripture.

Many other names of the period could be mentioned, such as Gregory and Basil in the East and Ambrose and Hilary in the West, to show that the 4th and 5th century was a great age for preaching; and it has another sign of distinction in the appearance of books on the preacher's art, both Chrysostom and Augustine having produced examples of this species of literature. But it was not long before the descent of the barbarians from the north, and then the pressure of Mohammedanism from the east, nearly squeezed the life out of the Church, and preaching, like the other functions of her life, was reduced for centuries to the lowest terms. Yet this was the time when monasticism arose and spread with extraordinary rapidity over the Church, occupying territory from which it has never since been wholly dislodged; and in the monasteries and nunneries preaching obtained a new sphere of influence. Monks and nuns must often, with extraordinary intelligence and sympathy, the opportunity thus opened up to a spiritual and gifted preacher may be inferred from the relation of Staupitz to the youthful Luther; for this we have, who was initiated of monasteries in the district of Thuringia, must have made use of preaching as one of his ordinary activities. A still more attractive aspect of the preaching of the Dark Ages is that of the missionaries; for, in spite of its change of level and content, the great eras of missionary progress, when, issuing from the monasteries of Great Britain and Ireland, the
heralds of the Cross not only evangelized the tribes who had occupied the countries of S. Europe, but carried the gospel to the inhospitable regions of the north out of which the invaders had come. Names like those of St. Columba and St. Patrick, St. Columbanus and St. Gall, are worthy of elevation. But the most renowned is that of St. Boniface, in some respects the greatest of them all, we can still see for ourselves the kind of message with which they operated. It was a message of realism and terror; for the conditions were very rude and chaotic. So it was that the chief theme of the pulpit, because there was an abounding iniquity in the world; and it was not for centuries yet that preaching learned to deliver in its fullness the gracious message of deliverance from sin.

It was in the reaction from Muhammadanism that the sound of a new era of preaching began to be heard in the atmosphere of Europe. Peter the Hermit 'preached' the first Crusade; and the preacher of the second was no less remarkable than St. Bernard, usually reckoned the greatest preacher of the Middle Ages, although the sermons for which he is most famous—those on the Song of Solomon—belong not to popular oratory but to the preaching of the pulpit. The task was a great one, however, to conquer the multitude, as well as the romanticism of the Crusades, a place in the movements with which the names of St. Francis and St. Dominic are identified. Preaching was one of the principal instrumentalities made use of by both of these reformers; and even in our time, in Roman Catholic countries, it is a red-letter day in the history of a country congregation when a stranger in the gracefal garb of the Dominican order rises in the pulpit, as a visitor, to occupy the pulpit for the crowded congregation. The Franciscan preachers Antony of Padua and Berthold of Regensburg are the foremost. The matter of preaching was adapted for presentation to the general mind through the labours of the Schoolmen, not a few of whom were themselves famous preachers; and, after these had had their day, the hardness of their doctrine was softened in the atmosphere of the mystics, who gave to the pulpit some of its very greatest names, such as Eckhart and Zwingli. Some of the powers of the Imitatio Christi preserve the exquisite blossom and flower of monastic preaching at its best.

3. The Reformation.—Immediately before the Reformation preaching suffered in most parts of the Church a sad decline. In many parishes there was hardly any preaching at all, the Christian religion being reduced to a mere pagan round of forms and ceremonies, pilgrimages and penances. In vain did councils summon the clergy to their duty; for the higher clergy, who presided in such assemblies, were themselves the most inimical to the discharge of this function, and the lower clergy were too deeply sunk in ignorance to be equal to the task. The description of the preaching of the time given in Thomas McCrie's Life of John Knox is nowhere more pitiful, and it may be applied without hesitation to the rest of Christendom.

'1 it is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermon. Legendary tales consecrating the saints of the religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fasting, flagellations of body, prayer, extreme unction, confession, exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, and the numbers released from purgatory; the supposition of some power over the land; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside snarl, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of religious discourse. (The Works of Thomas McCrie, new ed., Edinburgh, 1855, i. 11)

It is in the writings of Erasmus that we see most clearly both the ludicrous and the deplorable aspects of the preaching of the time; but, in

Ecclesiastes, one of the worthiest of his books, this great Humanist exhibited the image of what, in his opinion, a preacher ought to be. The Reformers before the Reformation, especially Wyclif, Hus, and Savonarola, revealed popular talent in the pulpit, and in the last-mentioned especially the gift rose to the prophetic strain.

The Reformation was a crowning era in the history of preaching. Innumerable abuses were pushed aside, which had been preventing the pulpit from having its chance. The Word of God was exalted above all other authorities, and it was not only heard with new fullness and force from the pulpit but put into the hands of the common man, in his own tongue, so that he could bring what he heard to the judgment of the law and the testimony. The Reformers had themselves passed through the great experiences of the soul, and they spake that which they knew and testified that which they had seen. Among the people there was the most extraordinary appetite for the new message, and the prominent among the preachers being called on to preach every day, and no limit being put to length. In Luther there were accumulated all the elements of a great preacher—learning, experience, knowledge of men, humour, home-spun spirituality. To the best of his discourses have not lost the freshness of their prime, and everywhere in them the music of free grace sounds like the tinkling of a hidden well. Zwingli was more of the orator, bringing into the new movement the treasures of the Renaissance, but his testimony to the new truth is also clear and strong. Calvin excelled in the exposition of the Scriptures, and his great dogmatic work, the Institutes, swelled, in the course of its lifetime, to five times its original size. In many editions the best things gathered from the Word through incessant preaching and lecturing. John Knox applied the examples of the Bible to the problems of the passing hour; and the English ambassador, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth's Chief Secretary of State, bore him this testimony:

'1 assure you, the voice of this one man is able in one hour to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually thundering in the ears of McCrie, Life of John Knox'.

In all the countries in which the Reformation took any hold there arose preachers of power, whose names are cherished to this day as household words; and in many cities and towns men of the second or the third rank arose, who directed the course being pursued by their fellows. Eben a name still identified with the scenes of their labours. The pulpit had the making of the people's convictions, the moulding of their manners, the direction of their education; and this continued for generations, in some places more and in others less visibly.

4. The Puritan era and after.—In England, in spite of such early names as Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, and John Hooper, the effective Reformation was long in commencing; but, when it had begun, it produced the same appetite for preaching; and there were not wanting those capable of satisfying this spiritual hunger. In the Long Parliament it was quite an ordinary practice to set time apart for the hearing of sermons, and days of humiliation and Thanksgiving were frequent, in which not only sermons an hour long but even prayers of like extent were the order of the day. To satisfy such a critical assembly could have been no ordinary responsibility; but, if ever there was an intellectual dynasty of preachers in England, it was in this age. On the Puritan side were such names as Thomas Cartwright, Richard Sibbs, Richard Baxter, John Owen, John Bunyan, John Howe, Thomas Goodwin, and Thomas Adams; and for
intellectual grasp, mastery of Scripture, spiritual analysis, and constructive skill these men have never been surpassed. He who is in search of the substance of Christian truth can turn to their works still with the certainty of finding in abundance that which he is seeking. But, with few exceptions, they were as defective in literary form and grace of utterance as they excelled in solidity. What, however, was less humanly from the brevity of life than those who listened to the Puritans, or whether it was due to a marked difference of natural endowments, it is undeniable that these are as exuberant in all the graces which make style and literature as the others are deficient in them: and yet it cannot be said that there is any lack of substance in their discourses. On the contrary, although the ornamentation is sometimes excessive, the Cavalier divines, as well as their rivals, were great exponents of Christian truth and experience. So dear was the name of religion, Puritanism could not be confined to the British Isles; and on the Continent the stirring of the dry bones first appeared in Holland, where the signal of the new movement was the emergence of what is called the Peeping Toff. The Toff is a name conferred on Cocceius, a native of Bremen and a professor at Franeker and Leyden; but it is certain that the conception of revealed religion as a series of covenants belonged earlier to the Puritan thinkers, as, indeed, it developed in the documents of the Westminster Assembly, which were in existence before the publication of Cocceius’ renowned treatise on the subject. From Holland the revival movement spread to Germany, where its principal representative was Philipp J. Spener, court preacher successively at Dresden and Berlin; but it is known that he was influenced in youth by Puritan authors, especially by Richard Baxter, whose Reformed Pastor has been an inspiration to preachers and pastors in all parts of the Christian world, not only by the most outstanding of many preachers of the Pietistic order, the names of some of whom, like A. H. Francke, J. A. Bengel, and J. J. Rambaud, have taken their places among the worthies of the Church universal. Our account of the movement is developed directly by the Moravian Church, whose founder, Count von Zinzendorf, and his successor, A. G. Spangenberg, were noted preachers who have communicated their inspiration to many successors in their small but active community. To the Moravian Church John Wesley owed his experience of the gospel; and the same may be said of his coadjutors, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. These were preachers who shook not only England but America to the heart, and they have transmitted the sacred fire to innumerable successors not only in the denominations founded by them but far beyond. Though the Established Church was not able to retain their services, there arose within it many who imitated their newness of spirit; and the succession of Evangelical divines, reaching from John Newton down through Charles Simeon to the shining lights of this section of the Church at the present day, may all be looked upon as derived from this source. The Established Church was preaching in the open air; and, in the churches founded by them, lay-preaching has been a prominent feature, with memorable effects not only on the community but on the character of the preachers themselves (cf. also art. Latry, § 9).

Charles II. was not without a taste for preach-

ing, and a curious letter has survived in which, before a visit to Cambridge, he lays down the law that the University preachers should refrain from rewarding their discourses, and as the extenuations, to which he had been accustomed whilst living abroad, was more in harmony with the royal mind. But the recoil from Puritanism soon became so universal that anything like enthusiasm in the pulpit no longer compelled the fanning of the fire. Soon proceeded from form to substance, the tone of belief becoming lukewarm and the distinctive message of the gospel being forgotten. Preachers formed their style on that of the rationalism of Germany, which was represented in the pulpit at the one extreme by the vulgarity of K. F. Bahris and at the other by the eloquence of J. L. von Mosheim.

5. The 19th Century.—(a) Britain.—All historians of preaching agree that the 19th cent. has been an epoch of unsurpassed maturity and productiveness. It has been a period when the human mind has blossomed in every direction, and preaching has both enriched itself from the progress of investigation and discovery and risen to the demands coming from every side. The most native impulse has been that of the Evangelical Revival, and this has been visible in its purest form in Scotland, where, at the beginning of the century, the movement was received into the mighty mind of Thomas Chalmers, taking on there a form of singular benignity and dignity, which has never since ceased to hold the heart and mind of his fellow-countrymen. Indeed, at the end of a century there is more in possession than ever, though being hardly any preachers of note at present who do not look up to Chalmers with veneration or are not proud of the name of Evangelicals. Chalmers’ own eloquence was believed by the best judges of the time to be the true inferior of the greatest orators in the oratorical art in any age; and his coadjutors in the ecclesiastical conflict, such as R. Murray McChyney, Robert S. Candlish, Thomas Guthrie, Robert Buchanan, were all preachers possessed of popular gifts and spiritual power. The Establishment from which these seceded, however, continued to produce preachers of eminence, such as Norman Macleod, John Carlyle, George Matheson, and James Macgregor. The United Presbyterian Church, which had originally sprung from the gospel preaching of the brothers Erskine, had such outstanding names as John Cairns, Robertson of Irvine, John Ker, and W. M. Taylor, who, however, rendered his principal service in America. The Presbyterian Church in the United States, within its limited size, was rich in gifts, having such names as Edward Irving, James Hamilton, J. Oswald Dykes, and W. G. Elmslie.

In England there was much more variety. The Evangelical Church held a nursery for talents in the Church of Simeon at Cambridge; and in the Keswick Movement it has produced speakers whose messages have been carried to all parts of the world. The same views have had much more partial representation in such Congregational preachers as Thomas Binney, R. W. Dale, and Joseph Parker.
The Methodists had such distinguished names as Richard Watson, Jabez Bunting, W. M. Punshon, J. H. Rigg, and W. B. Pope. But the Baptists, for their number, were the most fruitful of all, with such celebrities as Peter McCallum, Alexander MacLaren, and C. H. Spurgeon, who held an archiepiscopal position during the latter half of the century among the Dissenters of the world. In sharp distinction from the Evangelical school rose the Broad Church at Oxford; and, although its predominance did not last long, it yielded some fine fruits in the pulpit, such as A. P. Stanley, Charles Kingsley, and, above all, F. W. Robertson of Brighton, whose sermons were probably the most widely read in the last half of the century, while in the 18th cent. they re-obtain, seems not a few of the discerning to indicate the high-water mark of Anglican preaching; and the school had a noted orator in H. P. Liddon.

Wales is a land of preachours. Nowhere else are their preachers more beloved or better remembered; and it is no wonder that the Welsh people have invented a name for the je ne sais quoi which makes preaching effective. This is the hail, which is a combination of nature, art, and grace. It is the happiness of the preacher; it is the thing that grips the hearer; and it expands and culminates like the rising tide. The present writer has heard Cyndyllon Jones, secretary of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, do it to perfection in an hour’s discourse, the tide setting in about a quarter of an hour. It is not forsaken by the preacher. It is attempted and missed, and then the preacher feels ‘deserted,’ and the people complain of the absence of the Spirit of the Lord. Among noted Welsh preachers the Anglicans have had Henry Thomas Evans and John Morgan, J. R. Dyer, and Thomas Evans; the Congregationalists William Williams, Herber Evans, and John Thomas, and the Calvinistic Methodists John Elias, John Jones, Henry Rees, Edward Mathews, Edward Magon, and many of the name of Edwards, including two principals of theological colleges, of enormous influence in their day. The Irish pulpit has had its own share of both the Celtic fire and the spiritual power of the Welsh, and among the names that are household words are E. H. Plumptre, J. H. Bernard, and William Alexander (Epi-copalian), and Henry Cooke and Fleming Stevenson (Presbyterian), while none of the smaller denominations has been without preachers of power, remembered with affection and reverence in a more literal sense.

(b) The Continent.—If the impulse of the Evangelical Revival was predominant in Great Britain, it was still more obviously so in some of the Continental countries. A visit to Geneva of a spiritual nature—of Rolle or Haldane—who would explain fully under this influence was the occasion of a revival, which spread through the churches of Switzerland and brought to the surface such preachers as César Malan, Merle d’Ambine, Alexandre Vinet, Frédéric Godec, and, much later, Gaston Frommel. The same evangelist, who was not himself a clergyman, was the means of initiating a similar movement in France, issuing from the college of Montauban and giving rise to the labours of such eminent preachers as Adolphe Monod, one of the most perfect sacred orators of all time, E. D. de Pressensé, and E. A. F. Bersier. In neither of these countries, however, was the gift of eloquence confined to men of one school, and in France especially. There was a connexion between Coquerel, father and son, must be mentioned as belonging to the less Evangelical tendency.

In Germany in the 19th cent. everything in religion and theology dates from Schleiermacher, and preaching as an exception; for this second Luther both excelled in the art and expanded the theory of preaching to such a degree that great and small have in both respects been affected by him since. Many volumes of his sermons have been preserved, and they exhibit him as an original and daring thinker, a close interpreter of Scripture, and a Christian of spiritual power. A sermon by Schleiermacher usually begins where the sermons of other preachers end; that is to say, he takes for granted all the commonplace and ordinary remarks, and then opens up a new and original type. Sometimes what he finds left may be paradoxical, and not infrequently he leads for a considerable distance through a pathway which is obscure; but it is seldom that he does not at last come out on some beat from which there is a wide and rewarding view over the fields of truth. The only German preacher since Schleiermacher who can be called a rival, as regards either the excellence of his own productions or the extent of his influence on others of his type, is A. Tholuck, who has also written, in the form of a preface to his collected sermons, an incomparable disquisition on the preacher’s art. Tholuck is as infallible as ever Robertson of Brighton in discovering something in the psychology of the hearer to which to attach the message that he brings; he has the same gift of unfailing interest; and he has an even stronger hold on the essentials of Christian truth. These two leaders have had a long and distinguished line of successors, exhibiting great variety and yet keeping the same type. Their most outstanding names may be mentioned L. F. Theren- min, Klaus Harms, W. Hofacker, K. I. Nitzsch, F. W. Krummacher, J. F. Ahlifeld, G. C. A. von Harless, C. E. Luthardt, J. K. W. Löhe, and Karl Krummacker. These men and generations have been careful to attract distinguished preachers to Berlin. When one heard Rudolf Kögel, the chief court preacher in the days of Prussia’s greatness, it seemed impossible to conceive of any one more fitted for his position and his work; yet, when one was listening to Emil Frommel, who was preaching in Berlin at the same time, this divine seemed to have more genius for the business in his little finger than Kögel had in his whole body. The Ritschilan movement in theology has not failed to produce eminent preachers giving currency to its views. Among recent names may be mentioned E. Dryander, B. Dörries, C. Geyer, and F. Hittelmayr.

In the neighbouring countries of Holland and Denmark we have been similar currents of opinion at the same time; and among preachers whose renown has passed into other lands may be mentioned J. J. van Oosterzee, C. E. van Koetsveld, and A. Kuyper for the one country, and S. F. G. Christiansen, and H. L. Martenssen for the other. For Norway may be added the names of W. A. Wexels, O. A. Berg, C. Knudsen, and J. G. Blom; and for Sweden J. O. Wallin, S. L. Oedmann, C. P. Hagberg, J. H. Thomander, and F. O. Nilsson.
America.—In no part of the world has preaching been a greater power in the 18th cent. than in America. The energy of the surrounding life has communicated itself to the pulpit also, and not infrequently have great preachers been the leaders of public progress, their names becoming so identified with the places in which they have been settled that the very city itself vies the preacher or the mention of the preacher the place. Certain bodies, like the Methodist and the Baptist, have accompanied the pioneers on their westward way, suiting their ministries to the stage of culture and the spiritual aspirations of those under their charge, and they have had their reward in the phenomenal development which these denominations have attained in the newer States. Preaching has been a very conspicuous social force, and preachers have occupied a commanding position and exercised unusual influence. Nowhere else has talent been so evident, and the demand has called for the supply. Not only has every variety of preaching been exemplified, but the art itself has been thoroughly studied and taught. The number of the preachers has increased in exceptional numbers and of high quality. At Yale University the Lyman Beecher lectureship on preaching has been established since 1872, and in successive issues every phase of the subject has been treated by the most distinguished Old World and New Worlds. A similar lectureship now exists at Union Seminary, Richmond. The countless sects into which Christianity is divided in the United States have all had men of spiritual power, who have not only challenged but also maintained a limited circle; but it will be of interest to mention here only those who have attained something like a world-wide reputation.

Here again the beginnings were Puritan and Evangelical. The Pilgrim Fathers carried to the shores of New England the convictions of the age of Cromwell, and these were powerfully reproduced in the pulpit by Jonathan Edwards and the other leaders of New England theology, such as Joseph Bellamy, Samuel Hopkins, N. W. Taylor, Samuel Harris, and E. A. Park. The piety of the country was deepened by revival movements, which emerged from time to time and in no small degree affected the character of preaching. Among the more noted revivalists may be mentioned C. G. Finney, E. W. Heywood, and Theodore Parker. Representatives of every opposite type, and the Episcopalians, besides producing many distinguished preachers such as S. H. Tyng, H. C. Potter, F. D. Huntington, and W. S. Rainsford, having in Phillips Brooks a pulpit representative of the first rank, whose Yale Lectures on Preaching may be characterized as the finest product of the kind yet given to the world by America, while the big humanity of the man, his spiritual power, and his literary charm will long keep his memory green.

The Congregationalists had many names of great eminence, and reached a supreme preacher in Henry W. Beecher, whose style and methods of speaking have all but been imitated by the Sons of Edenton, that the highest degree almost every gift of the pulpit orator, and who was the first of the Yale lecturers on preaching. Among the Baptists, while the names are very numerous, the greatest is that of James Denison, who in different forms, especially in his sermons or addresses, has treated the best qualities of the preacher in his practice, but wrote on both the theory and the history of the subject with distinguished success. The Presbyterians have not been behindhand, as the following evidence of the speculative effort of the Congregationalists, and of the more public preachers. Tuckston testify, as well as those in the south of M. D. Hoge at Richmond and B. M. Palmer at New Orleans. In Canada the Anglicans have had Bishop Baldwin and J. de Soyres; the Methodists George Douglas, Potts, and C. L. Stafford; the Baptists E. A. Crawley, Denovan, and R. A. Fyle; the Congregationalists H. Wilkes and P. S. Henson; and the Presbyterians G. M. Grant, D. H. MacVicar, and Barclay.

The English pulpit.—Protestants are apt to overlook the history of preaching since the Reformation among Roman Catholics; but these have had their own tradition and have embodied their practice both in books and in prelections on their subjects. It is from the literature that the renunciation given to the Mass and other ceremonies tends to eject preaching from its lawful place; on the other hand, the arrangements for the observance of the Christian Year afford special opportunities for preaching on the greatest themes of the Christian system, and men possessed of oratorical gifts are trained to deliver courses of sermons at Lent and other seasons, which often attract very large audiences. There has been one scene of extraordinary development in the art of sacred oratory since the Reformation in England, namely that of Louis XIV., during whose long reign a succession of orators was maintained, embracing the names of Bishop Bossuet, Louis Bourdaloue, Esprit Fleuch, Archbishop Fenelon, and J. B. Massillon. These latter rank light in the history of the English pulpit. The principal ornaments in the court of the Great Monarch; their merits and performances were compared and contrasted by the courtiers in the same way as the dramas of the poets and the books of the novelists are still contrasted in the English pulpit. The cultivated audience excited the speakers to the utmost exercise of their powers. The sermons were expected to be lengthy and to deal with great themes in a great way; and in some respects the discourse of the court and the pulpit is the parallel of the art of the time. Some of the greatest of these were on the death of princes, and the vanity of human things was a constant theme, as if the frivolity and the extravagance of the courtiers required this foil to make their enjoyment complete. The memory of this brilliant period has never died out in France, and from time to time there have been more or less successful attempts to revive it, as by J. S. Maury in the French Revolution and J. B. H. Lazard, F. A. P. Dupin, and others in the revolution of 1848, but I do not know of its development in the 19th century. In other parts of the Catholic world there have been striking personalities in the pulpit, such as J. M. Sailer and Martin Boos in Germany, Theobald Mathew, Tom Burke, and T. J. Potter in Ireland, and N. P. Wiseman, and H. E. Manning in England. In the United States such names are mentioned as Bishop Eng. Archbishops Spalding, Archbishop Kenrick, and Cardinal Gibbons.

LITERATURE.—There are books of the past on preaching which may be classed as: Augustine (1310), de Doct. Christ. iv.; Alarabus in Anulins (1203), Summa de Arte Predicatioris; Bonaventura (1217), de Compendio; Erasmus (1510), Breviarum; Melanchthon (1560), Rheterix; Hyperius (1564), De Formandis Consolaboris Sacris (published, Berlin, 1891, by E. O. Achilles and K. Sachs; as Die Hinsicht und die Rhetorik des Andreas Hyperius); J. Wilkins (1673), Rhetorica, London, 1649; F. Dodridge (1673), Lectures on Preaching and the Ministerial Office, ed. 1804; G. Campbell (1790), On Pulmonic Eloquence, ed. 1807; F. Thirerlin (1846), Die Beredamkeit eine Tugend, Berlin, 1714; A. V. F. D. F. Philoze, Preacherium, London, 1804; F. D. Doodridge, New York, 1858. But the modern books are better, as they are more in the main, and are generally written by preachers who address themselves to the tastes and requirements of the present day. Valuable to the practitioner are C. Spur- gill, New Preachers' Library, London, 1846; H. W. Beecher, Yale Lectures on Preaching, 3 vols. in one, New York, 1851; B. D. Carpenter, Preaching, 1871; A. Phleb, Theory of Preaching, 1882; H. Bassermann, Handbuch der geistlichen Beredamkeit, Stuttgart, 1855; Phillips Brooks, Lectures on Preaching, New York, 1871; W. Boyd Carpenter, Lectures, 1872.
PREACHING

K. I. Nitzsch (Prakt. Theologie, 3 vols., Bonn, 1859–63), A. E. Krauss (Lehrbuch der prakt. Theologie, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1871), J. F. K. J. van Oosterzee (Practical Theology, Ed. tr., London, 1875), as well as in series of books on the same subjects, like H. v. d. B. (schriften der evangelischen Kirche, 50 vols., Berlin, 1859–68, which includes both history and theological reflection on the subject) is included in works on Pastoral Theology, such as by K. Harms (Pastoralkunde, Riel, 1876), P. Fairbairn (Hist. Pastoral Theol., London, 1875), or J. C. W. van der Work of the Ministry, London, 1895), J. O. Dykes (The Christian Minister, Edinburgh, 1862). Choice books, worthy of mention here, are George H. Macdonald, The Temple, or the Country Parson, London, 1865; W. Leche, Der evangelische Prediger, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1873–5), John Watson, The Cure of Souls, London, 1895; and H. van Dyke, The Gospel for an Age of Doubt, do. 1899. On the history of preaching there is an excellent work by Broadus (Lectures on the Hist. of Preaching, New York, 1870) and a small but characteristic one by John Ker (Lectures on the Hist. of Preaching, London, 1870); but the best work in the English language is an American one, by E. C. Dargan (A Hist. of Sermons, London, 1897). It is dealing with the preachers of America, it is to be hoped will not be long delayed. The two volumes already published the work by John Ker is the beginning to part. If they are characterized by learning, insight, and vigour. In German there exist voluminous works on the history of both preaching and sermons. The German preacher of the great of the outstanding names being R. Roth (Gesch. der Predigt u. Predigt-Unglück, Schleiermacher's Werke, 25 vols.), and A. Nebe (Zur Gesch. der Predigt, Charakteristiken der bedeutendsten Kanzelmänner, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1876), K. H. Schenck, Geschichte der liturgischen Predigt und Predigtkunst (Leipzig, 1873), C. F. G. Schenk (Gesch. der deutsch, protestantischen Kanzelredner, 1814), C. G. Schmidt (Geschichte der Predigt u. Predigtler der evangelischen Kirche in Preussen, do. 1890). Of writers on French pulpits eloquence there are many. Among these may be mentioned J. A. Perret, L'Eloquence de la chair, Lille, 1894; A. de Coulanges, La Chair francise au siecle des do, do. 1891; A. Vinet, Hist. de la predication, in the Dictionnaire de la langue et de la litterature, do. 1899; P. Stapfer, La grande Prédication chrétienne en France, do. 1896. On the history of preaching in Holland and Denmark there are works by J. Harroog (Geschiedenis van der Predik- kunde in de Kerk van Neder-land, Utrecht, 1887) and V. L. Mannesma (Portraits der Kerk-Boodschap des der Kerkredes, Copen- hagen, 1890), and on the same in Italy by U. Micolli (Antologia della sacra eloquenza moderna, Turin, 1897), and F. Zanetto (Storia della Predicazione Moderna, Modena, 1890). J. E. Kempe has edited two volumes on the Classic Preachers of the English Church (London, 1877–8), and C. Ryle (The Life and Works of Last Century (Edinburgh, 1889). O. Jones has written on the Preachers and Preaching of the 18th Century, and C. while to the Scottish pulpit the same compliment has been paid by both W. G. Blackie (The Preachers of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1883), and G. W. R. Wilson (The Scottish Preachers, Under the title of Representative Modern Preachers, New York, 1884, L. O. Brastow published elaborate papers on nine preachers, and the following index exhibits the names of mentioned collections of sermons, of which by far the greatest is that of J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–60) in four thin volumes. H. C. Fish's well-known Hist. and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence, New York, 1836–57, is modestly limited to two volumes and a supplement (Pulpit Eloquence of the 18th Century, do. 1857). Recent publications in America are The World's Great Sermons, 10 vols., ed. O. Kiefer, Chicago, 1910, and Modern Sermons by World Scholars, 10 vols., ed. A. J. Frey, and W. Stiles, New York, 1906.

JAMES STALKER.

PREACHING (Jewish).—The word 'preach,' is derived from Latin praedicare (Gr. πρόφητας, and means to foretell) or to announce something publicly. Generally speaking, the term conveys the idea of making a proclamation on behalf of God. The notion of preaching is based on many passages in the OT, such as Is 60:1, Am 5:8, etc. The Biblical prophets are described as 'prophets of the Most High,' and among these the literal sense of the word. In Dt 31:12 the injunction is laid upon the king to read the Law before the assembled people once in seven years. Such public readings are recorded in 2 K 29, Neh 8:4, and in the Mishnaic period. It is not unlikely that the kind of model sermon may also be seen in Pr 4:38–40.

During the second Temple, and some time after, preaching retained its spontaneous character. Whoever felt called upon to preach stepped forward and spoke. The Mi'nah (Temniš, ii. 1) states that in times of prolonged drought the community, in deep concretion, gathered in the open and were addressed in stirring words by the oldest member present. John the Baptist preached (ἐρημίτης) in the wilderness of Judea (Mt 3:3), and Jesus preached in the synagogues. Preaching seems at that time to have been a regular feature of the Sabbath service. It grew out of the reading of the lessons from the Torah, and consisted of the interpretation of the passages read and what was said therewith. Since the people could not be trusted to follow the Hebrew text when read out, the latter was accompanied by a translation into the Aramaic vernacular, known as the Targum. The translator (mehuthorgam) was bound to be a person well versed in the original text. As a literal translation of many passages was impossible or impracticable, the translator frequently resorted to paraphrastic rendering, introducing into it elements of the Haggadah as well as of Halakoth. Instances of homiletic translation in the so-called Targums of Onqelos are G 44–4, 5, 13, 1, 12, which contain expressions of comfort, hope of speedy delivery and the rebuilding of the Temple, also admonitions to observe the Law and to study the Torah. Broader still is the translation ascribed to the Targumim, but it seems that these were meant for private rather than public reading.

The Greek-speaking Jews proceeded in a similar way, using the Greek language for their religious lectures. By the end of the first century, there were Greek sermons and the fragments of three ascribed to Philo. He is himself credited with having acted as preacher, and Freudenthal is probably right in regarding his allegorical writings in the light of public lectures actually held in the Synagogues.

The transformation of these rather informal lectures into sermons proper, based on Biblical texts, proceeded gradually. Their promoters were the heads of the Sanhedrin, who were distinguished by the title dorashanim (interpreters). As interpretation was the main feature of the lecture, the preacher 'opened' (779) his homily with a quotation from the weekly portion, or haphar, or from any part of the Bible in some way connected with the occasion. These occasions were not only the Sabbath and festivals, but also the fasts, such as Yom Kippur, or the specified portions of the Pentateuch (Bukhari, 600) and funerals (ib. and Miqawah, 500). The specimens of introductions of funeral sermons given in these passages are in pure Biblical Hebrew, which is a sign that the preachers were highly trained persons who bestowed great care on their sermons. The ordination of rabbis was also solemnized by homiletic allocutions (Sanh. fol. 140). A large number of such introductions (sermone) are to be found at the beginning of the Midrash, the Lamentations, and the Psalms, together with the names of the preachers, each paragraph giving either a complete sermon or the nucleus of one.

As a rule the sermon was spoken in the vernacular Hebrew or Aramaic, and not in the Palestinian, Greek, Persian, and Arabic. Of the use of Arabic we have direct evidence in Muslim tradition. There existed a Beth 'Midrash in Medina, where the Jews interpreted the Torah in Arabic. The preacher (also styled the 'rashibi') did not address the people direct, but spoke to the mehuthorgam (or amord), a paid official who translated his words

1 Ed. J. B. Ancher, Venice, 1920; see J. Freudenthal, Die Flavius Josephus befehligte Schriften über die Herrschaft der Juden, Breslau, 1899, p. 9 f.

2 P. 7.

3 Bukhari, Şahih, ed. L. Krelj and T. W. Jubbells, Leyden, 1609–1606, ed. ib. 1, 16; see also H.女性朋友, New Researchers into the Composition and Exegesis of the Koran, London, 1902, p. 23.
to the congregation. From this it follows that the meṭḥur gemōn himself must have been a man of some learning. He had to add explanations and to answer questions, and the latitude allowed him is probably reflected in many passages of the Targumim and Midrashim.

Whilst the ordinary sermon was delivered in the synagogue, lectures on Halikhāh, which demanded some preliminary knowledge, were given in the school hall (Beth Hamidrash). There was not, however, any fixed rule for such an arrangement, especially where the school hall was also used as a house of worship. On certain occasions, especially on Sabbaths preceding festivals, the public hall was the centre of instruction and the Sabbath day was a holiday. There, the sermon assumed a mixed form. This custom is still observed in most communities.

The natural place of the sermon was immediately after the reading of the lesson from the Pentateuch and the hophēṭrāh from one of the Prophets. We read in Maasseheṭh Sopherim, xii. 7: 'On Sabbath the Targumim or Preacher (טמר) recites the hophēṭrāh from the Prophets.' A passage in the Middrash Taḥpiṭ (92a) states that, when a person was appointed to deliver the Gemōn, the Sopherim read the Shērūd and the Tophēṭhōr (Eighteen Benedictions), and listened to the Tōrāh and to the elder (preacher). There are many passages in the Midrashim containing similar statements. Occasionally, when no certain limit was fixed, the sermon was delivered before the termination of the afternoon service. In some places this custom is observed even in modern times.

The Taonic period saw some changes. Whilst the preacher was named by the title hākēhām, dōrān, or sagan (‘elder’), the meṭḥur gemōn became a mere precentor, and the Midrash marks the contrast between the two by applying to them the verse Ee 7: ‘The latter embellished the service by his melodious voice, but contributed nothing towards the uplifting of the congregation. The liturgy became fixed. The function of the translator was either abolished or greatly restricted. Relics of the same, however, still exist in congregations of Sephardic rite, where during the service of the arts for the morning service the hophēṭrāh is read in an enlarged Spanish version. In Oriental congregations Arabic versions of the Targum are read at the blessing of Jacob, the Song of Moses, the Decalogue, the hophēṭrāh of the first and last days of Passover, and similar pieces.

Even the function of the preacher did not escape the vicissitudes of time. During the persecution of the Middle Ages many synagogues were closed, the ‘public’ service was banned to secret places, and expulsions made an end of many congregations.

Another cause which affected the sermon, chiefly in German congregations, was the enlargement of the liturgy, by the insertion of piyugēm, i.e., unofficial liturgical compositions. The large Haggadic elements which they contained in some measure replaced the homilies, and sermons were delivered in intervals or on special occasions. The names of famous preachers in France and Germany are, therefore, comparatively few. A list of them is given in Zanz’s Gottesdiennliche Forträge der Juden (Frankfort, 1892, p. 433 ff.). Spain, prior to the expulsion, offered a more fertile soil for pulpits eloquence, probably on account of the simplicity of the rite. Only on one Sabbath in the year was the custom of singing the hophēṭrāh recited. This country, therefore, produced a large number of renowned preachers. Of those not mentioned by Zanz must be named Jonah of Gerona.1 (↑ Toledo, 1340), who was one of those who joined the movement against Malmo-

nides’ philosophy, Nissina b. Reuben Gerondi (1550),2 and Asher b. Jehiel (↑ 1340). A great preacher of the 16th century was Joseph b. Shem Tob. From a note preserved of his sermons3 we gain some interesting information. It was in June 1452, when Prince Enrico arrived at Andalustia, that the Jews of Segovia dispatched a complaint to him concerning a persecution which had taken place on Christmas day. The prince sent Joseph with a written order to the authorities of the town commanding peace, and in another letter he assured the Jews of his protection. On the following Sabbath Joseph preached in the synagogue after the reading of the lesson. Subsequently he preached three more sermons in the same synagogues. In Italy there were Abraham Farissol and Obadiah Sforno, both in the 15th century, and David Zaccruth, who left a collection of 300 sermons.4 In the 16th century we find Joseph Taysuzak of Salonica.

The following centuries were not favourable to any further development of the spiritual life of the Jews, and this circumstance also affected public preaching. There exists a rather extensive literature of sermons produced in Italy, the German lands, and the Iberian Peninsula which were written in Hebrew, it is doubtful whether they were actually delivered. In the Sephardic communities of Holland and England, where the Jews lived in comparative safety, sermons were delivered in Spanish and occasionally in German. Even with the exception of perhaps Italy, the vernacular was lost to them. In German-speaking countries the Jews could converse only in the Jewish-German dialect, whilst the use of pure German was almost regarded as reactionary. The tertatovun was substituted till Mendelssohn inaugurated a reform. The beginning of the 19th century brought the revival of the sermon. Its effect made itself felt all over Europe, and the old-fashioned dershēsh was gradually replaced by the modernized substitute. It has not died out entirely, and travelling and resident magidum are listened to by large congregations in E. and W. Europe.

Even the modern form of sermons has undergone some modification in the direction of curtailing the sermons. The rather ponderous lecture, with its three (or more) points, which was fashionable fifty years ago is now a thing of the past, and is generally replaced by an address about an hour's duration, lasting till Mendelssohn inaugurated a reform. The beginning of the 19th century brought the revival of the sermon. Its effect made itself felt all over Europe, and the old-fashioned dershēsh was gradually replaced by the modernized substitute. It has not died out entirely, and travelling and resident magidum are listened to by large congregations in E. and W. Europe.

The pulpit is designated in Arabic by the ethnico-religious word miḥna, literally ‘seat,’ or ‘throne,’ ecclesiastically the bishop’s throne, in Greek καθήμενον, whence the French chair. In early times the Arabic synonym magiṣs seems to have been occasionally employed in lieu of miḥna (Bukhārī, Soḥābī, Cairo, 1312, i. 107). Such a throne was introduced into the Prophet’s mosque at Medina before his death; it was of tamarisk wood, and

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was mounted by two steps. The traditions concerning the occasion and purpose of its introduction are contradictory, but the name indicates that it was conscious imitation of what was seen in Abyssinian churches; according to a tradition, the Emperor Tewodros was said to have been so impressed that he ordered the Christian clergy to perform a similar rite. The purpose was to enable the congregation to see how he performed the ṣalāt ceremonies. Of these, however, the prostration could not be performed on the minbar, whence it was eventually used only for the sermon, which was probably delivered to him standing, though there is some doubt about the matter. In A.H. 50 the Umayyad Mu‘aṣṣiyah contemplated removing this pulpit to the mosque of his capital, Damascus, but was prevented (it is said) by an eclipse of the sun, which was supposed to mark divine disapproval of this scheme; Mu‘aṣṣiyah accordingly disavowed this project, and instead raised the height of the pulpit by six additional steps. The eclipse is apocryphal. Several of the later Umbayyads had the same idea, but they were all dissuaded (Tabari, Chronicle, Leyden, 1881, ii. 92). Peculiar sanctity naturally attached to this pulpit, which, since perjury by it was thought to bring terrible punishment, was understood; copies of sermons delivered from it were supposed to have lasted till 654, when the mosque was burned (Aun al-Ma‘bud, on the Sunan of Abū Dāwūd, Delhi, 1823, i. 421).

Pulpits were after a time erected in the mosques of the Christian churches or used by Muslim conquerors. Thus we hear of Mu‘aṣṣiyah, when governor of Syria, exhibiting the relics of the murdered Khalifah ‘Uthman on the minbar of the mosque in Damascus. The material is properly wood; hence the beam is often used as a synonym for minbar. In the mosques of the Abbasids it is richly ornamented; specimens of such manābir are to be found in the South Kensington Museum.

2. The preacher. —The orthodox law-books prescribe that the preacher shall be properly clothed, without specifying the mode; the Shi‘ite manual (A. Querry, Droit musulman, Paris, 1871-72, i. 86) ordains that he shall wear a turban and a striped Yemen cloak; the Umayyad Khalifah Wilāya ordered to be himself the preacher (Aghānī, vii. 141); but it is found times it would seem that the preacher wore a black gown (Ibn Abī Usābi‘ah, i. 274; A. von Kremer, Culturedges des Orients unter den Chalifen, Vienna, 1861, pp. 167-181); a description by Ibn Jubair (ed. M. J. de Goeje, London, 1897, pp. 222, 157) shows the preacher uncovered his head; the covering of the head was probably more usual, though the illustration cited by von Kremer (loc. cit.) perhaps refers to a special occasion. He should lean on a staff, bow, or sword, held in his left hand, ‘indicating that this religion is maintained by the use of weapons’ (Sherbini, Comm, on the Minbar, Cairo, 1308, i. 586), while his right hand rests on the pulpit-edge; and he should face the congregation, facing the minbar, not the right hand to the people (Sha‘ī‘ī). Umm, Cairo, 1321, i. 177). The sermon (khutbah) is of two parts, between which the preacher should sit down; if, however, bodily infirmity render it necessary, he may sit throughout. There are many authorities for the structure of the sermon (sha‘ī‘ī, i. 179; Jāḥiz, Bayyân, Cairo, 1282, i. 163; Ya‘qūbī, ed. M. T. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883, i. 98; Bukhārī, i. 108), but these are very clearly spurious; Jāḥiz produces others by early Khalifahs, and in the Nāṣir al-balāghah there are several supported by traditions delivered by the Khalifah ‘Alī. Outside the metropolis the preacher was the Khalifah’s representative; the historian Abūl-Ma‘āṣim (ed. T. W. Juby, Leyden, 1852, i. 81) reproduces a sermon of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās, governor of Egypt for the Khalifah ‘Umar, during which Khalifah continued to deliver it; ‘Abd al-Malik declared that his hair had been whitened by the fear of making a mistake in his Arabic when preaching (Fakhrī, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha, 1860, p. 148). In ‘Abbāsid times it would seem that the duty began from an early period to be delegated; the preaching of the Khalifah Rā‘d in 324 A.H. is mentioned as exceptional (Miskawehi, ed. H. F. Amelroz, in the press, i. 394). As late as 987 A.H. the emperor Akbar tried to deliver a sermon at Fatehpur; but the experiment was a failure. An official called the khutbī was ordinarily appointed by the sovereign to discharge this function, and it was normally held that the sermon should be delivered at the minbar, or from the pulpit, that is, from the official mosque. Where (as was the case with Baghdad) the city was bisected by a river, it might count as two cities. In the Shi‘ite manual it is suggested that the mosques in which it is pronounced should be at a distance from each other of not less than three miles.

3. The sermon. —The occasions on which the law prescribes a sermon are before the mid-day prayer on Fridays, and after prayer on the feast-days, and in the services at times of eclipse and drought. Sermons are also delivered at weddings and on many public occasions. The language, according to the orthodox law-books, should be Arabic; the Zaidis, however, permit the use of Persian or any other language understood by the congregation (Muntazah al-Mukhtar, Cairo, 1287, i. 221), and some other authorities permit this, though use is rarely made of the leave on the prescribed occasions.

Orthodox jurists enumerate the elements of the sermon as: 1. the words, using the formula; 2. blessing on the Prophet; an adoration; a blessing on the Prophet; an adoration; a blessing on the believers; and a lesson from the Qur‘ān, not less than a complete verse. The fourth is devoted to the third and the fifth to the second. This list fails to include the function of the prayer, which is prescribed in the Zaidi law, the legitimate sovereign to be named or not according to the needs of the time. Although an innovation, the practice is so general throughout Islam that orthodox jurists advise its observation, for fear of giving offence (Alt al-A‘lāwi, Comm. on Sīdī Khābul, Cairo, 1307, i. 432); but it is not quite clear when it was introduced. Sha‘ī‘ī (c. 299 A.H.) disapproves of this practice and严禁 the prayer being addressed to an individual being made part of the khutbī (i. 190); yet by 324 the prayer for the sovereign had become so regular a part of the Friday sermon that the Khalifah, having undertaken to deliver it, required it to be delivered with greater attention (Yaqūt, Dictionary of Learned Men, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1913, ii. 349); and omission of it on the part of a preacher was at this time regarded as a sign of rebellion against the sovereign (Miskawehi, ed. F. S. Amelroz, in the press, i. 394). The practice was introduced by the Prophet’s cousin, Ibn ‘Abbas, when governor of Basrah (Ahmad Rāsan, Manaqīb Islam, Constantinople, 1326, ii. 457); the historian Ibn al-‘Āthir states that the first person for whom this prayer was offered in

1 The orator’s staff is an institution for earlier than Islam.

2 Presumably this privilege was suggested in Charlemagne’s Edict concerning the reading of Scripture (F. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, Oxford, 1896, Index).
Baghdad was the Buwaihid Sultan 'Abdu al-Daulah in 367 A.H.; his meaning probably is the first occasion than the Khilafah 'Abd al-Malik at many the ten 223. If the introduction of a prayer for the sovereignty was late, the practice of cursing public enemies from the pulpit was early; the second Khilafah is said to have so cursed a man who was guilty of what was thought an immoral practice (Mubāt, Cairo, 1324, xxiv. 20). In the first civil war 'Ali and Mu'awiyyah introduced imprecations on each other into their sermons. The cursing of 'Ali in the Friday discourse was continued till the end of the 9th century. A single event, which happened 'Umar II. put an end to it; as late as 321 A.H. there was a question of re-introducing the cursing of Mu'awiyyah (Miskawalī, i. 290).

On the question whether the audience should be greeted at the commencement of the discourse, as there is a difference of opinion between the schools.

The Prophet is said to have recommended brevity to preachers, and the discourses attributed to him are of 'ten words,' i.e., a few sentences. The early discourses delivered by Ja'far (ii. 25 ff.) are somewhat longer than the minimum permitted, but are still very short. Some of them are partly in rhymed prose, and this style at a later time became normal. The cultivation of the art of preaching may have been stimulated by the work of Ja'far († 255 A.H.), but the classical collection of sermons belongs to the 4th cent., and is the work of 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Muhammad, known as Ibn Nubātāh († 374). The best edition of these is that published at Beirut, 1311 A.H. They are throughout in rhymed prose, and occupy on the average five minutes in delivery. The subjects with which they deal are such as are natural in homilies; owing to the preacher's patrons being princes who fought against the Byzantines, many of them are exhortations to the sacred War. Probably from the time of their publication it became the practice of those official preachers who had no talent for their vocation to learn them by heart, and they are still largely used in the mosques of Egypt and perhaps elsewhere. In Turkey a collection by various authors is now ordinarily used for this purpose (Rashid Pasha, ii. 149; where one of these sermons is given in full), viz., the translation of a fascinating poet and sceptic Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri composed several collections of homilies (see Centenario della nascita di M. Amari, Palermo, 1910, i. 230), but they had little popularity. The polygraph Shāmīn al-Rūmī (801) informs Yaqūt that his own collection of sermons had superseded those of Ibn Nubātāh in popular estimation (Dict. of Learned Men, v. 130), but this boast was not justified.

4. Unofficial preaching.—Besides the formality of the Friday service many persons felt a call to encourage their fellows to virtue and piety, to propagate the Islamic religion by exhortation, or to spread particular opinions. The name usually applied to discourses of this kind is majlis, 'sitting,' awāza majilīn 'awāza, 'he held assemblies for the purpose of preaching,' being the phrase employed to describe this form of activity. Ja'far (iii. 86) speaks of Thursday as a natural day for such assemblies. Ṭabarī (i. 507) gives a specimen of a sermon delivered in 65 A.H. by the mother of a boy killed in the infidelity of the Prophet's house; it is partly in rhymed prose, but the artifice is irregular and the language on the whole simple. Most of the famous Sufis were powerful preachers, and their effects on the audience varied greatly. The ceremonies in the meeting held by Mubātī († 245 A.H.) the company sat in silence after evening prayer until midnight; then some one propounded a question, whereon the preacher began to discourse, 'the audience listening in rapt attention, some weeping, some growing excited, some shaking their heads.' (Shafiyyah, Cairo, 1324, i. 39). The crowds which gathered to hear these orators roused the curiosity of Jews and Christians, some of whom were moved by the sermons to embrace Islam (Ayo'dr al-'Aynil, ed. V. A. Zilinskykov, Petrograd, 1899, i. 169). With the growing fashion of erecting religious buildings of various sorts which characterizes the 5th cent. of Islam the chronicles pay more attention to the presence of influential preachers. In 1802, the preaching of the male audience of the preacher Ardāshīr b. Mansūr, who came to Baghdad in 456 A.H., was 175 cubits by 120, and the female audience was yet larger (Ibn al-ʿĀthir, Chronicle, ad. ann.). The pulpit of the Nizamīyyah College in this city was occupied by famous preachers in this and the following century; the sermons of 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Qushārī († 524) delivered here led to riots between the Ashūrites, whose cause he supported, and the Ḥanbalites, in consequence of which the preacher was exiled to Nisābūr (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, Paris, 1842-71, ii. 154). The arrival in Baghdad of powerful preachers belonging to these respective sects is recorded by Ibn al-ʿĀthir for the year 518; the sermon delivered by the preacher Sulṭān al-Nāhibī himself, who presented him with the head-dress of one of the royal monasteries. For the middle of the 6th cent. we possess a volume of sermons by the famous Sīfī, 'Abd al-Qadr al-Jilānī († 561), called al-Fatḥ al-Iṣbābī (Cairo, 1320), some of whose discourses are also incorporated in the biography of him called Bahjat al-Asrār (Cairo, 1304); they were delivered on various days of the week, chiefly Sundays, Tuesdays, and Fridays (before the mid-day service) in different buildings of Baghdad, and generally occupy about five minutes. They are in ordinary prose, but undoubtedly eloquent and spiritual; he claimed to have made 500 converts to Islam, and to have reformed more than 100,000 criminals (D. S. Margoliouth, Contributions to the Biography of 'Abd al-Qadir,' JIAS, 1907, p. 304). His personal character appears, however, to have left something to be desired; and it is to be observed that the authors of the Ṭawāṣkās (a work which is not quoted here) place affecting homilies in the mouths of notorious evil-livers; and the success of the historical preachers at times led to their amassing great fortunes and maintaining harams of a colossal size. The traveller Ibn Jambur, who visited Baghdad in 580 A.H., notices the preaching of Baghdad as its one favourable characteristic:

'Scarcely a Friday passes without a discourse by a preacher, and those among the inhabitants who are specially favoured pass their whole time in meetings where such are delivered' (ed. de Goeje, p. 219). He describes a Friday service at the Nizamīyyah College, where after the mid-day prayer he could see the Qawwāl ascended the pulpit; chairs were placed in front of him for the Qurʾān-readers, who chanted elaborately, after which the sha'īkh ascended the pulpit, and the faithful discourse was addressed him on strips of paper and he replied forthwith to every one. The historian Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn Ibn al-Jazāʾi held services at this time in a public garden a little outside the city; he dressed elaborately, and impressed the traveller. The results were similar to the phenomena at times seen at revivalist meetings; many in the congregation sobbed and fainted, and crowds of penitents thronged to touch the preacher. 'It would have been worth the while to learn Arabic to hear one of these discourses.' On Thursdays this preacher's gatherings were held in a private court of the palace, from which the khālid—a court official—could see the process. Once a March of the Qurʾān which ended in night, and the preacher maintained this rhyme throughout his discourse. He sat with the sermon by the khālid to the Khalif and his mother and prayers for them; he further recited many verses, some encomium on the sovereign, others of the Sīfī, a mystic style, which affected him powerfully.

This anecdote is of interest as indicating that the difficult artifice which characterized the
sermon was at the time unusual; we find it practised in a volume of sermons by a preacher of the 8th cent., Shu'ab al-Hafirah (†801; At-Bund al-falāq, Cairo, 1280), which closely resembles the style which affected Ibn Jibārī so vehemently. These classes were based on the Sikkhā-pāda, which appear to be the preacher's own compositions, and are much more lengthy than the sermons of 'Abd al-Qādir; the time which their delivery would occupy is probably from twenty minutes to half an hour. They are very carefully arranged. They are clearly intended to work on the feelings of the audience, and to produce something resembling ecstasy. The narratives introduced are highly imaginative, though they are often attached to historical names.

The style which has prevailed since seems to resemble that of Ibn Nubāṭah more nearly, when his discourses are not actually reproduced. A collection published in 1609 by Muḥammad al-Qāsimi contains sermons extracted from volumes of 1653, 1772, 873, and 1079 A.H., intended to be delivered at the Friday service and on the feast-days; the time which they occupy rarely exceeds five minutes; the continuous rhyme is carried on through the opening sentences, but does not extend to the repetition of the entire sermon. The Majlis of the official preacher, of Baghhdād, Alūsī-Zādah (Gāhlīyat al-Mawzū', Cairo, 1111), resembles in length and to some extent in artifice those of Ūraifith; the verses introduced are not, it would seem, original. It is said that the Islamic preachers have in places where there are Christian missions modified their theory of the sermon in order to provide something as attractive as the Christian discourses; the reproductions of Ibn Nubāṭah has led to give way to a style more closely related to the spiritual needs of the time.

Literature.—This has been cited throughout the article. D. S. Margoliouth.

PRECEPTS (Buddhist) — PRECIOUS STONES. — The early Buddhists had very naturally quite a number of injunctions, precepts, short sentences on ethics or conduct, popular texts, or short verses current in the community. European writers call these 'precepts.' The Pāli term is Vinaya-pāda, Sikkhā is 'training,' pāda is ambiguous, meaning either 'foot-step' or 'quarter verse,' and both meanings were called up by the word. Hence sikkhā-pāda is either 'first steps in self-training' or 'text of training.' The basic idea is an influence from Mahābhūta, not an injunction or command from without.

An anecdote will show how such rules were looked upon by the new community. There came to the Buddha a bhikkhu of the sons of the Vijayas, and he said: 'Lord, it is more than a hundred and fifty precepts that are intoned to us every fortnight. I cannot, Lord, train myself in all these!' 'Could you train yourself, brother, in three—the higher morality, the higher intelligence, the higher wisdom?' was the reply. He said that he could. And the Doctor replied, 'By that day you will be very lazy, ill-will, and stupidity (i.e. reached nīcchā), and all the lesser matters were gained at once. So also it is related of the Buddha that after making the order that they could revoke, if they chose to do so, all the minor and subsidiary precepts.

In both of these cases the 'precepts' are for full members of the order. Another group consists of ten precepts for novices. It is often referred to in European books, but is found as a group only in the latest portions of the Sikhyas and in the Vinaya-pāda of the Pali Group. The Buddha imposed upon himself in succession ten precepts. These are: (1) not to destroy any living thing, (2) not to steal, (3) to be celibate, (4) not to lie, (5) to abstain from strong drink, (6) not to eat save at the right time, (7) not to frequent various places with dances, songs, and music, (8) not to wear garlands or to use perfumes, (9) not to use luxurious beds, (10) not to receive gold or silver. Each of the ten occurs in different groups and in different order in earlier parts of the Canon—eight of them, e.g., in a different order in the Sutta-nikāya. What is in the Buddhist is the selecting—the omission, e.g., of any precept as to obedience, or as to belief in any particular doctrine. But we need not here make any comparison between this list of 'first steps for the Buddhist novice' and similar lists for the novice in European or non-Buddhist Indian orders. Of the many moral precepts for the use of ordinary Buddhists, not members of the order, it will be sufficient to refer to the well-known Dhamma-pāda, an anthology of such precepts in verse gathered from the extant early books and other sources now lost. They are there arranged in groups of about twenty verses each on 26 selected subjects. Where the verses deal with ideas that are common ground to ethical teaching in Europe and India, often in a strongly intelligible form, they may, therefore, appeal strongly to the Western sense of religious beauty. Where any verse is based on the technical terms of the Buddhist system of self-culture and self-control, none of the numerous translations is able to convey the real sense of the Pāli. The best translation is by Silāchāra.

There is a pretty custom that was current from very early times among the Buddhists in India, and is still current in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. A layman (or novice) may, on some occasion, in order to influence or emotion, will formally 'take upon himself,' for some definite period, the observance of the first five of the above ten precepts for novices. This is done by kneeling with clasped hands before a member of the order, and solemnly repeating after him, usually in Pāli, the words of each of the five precepts. This is called in Ceylon 'taking pan-sa,' i.e. taking the five moral precepts. It is not known when or where the custom originated.


T. W. Rhys Davids.

PRECEPTS (Christian) — See COUNSELS AND PRECEPTS.

PRECIOUS STONES. — The first difficulty in considering the opinions of earlier times regarding gems is that of realizing the standpoint before modern chemistry had revealed the nature of matter. Only 140 years ago the editor of Theophrastus, Sir John Hill, was publishing entirely futile classifications, lumping together as varieties of sapphire such different materials as ruby, topaz, emerald, hyacinth, garnet, carnelian, amethyst, chrysolite, and prase, and assigning the mixture which caused the colours of each, because 'we know the ingredients which give their colour by experiments in colouring glass' (Theophrastus's History of Stones, London, 1772, p. 283). Long classifying in a random and confused way, they had no more reality than the epicycles of planets. All this was an advance on Pliny and earlier observers, yet it has been extinguished by modern chemistry.

1 This is sometimes rendered 'concerts or plays' — wrongly, for at that time in India they did not exist. See Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, I, note 4.

so that we can hardly realize the ancient confusion of thought. To understand the ancient usages we must set aside all chemical ideas, and regard stones only in their colour and hardness. Such a position must confound together materials entirely different, and divide identical substances which differ in colour. Thus haematite (a), iron oxide; limonite (b), an oxide of iron; turquoise and malachite, a phosphate of alumina and carbonate of copper.

The questions about the ancient names and their modern equivalents are difficult to settle owing to the gradual change which has taken place. It may be that the actual ancient usage of materials must be the guide, as it is impossible to connect with ancient names any gems that were then unknown. For the equivalents of the Biblical names see art. "Stones, Precious," in IDB.

1. Egypt.—In Egypt several stones are named anciently with species, and some others are named as the material for amulets which are regularly of one material. Thus we can be certain of sef, white quartz; sef taken, amethyst; bhenem, red felspar; dhr, carnelian; dhka, lapis lazuli; gesonkh, a variety of lapis lazuli; nechenhem, jade; qo or guda, hematite; neshen or nefset neshef, green felspar and beryl; nefset of Syria, malachite; nefset of Amen, turquoise; the last two names are derived from the god Amen. An armour of some stones was almost constant for certain amulets—carnelian or sard for the leg, hand, name-badge, and serpent-head; jasper, or imitation in red glass, for the girdle of Isis and the sacrificial cow; diorite for clothing; green felspar or beryl for the papyrus sceptre and the writing tablet; lapis lazuli for figures of goddesses and the cartouche; hematite for the head-rest, square and level; obsidian for the double feather and sna sign of union. The reason for such usage can be guessed in some cases: the green stones symbolized verdure and growth; the red jasper is called 'the blood of carnelian'; the white hematite is for the repose of sleep or of levelled building; the flax-coloured ceremonies for the hand and leg. Some of these amulets are of course to be made of other materials in the directions in the Book of the Dead.

2. Italy.—Italy is the land of which we know most about amulets, anciently from Pliny, recently from Bellocchi. The ancient ideas attaching to stones are found for purple, amethyst, hematite for success in petitions or to reveal treachery; siderites (black hematite or meteorite) to caese discord in lawsuits; brown hydrous oxide of iron (limonite) for pregnancy; quartz crystal for purgation; amethyst and emerald for intoxication, against spells, hail, and locusts, and for access to kings; agate against scorpions; jasper for public speaking; blood jasper for invisibility; black jasper for taking cities and fleets; yellow quartz against jaundice; amianthus against spells, serpentine against headache and serpent-bites; white steatite for increase of milk; malachite for preserving infants; amber for throat affections, and against fevers; amonite for prophetic dreams.

In modern Italy pyrites is used to preserve the eyes; red hematite stops bleeding; black hemattite is for the evil eye; limonite for pregnancy; sapphire is for headache, and promotes contentment; quartz crystal for evil eye; white chalcedony or agate for decency for bleeding; agate eyestone for evil eye; blood jasper to stop bleeding; black jasper against lightning; starellite against witchery; nephrite for kidney disease; garnet for widows, and comfort in misfortune; serpentine for strength; malachite for the evil eye; dendrite against venom; selenite for increase of milk; amber against witchery; white coral for increase of milk; red coral for menstruation and

evil eye; madrepore against witchery and worms. Obviously the use of a large part of these is due to 'sympathetic magic,' or, as it may better be called, 'the doctrine of similars.' A considerable revival of fancy beliefs about gems has occurred in recent times among the ignorant and superstitious of wealthy classes in Europe and America. There is little or nothing collected as to traditional beliefs about stones in other lands outside of Italy.

3. Motives for use of gems.—An examination of subjects engraved upon gems throws some light on the motive in the use of the gem in ancient times. In this inquiry the number of occurrences of a subject in Purivânger's great catalogue may be taken, supplemented by a few published in Petrie's Amulets.

Strength and love seem to have been the great motives, Herakles and Eros each occurring 173 times. Far below these come wisdom, with 75 of Athenis and Minerva; Selene (60) for good living; Hermes and Mercury (60) for trade; Apollo (60) for music; and Daunus (55) for propitiation of evil; Dionysos (52) for mysteries; Nike and Victory (53) come next; and, strangely, Aphrodite comes as low as 52. Of the lesser classes are Gorgonesia and Medusa (45), Psyche (31), Artemis (29), Menad (20), Philomelos (20), Eros (19), Echo (18), Pluto (18), and the Dioscuri (15), Isis (14), Nereid (14), Ares and Mars (13), Bonus Eventus (11), Berenice (11), Pan (10), Nemesis (9), Cerberus (9), Eros (8), Hermes (7), Dionysos (7), Hecate (7), Leto (7), Malachites (6), Bacchantes (5), Ino (5), Asklepios (4), Dioscuri (4), Triton (4), Ganymede (4), Hephaistos (4), and Artemis (4). Carved in imitation of a serpentine head serpent (2), Ceres (2), Amphitrite (2), Europa (2), Thetans (2), and one each Adonis, Orpheus, Osiris, Anubis, and Set.

It is surprising how popular some deities were, nine surpassing Aphrodite; while Zeus, Asklepios, Fortuna, and Ceres were strangely neglected.


PREDESTINATION.—I. IDEA AND PARTS.

1. Idea.—The idea of predestination bulked largely in the history of religions thought. Recently it has grown in interest. It has come down to us in two connotations, the one more strictly theological, the other more purely philosophical, and these frequently demonstrate the reasonableness of its essential truth.

(a) As a technical term in theology the word stands for that voluntary act of the divine will whereby God predetermines the future events that are to occur in particular the destinies of the good and evil. The inclusion of the reprobation of the wicked has lent the term an ill savour. Shorn of this part, the dogma remains, the divergences of the schools in other points appearing less firm under the pressing practical and social needs of the modern Church. The predominant tendency is to identify this, the redemptive, aspect of predestination with election (q.v.), and to use the three terms—"predestination," "election," and "freedom"—as synonymous.

(b) In its philosophical character the word stands for a conception much more comprehensive and profound, viz. that original all-inclusive definite purpose of God and of Act of His all-holy will to manifest His glory in self-revelation, which self-revelation takes effect by stages in time, appearing not only in redemption, but in creation and providence as well. Here the idea is not given immediately in experience, but emerges in reflection upon it and thereby becomes the occasion of it and the antecedent of it. It has won favour under the ægis of the modern discipline of the philosophy of religion, its subject-matter furnishing one of the indispensable problems of that important science, where the conclusions are strengthened by several currents of the deeper thought of the age.

W. M. F. PETRIE.
the philosophy of nature and of history, comparative
religion, the higher mysticism, man's tragic
experience of life. The history of theology, moreover,
overthrows the antithesis between the invariable
concomitant of that form of religious thought, and to
be as fundamental to theism as its other
features. As theistic reconstruction proceeds, the
idea of predestination correspondingly gains.

2. Predestination. The term long
been in disuse, and for three reasons: etymologically it is
unsatisfactory, theologically it is deplored, and
philosophically it is difficult to reconcile with the word
not in the Bible. The verb and noun come from the Patriotic
period (Acts viii. 23) and are a number of words which
conveys some special sense of the general idea, for that is
how the religious consciousness works. The philosophical con-
solementation of 'predestination' has a number of terms in its
largest breadth; that is its nature. In Hebrew probably
the nearest equivalent is 527. In Greek in the NT there
is no synonym. Only a few of the so-called coiners of the idea,
as in the case of another doctrine, that of the Person of Christ,
is coined απροηγούμενος.

If 'foreordination' be interpreted in a purely religious
sense as the equivalent of election, referring to man's salvation from,
it is to be rejected as not at all the idea intended in 'predestination.' God gathered His own in His
electing will; but He has other activities in creation and prow
have a religious sense, and they also have independent relations to God and each other, and,
as such, have their ground in the divine will—a fact unrecognized in
'selected.' Nor is it even, if it is not, more than 
'predestination,' embracing the reference of the divine pretermina-
tion of the works of creation and providence to that of redemp-
tion as its preparatory stage, is still inadequate to the whole
idea of 'predestination.'

3. The philosophical demand for stricter definition is not
due simply to prejudice; there is a real need in the interests of
truth to separate clearly the facts of religious experience from
inferences deducible from them. The speculative impulse and
the religious instinct move in different spheres and speak best
each in its own tongue. The former contention is corroborated by the
history of predestinationists. The most famous and most popular
proponents are St. Augustine, Calvin, and Jonathan Edwards
(1703). All three of these theologians have, in an unusual degree the religious and intellectual powers;
they all feel the need of this term 'preordination.' It is note-
worthy that they do not use 'foreordination,' that, in those
forms of thought in which the spiritual aspect of existence has justice to
it, the word 'predestination' does not occur, e.g., in the German
succession from Kant, through Schelling, Less, Krause, to
Lotze; and that those forms of theology in which philosophy
finds a constituent place exhibit the same tendency—as, e.g.,
in the theosophy of F. X. von Baader or the ethics of R. Rothe. 2

2 Parts.—The predestination idea comprises two
parts: (a) prescience, and (b) prevenient.

(a) Prescience.—Foreknowledge (pνευμωνία) is
a part of God's omniscience. It is involved in
His knowledge of Himself and of His own will,
and the immutability of His knowledge; for He
sees all things forever in the mirror of His will,
and has never at any time been ignorant of what
He has to do. This is the consequence.

Foreknowledge of the actions of others, which
is sometimes been excluded from the idea of God's
omniscience on the ground of its alleged
inconsistency with human freedom, and
indeed the idea of explaining how actions are free yet
predetermined has been so hateful, that
has perfect foreknowledge of all events and that
man has free agency, implied in moral responsi-

bility, are truths supported by sufficient and
appropriate evidence, although we may not be
able to overcome their hard naturalism. The
word 'predestination' as such is as God has. His foresight need not
lessen man's freedom, if freedom be understood
not as simple self-will, but as the growing faculty of
co-operating with the divine purpose. That
pose is always a higher thing than can be
wrought between precise forecast and exact
fulfilment; it is rather the evolution of men's free
intellectual and emotional life, adapting them to
their environment and improving their conditions.

Accordingly, the divine influence of God embracing
His whole world, influencing its processes,
keeping living things to assimilate more and more of His
life-force, and go forward in the full tide of
progress, while they are still free to close their
poles, so to say, to His wisdom and life that
enrich them as an atmosphere.

Such a purpose etches itself out against a back-
ground of much that seems purposeless, where
much happens that is not His will but the will of an
autonomous creature not yet won by His per-
anative effort. As to this there are two opposing
tendencies, intuitive, not inferential, free, not necessitated,
we are bound to assign to it the prescence of
tables and all relations of things, of all actions
and all conditions of actions.

(b) Prevenient Grace. Again, the promotion 2 of God
is a necessity of His omnipotence. Predestination
is no mere idea in God—not simply His desire to
enter on modes of self-revealing activity; it is
also activity creative of creativity destined and
productive of His eternal purpose; it is the actual
activation upon His resolve, action whereby He is the
immanent spirit in all nature, history, life. We
note, further, that God's prescience and prevenient
exclude the delusional and naturalistic formula-
tions of His relation to the world, since both deny
His active presence in it, as certainly as they
exclude the pantheistic formulation which regards
the world as illusion, emanation, or self-evolution of
God. Thus it will be seen that in the predestina-
tion idea lies the thought that all the works of
God form one whole and move to one goal, that all
find their ground in His attributes, their cause in
His will, that all are the issue of one presupposi-
tion in the divine nature. How do we affirm this?
Religious experience postulates it as the basis of
this certain idea of the divine nature. In final
philosophical reflexion postulates it as the integral
ground of its view of the world and man's history
(predestination in creation and providence).
The word 'predestination' sums up both postulates
and witnesses to secret affinities between the
natural and revealed wills of God, wherein the
realities both of reason and of faith find their
ultimate reconciliation.

II. SOURCE AND ISSUES.—I. Source.—Here
two points require to be noted. Predestination has its
origin in the divine nature alone, and there
alone in the divine attributes. God's act
of resolving to enter upon the various modes of His
self-revealing activity is a free yet responsible act.

This excludes the celebrated distinction of scientia media,
the proper discussion of which falls in connexion with the
divine omniscience. It was invented by the Jesuits,
defended by God propagated by the Molinists, assailed by the Spanish
Dominicans, and at a conference in Rome convened by Pope
Clement viii., was condemned. The agitation continued.
The theologians of the next generation spread the idea through
Europe. In England it spread widely in the 16th century (see J. Strang,
Voluntarism, 1577; and John Selden, Natural and Divine Law, 1601; and
1657). The hypothesis of scientia media is untenable. There
can be no such intermediate knowledge, all knowledge being
other necessary or contingent knowledge. Again, any such potential knowledge
is not worthy to be ascribed to God, whose knowledge is intu-
itive. He knows, not things in the abstract, but things, but does not resolve
out those relations in the act of knowledge.

2 The favourite term in Scholasticism for 'prevenience.' St.
Thomas Aquinas discusses it with fulness. Cf. also the con-
troversy of Malebranche with Boursier.
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to which He is determined by nothing outside of Himself, or alien to His nature, and by nothing in the way of an internal necessity of His being, or of any defect in His being, except the insistence of His own gracious character and good pleasure.

There is no life outside the divine life. The life of God is a life where God is in the midst of Himself alone and within Himself alone. In the vastest area of being there are no reaches beyond His boundless being or beyond the causation and control of His will. The whole actual and possible universe is but a last and most microscopic expression in a single truth to which everything in it may be referred.

That truth is the one and absolute Being, who comprehends all being, the substance of all existence, God. God thus is not one side by side with others, whether like Him or unlike, co-equal or prepotent, relationship with whom He is bound to recognize and consider in His own action. He is God; and 'beside Him there is none other.' To be Himself is the sublimest glory conceivable.

To go further, His self-manifestation is His constant good pleasure or will. Such a Being, overflowing with the sense of His beauty and infinite blessedness, must communicate Himself in love in every form and degree possible through which the features of His life are represented. His self-exhibition and self-communication are the only and original necessities of His action, and these reside in His own nature.

From that fact it follows that those original necessities operate in accord with the divine attributes and with nothing else—power, justice, wisdom, holiness, love. God is not all-powerful in the sense that He can do anything. He does what He likes, but He likes only what is according to His character, that which is true, just, holy. There can be no caprice in His action, for His will learns from His wisdom and works out what is just. His power is at the service of an idea which gives to His endeavour stability and worth. There can be no question here of His predetermining any thing or person to what is contrary to His character. The attributes of God, since they alone regulate His action, are the basal principles of existence and the supreme categories of thought, which takes origin in their exercise. All finite existences—complete with His character and to bestowed His life, founded in the qualities of His nature, find their real principles, their ratio essendi, there, and represent each one or more of those divine qualities. All life is rooted in the divine Being, is in Him an organic whole, and includes the life of nature, of history, of humanity, in which He displays His power, wisdom, righteousness, truth, goodness, and love, and no attributes opposed to these. All these lives are independent unities within their own spheres, yet related to one another in the all-embracing whole, which is neither identical with God nor separate from Him, but in which He is so present (and it in Him) that He is not merely the cause of it and all its parts, but is its and its immanent and active ground.

The modern spirit has made many opposing views and seemingly makes this finer expression and image through a series of ascending stages in an organic process which tends to His honour and glory.

2. Issues.—Such is the divine design. The nature and quality of it must be accepted as a revelation. To their investigation nature, history, and man are all separate if related economies, susceptible of distinctive analysis—a task to which the modern spirit has addressed itself with eagerness. History—in its actual and traditional aspects—is the inclusive generalization of broad results. These would appear to be three: (1) God works towards an end through means; (2) He employs means in a graded succession in time; (3) the character of the end displays the principle of the whole and motives the effort of progress towards it. If these results be kept in view, we shall be led in the path of a true theism and a right predestination. The universal dualism deeply seated in the entire constitution of things cannot be denied; it raises the question of the process by which it is to be set aside, and which is most naturally done, not by direct methods of action, but by methods of thought. The method of action is not to be tried, but the method of thought. We overcame in the way of historical fact and moral process, such that God is seen to be all in all, realizing Himself in His attributes in finite forms through the free play and independent life of their internal forces. The steps of the proof are clear. The physical creation, operating freely within limits imposed only by its own material, is an orderly system working out its special end in man. Man is the living synthesis of nature, which in all its parts participates and is governed by what is only satisfied in Him. History is characterized by the same independent interplay of all her forces and moves on under laws which reduce the acts of the countless conscious subjects who make their way in History to the progress of which is the evolution of the spirit within each man.

He, for himself, granted that he is by nature a divided and complex being, is nevertheless in the healthy personality one. Aim, will, resolve, make Him a complete unit; as mind or will he is a whole; and the more he advances in intelligence and ethical power, the better he is fulfilling the ideal of his own life, and responding to the preparatory movements beneath the human sphere which have gradually disclosed it. Humanity is thus the final cause of the world, which, as it belongs to the nature of God to actualize Himself in humanity, the human spirit, as it descends into the depths of its own being, recognizes itself to be divine in principle. The perfect consciousness of this we see in Christ, and owe to Him. He made known to man his inborn divinity. His incarnation exhibits the unity of the divine and human. That consciousness comes first in a single individual, in isolated form, a present divine fact, preserving to man the human spirit to new life. The last consideration is of the church. It contradicts all ideas which resolve the revelation of God in Christ into a general fact belonging to the phenomenon of spirit, and implies the personal God communicating Himself in dynamic force in an organic historical form. Man has not grown into the consciousness of his own divinity; it has been revealed to him. Revelation is not simply an extension of the knowledge of God; it brings in an actual economy of grace as actively employed in the redeeming of men. Only by a sum of saving acts, unfolding His mind and will, can the living God become fully unveiled. In this sense Christianity alone is the revelation of God's redemptive love, since the whole person of Christ—His identity, His mission, His communication to the world through the church—serves to bring into actual view the will of God as concerned in the salvation of men. Not through Christ merely, but in Him, in the subdivided whole of His personality and history, as 'head over all things in the church,' God was reconciling the world to Himself. The Christian ethics that leads us to regard the will of God for our salvation not as abstract, but as personal and positive in His Son. That, however, could not have happened haphazard in the divine mind; it was essential.

1 The first thinker clearly to expound this position was the Italian G. B. Vico; cf. his "La scienza nuova," in Opera, ed. G. Ferrari, 2 vols., 1835-37; R. Flint, Vico, in Blackwood's "Philosophical Classics," Edinburgh, 1884.
to the setting forth of His glory, it was 'before the foundation of the world,' by His determinate counsel; and it determined the foundation of the way, and the bottom of it. There are, therefore, Predestination is by the will of God, in an organic process, in Christ who is its prismatic and final principle.

III. SIGNIFICANCE—1. For the idea of God.—The predestination idea safeguards three factors in the relation of God to the world: (a) His free agency and responsibility in His activities, (b) His co-operation with His creatures in their true life, and (c) His efficiency in the fulfillment of His purpose. (a) Arbitrariness has been associated with God's predestination. Yet predestination forbids arbitrary caprice on His part. The great advocates of its truth know nothing of arbitrary acts of God. The acts of God, they argue, are consistent with the character of God; the nature of God is prior to His laws, and His nature and character are of the absolute and perfect good. Insolvability has been associated with predestination, as a cover for any act of God, whatever it emerge in its issues. Now, while on any theory of freedom and necessary acts of the constitution and course of things must always be sought for in the council of an eternal wisdom which it is beyond our capacity to fathom, and therefore inscrutable, in the inscrutability there can be no injustices or partiality; for those reasons are the outcome of an eternal wisdom, righteousness, love. God's action here can never be that of a selfish man. He acts according to His glory, which cannot be dissociated from His nature as absolute good. In that character His moral perfection implies an absence of arbitrary or unjust act. Indeterminism has been associated with predestination. But God cannot act as an indeterminate power. He is intrinsically and necessarily good—not by necessity, but freely, because He wills the freedom which lends His action its ethical character. The necessity which keeps Him from evil is moral—conformity to love, goodness, holiness. In contradistinction from these, the divine predestination is an act of sovereignty, in the exercise of which God shows only mercy and goodness. Sovereignty is not simple supremacy; it is the sphere of divine freedom whence issues only blessing; for there divine procedure is not limited by conditionals, but is necessarily good. (b) God's blessing us is His co-operation with us to cultivate in us His life. As in Him, so in man, true life is attained by a combination of necessity and freedom. Man everywhere, as he ascends in intelligence, is inwardly conscious that He is able to do right. He is also convinced that God is on the side of the right. The tendency to excellency of life indicates God's will. It grows in man by his response which he makes in his freedom as he directs himself more perfectly towards God. Yet it is not simply by his desire and aspiration and the efforts born of these that he ascends, but also by their satisfaction in the answering care and recreative energy of creative love. These experiences point to the transcendent truth that creation was with God from all time, came from God, is in part turning of its own will towards God, is in part ever turning more and more consciously towards Him, and becomes at last completely, self-consciously, at one with God in will—the doctrine of the Lordship, the hope of the eschatologist, the dream of the mystic.

(c) Is it but a hope and a dream? Can God's

1 The first philosopher clearly to recognize the organic process of the divine purpose was St. Augustine.
2 Calvin terms the opposed doctrine 'frigid and jejunus' (Inst. I. 3. 11.)

purpos fail? Our conception of omnipotence must be modelled on what we know of finite power, though not limited by it. In our experience the secret of the divine power lies in the idea of the end in view and to regulate action towards that end. Those are not absent from God. For the creation of the finite He is responsible. He has chosen to create it not a passive thing, but a life with a will and power. Why should we believe that it is only the possibility, not the actuality, of evil that is necessary? If the end which God has in view is a form of life produced by the ability to co-operate with or to resist Him, it must be part of His omnipotence to be able to give the ability to resist Him. The resistance would be evil. In so far the Creator is responsible for the possibility of evil and its attendant risks. On the other hand, the divine prescience cannot be conceived as dim or vague, or the divine blessedness as uncertainly fluctuating with the uncertainties of men's choices, as Calvin asks, 'How can the contingent affect the First Cause on which it entirely depends?' The possibility of future failure on His part must, therefore, be limited. God must be credited with provisions and restrictions. The result of this is that God's predestination is to a certain extent limited. Is not fatherhood the best symbol of omnipotence? His creation must not finish in itself, but must go on to recreation—a consummation visible in Christ and Christian humanity, in whom 'the whole world is reconciled to God.'

God, then, has willed all men to be saved. He has predestined all men to be saved and things in His Son. Creation is prelude to incarnation, and was never designed to furnish occasion for irreformable sinners. In the foreordination as in the judgment God might say, 'I never knew you sinners.' He has contemplated all in Christ: He has foreknown all in Christ; He has loved all in Christ; He has elected all in Christ; and by the same act. He has taken every possible means to fulfill that act with success. Through creation, history, redemption, He has gradually exhibited and communicated His life to men, to raise men to its likeness step by step. Respecting His liberty God forces no man, yet presciently and prevailingly seeks to persuade men. He reserves to the right to intervene by His omniscience and omnipotence in order to avert thoroughgoing disaster. Both courses He takes in the exercise of His sovereignty, which is the field of His freedom. That 'preferential action of God掼than makes the resourcefulness of His nature fails—a result inconceivable.

2. For the idea of man.—The predestination idea yields two precious assurances for man's conviction along with a grave warning: (a) the certainty of his practical freedom of will, (b) the ability to attain his destiny, (c) the fact of failure as both possible and permissible. (a) Necessity has been associated with predestination. The problem that raises is perennial. His reprobate system can roll away from itself. As the divine Being is a harmony of necessity and freedom, so they run through all His handwork inclusive of man's life. In themselves they are not antitheses, and they are but rudely conceived when opposed. A theistic predestination excludes their opposition and leaves the vindication of necessitarianism to the wisdom of this world as in materialism and idealism—in men of science like Huxley, Spencer, etc., in men of speculative idealism such as Schelling and others—more properly pantheist, who assert that they see in all things the working out of an eternal necessity. Philo-

1 Martineau's phrase.
2 The foregoing includes three positions: (a) the notion that God predestinates fixed numbers, (b) the notion that God predestinates to evil, and (c) the notion that God predestinates, "by permission," eternal consequences of evil.
sophers of the type of Schelling, Lotze, and others are truer guides. History, they argue, is characterized by a union of freedom and necessity, that is, by a sum of forces. Rationally necessary, composed of the acts of countless conscious subjects which yet form a world of order. How can this be?, they ask. Only through the operation of a principle superior to both in which they are subsumed. As a matter of fact, only one principle is capable of explaining necessity, the divine. It reveals itself through the free play of individual wills, and could not be those wills not free so that they are fellow-workers with it. Free will is incapable of rigid objective power. History is rationally expedient, a process exhibited by a process corresponding to the development of freedom itself. What is freedom? It is only in terms of experience that it can have any meaning at all. So with necessity. They are two constantly alternating poles of our experience. The only solution is a repeated appeal to the subject. The freedom which we at once oppose to and collate with necessity is subordinate to the higher freedom of consciousness on which the distinction rests. Thus the metaphysical reference the difficulties arising from finite freedom may be met by the contention that, while the total possibilities, however far back we go, are fixed, yet within these, however far forward we go, freedom is such and the rest is reached only by living through the less good.

(b) Fatalism has been associated with predetermination. Calvinism is alleged to be specially chargeable with the error in Christian times. Unquestionably paganism furnishes abundant traces. There is in the historic founding of our conceptions of fate. Predetermination, however, is not fate. Fate is a conception for which there is no foothold in the Christian system. Belief in one’s fate or star or fortune is apt to characterize both great men and small, and to prompt both to trust in their strongest qualities, which may not be their best. In so far as a man is possessed by a blind feeling of being an instrument of destiny used by an irresistible force he knows not to what end, his belief is a weakness. It bears no likeness to the Christian idea, which has two features: it makes a man rationally conscious that he has a mission to accomplish, and it impels him when he learns the divine will to be humbly submissive to its dictates. "I am the servant of the house of my lord," and "my General Gordon. The Calvinistic ‘fate’ is incentive to heroic effort, a challenge to play the man. God’s predeterminations are moral inspirations. What God ordains man realizes. Yet withal there is more. Calvinism in its severer aspect embodies something additional. It is often neglected in Christian thought; it was seldom absent from the


2 This is Martinist’s solution, accepting it from Dugald Stewart; cf. A Study of Religion, bk. ili., ‘Determinism and Freewill.’ It is the position gradually but cogently won throughout the Critique of Pure Reason. Kant’s and Lotze’s are diametrically opposed to the one order, that is, of order from metaphysics, has also in recent years begun to vindicate ‘freedom’ as rational; with the activistic and vitalistic philosophies of Eucken and Bergson it has entered the Christian era.

In a recently published letter of more than ordinary interest Bergson comments on all this ‘the conditions of his theory. Essay on the Immediate Facts of Consciousness, Matter and Memory, and Creative Evolution’ there clearly emerges the idea of God as Creator and Redeemer. The world and the material in which it seeks to be expressed. That material may never move against Him in the mass, but it may in the individual; for the individual is not wholly moved by the mass and may use that freedom which is the outcome of his own operation of the force of the whole. When this is so, what then? Are there refuges, reservoirs of latent self, for the rebels? The energy of life-force which they misuse, is it transformable? Perhaps; by leaping into the fire of the sun, there is escape. At any rate, it may utterly fail in its present form.

1 Cf. the Biblical figure of God as the ‘potter.’
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Individual tragedy is too frequent here to render it improbable or impossible hereafter, 1 unless, within the reaches of the divine resourcefulness and the possibilities of the organic life of the race, there be means of conversion and renewal at which we, ceasing our work in the great world, may not so diligently as to make their calling and election sure.

IV. HISTORY.—1. Ethnic.—Predestinarian conceptions arise at a certain stage of religious reflexion of necessity; and kindred conceptions are to be found in all religions which have been influenced in their development by speculative thought. Even polytheism adumbrates them in divine personifications of Destiny.

(a) Greek.—The best instance of this we find in the Greek poets and tragedians, with whom the belief passed through a variety of forms: ὕθεσις, ἱστομένη, νέος ἔργος, Erotes. These are less intellectual solutions of the problem than delineations of experience; and they are remarkably comprehensive. At first, as in Herodotus, Pindar, and Theognis, envy and caprice characterize the Olympian gods in their dealings with men. Men are the restless rivals of the gods, and must be taught their proper place. Occasionally a righteous purpose governs the divine dealings; occasionally also defects of the gods themselves are permitted to bear on the course of events. But such features do not manifest themselves in force till we come to the great themes of Aeschylus and Sophocles, whose tone is vastly superior. The caprice of the gods is by that time subordinated in an ethical direction. Personal calamity is a judicial act pronounced by a moral governor on men’s follies and crimes. ‘Divine Justice displaces the divine Jealousy.’ 2 The mental and moral clouding gives way to the notion of events under human foresight and so leading to unconscious crimes. Even the dark power of Moira is part of the moral order, designed to incite man to resistance, in making which he may fall, but in his fall he is greater than if he had never met the challenge. Within increasingly broad limits, too, man’s freedom is recognized. In Sophocles there is the mature idea that suffering is not always final, but is foreseen in the counsels of the gods as part of the permitted evil which is a condition of a just and harmoniously ordered universe; the idea which, with perfection, epic poetry gives more prominence to circumstances and external forces in the determining of character; for such is the nature of epic as distinct from drama. Thus there is little justification for the common belief that the enterprise with which the ancients regarded their fate everything is foreknown and develops inevitably from the beginning. Tragic fate needs a tragic trait in the victim. Cf. art. FATE (Greek and Roman).

(b) Roman.—Nothing like the same subtle sensitiveness is found in the Roman early theology. The citizens of Latium and the surrounding parts were a more secular and political race; and destiny with them amounts to little more than a belief in the common bond that renders their enterprise with the world effective. The deity Fortuna embodies this faith. Destiny is seldom regarded as personal doom; it is rather racial mission. Nor does it often occur to the Roman thinker to inquire into the origin of the special genius of his people. The metaphysical and ethical implications of the belief were not canvassed. Cf. art. FATE (Greek and Roman).

(c) Teutonic.—Remarkable is the contrast in the Teutonic idea of destiny. It forms a prime ele- cence and inherent mystery. Odin and Urdr, divinity and fate. It is difficult to delimit the respective jurisdictions of these two; but the lion’s share of power falls to Urdr (Vyrdd). She is the goddess of fate, and also of the seed. She is the dispenser of life and death, with her maid the Norns (arbiters of life) and the Valkyries (arbiters of death), who dwell with her under the world-tree (Ygdrasil), which stands forever green, watered by her gold-encased fountain. The might of Odin standing behind is no relief; he wields a lawless power, with a loveless will. He stands for blind, arbitrary, elemental will—will cut off from wisdom, a brute, blundering, pitiless, eccentric will (with the single bright feature that it chooses the warriors for Valhalla), which surrounds human passion and affection with a tragic cloud against which the heroic figure is shown off. A deep pessimism pervades the Eddas. It is as if the cruel and dismally limiting character of fate, the huge shadow of the sea, the high conscious of sinless hearts crushed by the irrevocable of apathetic deity, were all gathered up in a vast and bitter gloom—that general spirit which for modern understanding has been so powerfully portrayed in the romantic operas of Richard Wagner. 3 Cf. art. DOOM, DOOM-MYTHS (Teutonic).

(d) Indian.—On a higher plane, turning to ancient India, we find a definite theistic development in the latter stages of the Upanisads, in the Vedanta, and in the Sanskrit drama. Here there is the clear idea that ‘only by the man whom he chooses is God comprehended—to him the atman reveals his essence.’ In the Buddhist teaching prominence is accorded to the law of karma (q.v.), according to which the soul in its successive transformations has each stage irrevocably determined by its conduct in the previous stage—a suggestion of ethical necessitation which even in its fullest expression remains vague. Apart from express teaching, Hinduism is theocratic and idealistic, fatalistic, unenergetic. The drama is full of desa ex machina; the actors seldom rely on their own will. The religion, largely a ritual, shows the divine writ ready to burst out on the most trivial occasions and for the most trifling offences. 4

(e) Chinese.—In ancient China there is the great law of Tao, circumscribing the course of human life in a cosmos of omnipresent order. It overrules the entire animation of the universe in both its aspects of light and darkness, life and death, good and evil. It never deviates or diverges. It metes out justly and equitably to all men, by means of the spirits or gods rewarding the good, by means of the spectres punishing the bad, with perfect impartiality. It is never to those who conform to its laws, hurt to those who violate them. The fear of the spectres is very great; there is an all-pervading condemnation, counteractive to which make up a large proportion of Chinese religious practice, of all human beings, and the discipline of virtue at any moment with human business and fate, favourably or unfavourably. These spectres are the instruments of retributive justice. Tao is the law. Cf. on this paragraph V. Kydberg, Teutonic Mythology, Eng. tr., London, 1895, p. 106.


1 Granted this, it follows that the total effect of individual tragic failure hereafter on the whole world-plan may be dealt with under a general description of the failure. The Creator’s method, righting what goes amiss, here may indicate His method in the hereafter.

2 Cf. art. FATE (Greek and Roman).

3 Schiller’s so-called reproductions of Greek drama illustrate this popular but erroneous idea.

4 F. P. Denison, op. cit., p. 255.
both the creation and the creator, the motive force of the universe and the free determiner of its agency, spontaneously working from all eternity. His favour, won by obedience to his motions, may be likened to that which is otherwise evident in the actual movement of the world and life. Having no superior or co-equal, he secures it that human destiny is neither dark nor cruel; it is clear and orderly as himself. Cf. art. FATE (Chinese).

Of the deities in ancient Egyptian religion, several conditions of character and destiny are similarly conspicuous. Egyptians are divided as to the characters of primitive Egyptian religion, whether they are those of a polytheism or those of a monotheism. But even that school which asserts its polytheistic character agrees that underneath the multiplicity of deities there is always the feeling of their unity; and, whenever that unity is at all recognized, it carries with it the further concept of the spirituality of the divinity in things—a spirituality that is righteousness. The goddess Hathor, the patroness of joy and happiness, is also the cosmic principle, the personification of the great universal power of nature perpetually creating and maintaining all things, good and evil; and further, she is the judgment a foremost figure on the bench. In 'The Precepts of Khensu-hetep' (J. Ch. Chabas, in 'L'Egyptologie, Paris, 1876-78, ch. vi.) the explicit references to serekhmer net show a clear and definite idea of divine providence, by whose goodness men subsist. To the supreme being who is thus regarded is attributed at the same time the creation of the world and all things; and, as he is righteous, his plan is righteous. We owe it to this religion that it emphasizes the fact that the guilty suffer, the penalty being exacted in the time of the wrong-doing, not deferred to a later day or generation. Cf. art. FATE (Egyptian).

2. Jewish and Muhammadan.—The OT and NT ideas are given in extenso in the art. ELECTION. There all in creation, history, redemption, is referred back to the divine sovereignty. The special features of that relationship as experienced in vital religious activity alone are set forth; the general idea never gets beyond its most general expression. The same speculative reserve characterizes later Jewish thought. Its particular interest is not high; except in the case of individual rabbis, nothing further is ventured than the statement of a comprehensive dependence of all things, of the world as a whole on the divine persona, and an insistence, always in subordination to God's sovereignty, on man's free will. Intellectual problems are evaded as beyond human solving. Of the Jewish sects in the time of Christ Josephus is responsible for making the Pharisees material predestinationists, the Essenes absolute predestinationists, and the Sadducees hostile to all forms of predestination, since they traced all events to chance. Material predestination limits the divine decree to this material life; an example from Hal. vii, 11. A. W. Toynbee, God of the Egyptians; or Studies in Egyptian Mythology, 4 vols., London, 1904, 1, 125. is set forth in the Qur'an until the doctrine has become practically pernicious. The reaction set in by the Mu'tazilites, who assailed the orthodox view with keenness, made room for free will, but was eventually overcome by orthodoxy. Cf. art. FATE (Muslim).

3. Christian.—Predestination holds a large place in the history of the Christian Church. It has fanned burning controversies, and generated popular fear; it has fostered stern ideals, and moulded strong natures. In its largest sense the finest intellects of the Church have been attracted to it, and those periods that have been most fruitful in reconciling the development of Christian ideas with the thought of the age have been indebted to it above all for inspiration. The epochs of its progress are marked by these periods.

(a) First stage.—The first stage is signalized by the conflict of the Greek Fathers with Gnosticism, the conquest of the Greek mind by Christian theology. The problems of Gnosticism are in the main two: (1) the nature of the Absolute, and the method whereby He can be the creator of matter, and (2) the origin of evil. The Gnostic solution is found in an endless succession of icons or emanations of the Absolute which serve to span the gulf between Him and creation. Gnosticism, in establishing its theory, had to deny free will. It is a solution metaphysical and necessitarian. The Greek Apologists and Fathers, addressing themselves to the problem, reached a solution ethical and personal. They knew nothing of unconditional predestination; they teach free will. Believing in the sovereign efficacy of reason and conscience, they interpret the Absolute in terms of them. Their contribution combines four points, viz. (a) the Absolute requires mediation; (b) the mediator is the Logos; (c) through the Logos the Absolute is creator; (d) freedom is the mark of man. All schools at that period held an abstract notion of God. The central quest was after an appropriate medium of communion between the Supreme Being and the world. The Gnostic attempt failed before the magnificent doctrine of the Logos (q.v.—the issue of the controversy and its end. The doctrine of the Supreme as Creator through the Logos, and the activity of the Logos in nature, history, and man, are the primary ideas of Patristic theology, set forth partially in the Apologists, with fullness and learning in Clement and Origen, and preached by Chrysostom, Augustine, and Ambrose.—2 The history of two antagonistic cities, so that he can compare the ordered series of the centuries to an antithetic hymn pervaded by an antithetic parallelism which turns on the call of God and the response of man. Is this the case of Ephesus, or is it Galata? The question is asked not in order to know the particular opinions on religious predestination we need not enter (see AUGUSTINE, ELECTION). His

1 F. Weber, System der altasynagogalen palastinischen Theolo-
gie, Leipzig, 1880.
positions are not always sufficiently consistent. But his great merits are clear. He distinguishes predestination from predestination, and aids to a better analysis of the latter. He expounds a richer idea of will than the inherited views of the Greeks and the Pelagians; and initiates a discussion from the time of the freedom of the will. He never since withdrawn, viz. that the unregenerate will is not free; freedom is in the power to do right.  

Great as these services were to the progress of truth, they are not his chief contribution to the problem of predestination—his own view of the nature of the divine purpose the motif of which is referred to above. He unfolds his ideas in his main book, de Civitate Dei, called forth by the decay of the Roman State. The underlying principle of that masterly exposition is the organic character of the divine purpose. It is pervaded by his deep sense of the continuous evolution of the divine purpose in all things. It sums up his conviction of a life's study. Throughout his life he was intent on reducing to a consistent unity the various truths of natural history and revelation, as they presented themselves in believing consciousness. So successfully has he vindicated that principle that subsequent developments have proceeded upon it, always the more clearly the more we penetrate the mystery of human freedom. The controversies that ensued, directed against St. Augustine, assail details—in particular the doctrine of predestination or evil 1 and the rejection of the imperious will. Rabanus Maurus (1014-93), Lanckor (1087), and others argued the inconclusiveness of that doctrine by Scripture proof, John Scotus Eriega 2 († c. 877) its inconclusiveness metaphysically—both legitimate corrections. The Augustinian doctrine in its general drift worked on with increasing cogency throughout medieval Christendom, quickening an extraordinary ferment of ideas, creative of new impulses in every direction, religious and disciplinary, political and social. Into the stream of religions and general culture there entered currents widely dissimilar, deriving from the study of Aristotle and of Dionysius the Areopagite, really alien to the Latin genius. The pregnancy of St. Augustine's philosophy succeeded in accentuating rich elements in both in the atmosphere of Western theology. 

The philosophical intellect was that of St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1227-74), who quelled the maestro of medieval thought. In him we see St. Augustine pruned of his many verbal and logical inconsistencies and his view of the vocation of this world so presented with a logical thoroughness and developed on different sides as to exhibit a proper system, or summa. Of specific value is Aquinas' discussion of predestination, or the grace of natural virtues—features of Augustinianism that have obtained a secure lodgment in Romanist theology, but not in Reformed. The whole effort of Aquinas results in a fusion of the best culture and most spiritual faith of his age. The Augustinian spirit pervading it is in his work defined by the Church with no official teaching of the Roman Church. St. Thomas inspired the Decrees of Trent (1545-53), which, while affirming several Scotist positions, define a mild Augustinianism. 3 The Augustinian principles are three: 

(1) God is absolute master by His grace of all determinations of the will; 4 man remains free under the action of grace; 5 the reconciliation of these two truths rests on the manner of the divine government. The Tridentine formula reaffirms original sin and man's need of grace as against Pelagianism (sess. vi. can. 2), the freedom of the will as against the Pelagian claim of evil even before embracing faith (vi. 6. 7) as against the Protestants. Trent further, with St. Thomas, teaches the universal offer of salvation and divine provision of the means of grace. The progressive growth of grace is maintained. 6 The gift is not unlimited; the brief of Benedict XIV. (1748) gives liberty to all schemes of reconciliation—the strict Augustinian, the Thomist, and the Molinist. 7  

(d) Fourth stage.—The fourth stage came with the Reformation and the awakened moral conscience. The absorbing interest of the 16th cent. was religious, not speculative. No commanding intellect of the comprehensive order of an Origen, Augustine, or Aquinas arose to offer the new synthesis of faith and culture which the times imperatively needed. A little process was made in the growth of the predestination idea. Luther and Erasmus, Zwingli and Calvin, with minor divergences, agree in revert to St. Augustine on the main issues and in the supposed interests of the early political platoons. Calvin had adequate philosophical equipment to formulate anew the problem in consistent and convincing form. Hence Western Christendom remained divided. Its continuance in disruption was due as much to the absence of a first-rank philosopher as to the presence of a fiery Reformer; for fresh religious feeling is less divisive than stale religious dogma, and the speculative reason of the Reformers made but indifferent flights. The proper contribution of that age lies elsewhere, in the emphatic set on the doctrine of election as the believer's ground of certainty of salvation as against the Church and its machinery of grace. Polemical motives against Roman ideas of authority impelled the Reformers to give election a paramount place in their system, with the result that its philosophical counterpart, predestination, assumes, not only in general theory, where it is relevant, but also in theological construction, where it is not, the position of basal principle controlling the system. Thomas Aquinas and Calvin († 1564) is representative. It asserts the double predestination, to life and death, quite irrespective of merit. The central idea is 8 that of an independent and immutable decree of God, in which foreordination and foreknowledge are inseparable. Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, is the father of high, or supralapsarian, Calvinism. The common view of the Reformed Confessions, confirmed alike by the Synod of Dort (1618-19) and the Westminster Assembly (1647), is infralapsarian. The infralapsarian (infra lapsum) theory of predestination, or the decree of predestination viewed as subsequent in purpose to the decree permitting man to fall, represents man created and fallen as one object of the decrees. Calvin and his followers 9 designates the view which supposes that the ultimate end which God proposed to Himself was His own glory in the salvation of some men and the damnation of others, and that as a means to that end He decreed to create man and to permit him to fall. In this interpretation, the reformations in the Federal Theology, 9 "exemplified by Cocceius (1603-99), professor at Leyden, who introduced the idea that God's judicial charging  

1 Augustine's denial of freedom is really denial of capricious choice. It is the self-determination of one's true character.  

2 Erigena's conclusion, 'no predestination to evil' because that would imply a duality in the divine nature, or else the existence of some power above God determining His will, is accepted by, or at least the idea endorsed by, nearly all of the future the recurring idea of God as the author of evil.  

3 Louis's statement, 'the history of Catholicism is the history of the progressive dissipation of Augustinianism,' we regard as a gross exaggeration.  

4 Augustine's assertion of freedom is really denial of capricious choice. It is the self-determination of one's true character.  

5 Dittrich, Snedenberger, etc., have denied the centrality; Schweitzer proves it fully. M. Schelbel (Calvins Praeludienlehe, Aalen, 1912), criticizes the religious motives underlying Calvin's construction.
of the guilt of Adam's apostasy to his descendants was racial, and not personal; and in the contemporary Saumur school of Cameroun, Amyrault, and others in France, who attempted a combination of particular election and universal salvation (subter-

Calvinism. Bold opposition was led by the Remonstrants led by Arminius, professor in Leyden from 1602 to 1609. A year after his death his disciples, as an organized party, presented a Re-

monstrance to the States of Holland pleading for toleration, and for the sake of defining their position, presented soon afterwards five Articles expressing their views. This is the origin of the famous 'Five Points' in the controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism. Of Calvinism the 'Five Points' are unconditional predestination, particular election, efficacious grace, divine reprobation of the wicked, and final perseverance of the elect. Of Arminianism the opposed points were conditional predestination on foreseen merit, universal salvation, resistible grace with the provision of means sufficient for salvation, pre-

vention of the wicked, and possible lapse of the justified from grace. Later, Methodism came with a synergistic solution which is logi-

cally indefensible, but has proved serviceable for picking and choosing the victory of logic only; even the victors felt that, if not handled with special prudence and care, the doctrine would be the reverse of helpful to morals and piety. The Calvinistic Synods restate old positions— Dort with relentless rigour. He sets forth the Calvinistic view of the world with a masculine strength and rich insight of rare excellence, and in face of the most imposing critical antagonism which Calvinism has ever encountered—New England Unitarianism. He prepared the way for the final outburst of the pre-destination and universalism that was to come. He laid the foundation for the great task; and he did so by having greater confidence in reason than his contemporaries. Edwards was no reactionary. In the widely prevailing scorn of human reason he dived deeper into its depths and achieved two-fold resurrection of the divine decrees and free will, and the exposition of the divine motive for predestination as resting in the divine glory. Regarding the former he argued that the law of causality is universal; that, while every man is free to act in accordance with his will, his power to will is controlled by causes outside of himself, so that ultimately the will must obey the behests of a power independent of its own purposes. Regarding the latter he taught that God's freedom is exercised in self-exhibition and self-communication—a self-


communication which is creative in man of the religious affections (the form that union of man with God takes) which display the reality of pre-


destination. Here is the real advance towards overcoming the dualism in the Calvinistic position, leading directly to the idea of God as moral personality, the controlling principle of modern theology. In the Catholic theology God is construed as substance; and in Scotist, Socinian, and Arminian theology as will. The Reformers conceived God as the embodiment of the moral law, bound by His own nature to punish sin and to uphold the eternal principles of rightnesses. The conception, however, was not clear; and side by side with it we find the old conception of sovereignty as arbitrary will. Calvinism reconciles the two by distinguishing between the nature and will of God: nature is the sphere of necessity, will of freedom; justice belongs to the one, mercy to the other. In the hands of Jonathan Edwards, his controlling principle—lying behind both justice and mercy, containing them within itself. It is but a step from the divine self-love to the divine Fatherhood—the idea which fresh expérience of the redeeming love of God in Christ (the discovery of the modern Church) revealed.

(e) Fifth stage.—Under the influence of the renewed study of the life of Christ modern theology has brought into fresh prominence the ethical and spiritual qualities which were central in Jesus' thought of God. For the abstract Absolute of the earlier theology and the arbitrary will of the later it substitutes the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and seeks to show that in His wisdom, power, and loving character we have the ultimate reality of religious truth. In this attempt it receives aid from two quarters. Through a better understanding of the nature of the will modern psychology makes it possible to sharpen the convictions of the Church with regard to liberty and law, while philosophy, through its renewed emphasis upon the immanence of God, opens a way for the conception of God which shall include the concrete features essential to Christian faith. So far as the first is concerned, we are coming to see that it is not will, but character, that is fundamental for our idea of personality. That man is most truly free whose will is most completely dominated by a consistent moral purpose and whose acts—given a knowledge of that purpose—we can most certainly predict. Character denotes to us such consistency of moral purpose; and law, so far from being a limitation of freedom, is its most effective means of expression. In Christ, then, we can fill up 'the mere good pleasure of his will,' with the innermost content of redemptive love. Not less significant is the help from modern philosophy. We are seeing that the ultimate reality, instead of being the most abstract, must be the most concrete of all conceptions. Modern thinkers have regarded the Christian ideal as away all that is most characteristic in experience into a colourless residuum, but rather by studying experience to discover, amid the infinite variety which it contains, the elements of permanence. From this standpoint, the Christian ideal is not its lowest, and the qualities which Christian faith finds central in God become those most needed for an explanation of the actual facts of life. The main outline of the historical growth of the pre-

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destination idea is thus evident. In ethical religion, lower, we have the instinct of fatality prehending the world, an act of the dawn and gradual growth of the instinct of freedom. In Hebraism there is a definite conviction of the general idea of predestination, combining the two features of divine sovereignty and human liberty. Judaism, on the other hand, serves the same general idea. Muhammadanism reverts to fatality. Christianity, primitive and Patristic, preserves and defends predestination as received from Hebraism along ethical lines. The meaning of predestination is that God has, and will develop its definition by setting in strong relief the absolute supremacy of grace over nature in St. Augustine and the congruity of grace with nature in St. Thomas. The Reformation Church deepens the idea, and develops its definition by setting in strong relief the absolute spirituality of grace as resting in God's mercy (in the Reforming leaders) and its finality as resting in God's glory (in Jonathan Edwards). The modern Church, relying on modern philosophy, which has gathered up the results of the modern sciences, of nature, history, and man in a broad synthesis centring in the Supreme Being as moral personality, accepts the vindication of the harmony of divine sovereignty and human liberty, thus closing the most profound source of conflict concerning the idea. The two foci of the predestination doctrine are both true, and every theory exalting one at the expense of the other has had to give place to the more adequate formula. The stubborn protest of orthodox common sense, which has never in any age lapsed, has been justified. The facts of the religious consciousness have availed to beget the theory, not the theory the facts.

V. THE MODERN TASK.—The supreme desideratum of the modern age is the saving of individuality, with its enterprise, romance, ever-fresh experience, and transforming impulses. It may be secured by that enlarged conception of the divine will regulating man's destiny to which every vital pulse of the modern spirit points. It will include a larger pantheism, a freer society, a richer soul.

1. A larger theism.—The antitheses of the age are not wholly in error. They are popular because of the meagreness of the current theism. They are vague, and they are not whole. The prevailing theism does scant justice or even violence. They are not negative; their negations proceed from a positive faith; and in their positive contribution to thought they correct one another and enable us to discern the lineaments of an impressive philosophy. Superficially regarded, they all seem to lead to determinism, apparently absorbing the individual in the whole. Pantheism, materialism, socialism, secularism, naturalism—they look like the delusion of the finite world. It is only in the popular or semi-popular intelligence. Take, e.g., pantheism. It is a term to which the vaguest and most contradictory meanings are attached, the clearest being that which identifies the world with God and regards man as part of it, and only as part of it, a part of the foundation of community and, indeed, of any rational meaning. How can pantheism say that the finite world is the infinite? We may say that it represents the infinite, but not that it is the infinite; and that is the religious idea of the delusion of the finite. It implies not the divinity, but the nothingness, of the world of sense and sight. The formula which expresses it is not 'All things are God,' but 'God is all in all;' or, in the comprehensiveness of the doctrine of Being, no second;' or the Christian conception, 'There is one God, beside Him no other.' Do not materialism and naturalism, when their real significance is seen, imply the same truth? They are eager to exalt the cosmic life-force as the dominating principle. How do they interpret it? Not abstractly, but from detailed observation of the actual phenomena of the world; hence its general conception is not untrustworthy; it is the concrete content of the abstraction of pantheism. And there is another idea of the one God, that no individual stands alone, that his perfection can never accrue in isolation, that, as the attraction of physical particle for particle causes every material body to retain its form and individuality, so through the whole of the world that very same influence of other selves is on the sure path to disintegration? Together these antitheses in the essential spirit urge that God is the only reality in the universe, that the life-force of creation is one, that man's safety and perfection rest in right relation with them. God's immanence in the world is the modern understanding of the eternal reality of its process and progress. Such conceptions are as profound as they are novel. They arise directly out of the minutest investigation into the facts with which science and history deal. They appeal to the theological mind to be drawn up into the idea of God and His relation to the world and man to enrich our apprehension of His transcendence and divine purpose. They teach us definitely concerning the thought in this world that we know, and of Himself standing above it working out its ends. On the foundation of that knowledge we are summoned to build up convictions of the character and will of Him who thus acts and of the destiny of all His actions. 2. A free society.—Social theory is as multi-form as antitheism. Anarchism, communism, socialism, nationalism, imperialism, are imperfectly understood apart from the ideal and emotional impulses prompting them. They are preparing the physical basis, the material conditions of large advances in human liberty. They are adversely criticized for doing the very opposite. But surely in their broad spirit they are operating to restrain those who need restraint within the attainments of human progress already won, in order that human welfare may enter on higher achievements. Social pressure, law, is not the foe of liberty; it is its nursing mother. Life depends on environment. The mind and the body are not perfections that from the fresh growth can come. Conditions must be organized if new life is to be generated. It is from lower forms that the higher as rise the appropriate métier of their life is secured. The social and industrial unrest of the times implies the bringing to birth of a fresh life of humanity. The new quality of life cannot live except with new social advantage. Here we note two facts of modern psychology: (a) social integration promotes individual independence, and (b) personality is enhanced by progress in material conditions. The individual is conditioned by his environment; that is the basis of all sound sociology. As a machine cannot work in an atmosphere that freezes its oils, or a plant flower in beauty in the Arctic region, so must the mind and body of the world of squalor, sin, and disease. This is the modern rendering of the ancient 'fate,' yet with what a difference for human hope! A large share of man's destiny is sealed by his birth and surroundings, and the freedom of choice remains his, his moral endeavour and moral vision are due quite as much to the community which produces him as to himself. On the other hand, it is a fact as well that this is for man's benefit and for the growth of his growth. A man is, first of all, a unity; and his nature as such prevents his easy descent into

1. C. R. Flint, Agnosticism, Edinburgh, 1903, last chapter.
the mass or dissolution into weakness. The more that unity of his is preserved and pressed, the stronger rises the outflow of original force of character the self-conscious life. Is this the mode of operation of the divine will upon the human? ‘Our wills are ours to make Thine’—have we here the method of discipline? Here once more is a summons to revise that harassing perplexity of foreknowledge and free will; here too a mightier incentive than before is conceived for material progress and Christian enterprise.

3. A richer soul.—The practical experience of that old doctrine, the mystical union with Christ, has not yet died down. It is well worth revival. The time is opportune. The stream of mysticism runs with a strong current in the modern science. It will enter theology as a power for good. Modern mystics are training us in their way of experience, and teaching the sacramentalism of nature; they are renewing our confidence in the validity of both in grace. Redemption is an economy like nature and providence; its spirit can be known and felt equally with theirs. The old doctrine of union is the right rule and goal of self-knowledge. His saving acts to represent, seal, and apply their benefits, are its proper medium of communication, conferring ‘God’s essence and His very self’ on believers. There is a spirit in creation; there is a spirit in grace. There are three, not one, but the experience of the first prepares for the last, in which their partial union with the divine life is consummated in perfect union. That union feeds the spirit of man, for the other half of the 19th century nature of man is not some special faculty or out-of-the-body ecstacy, but the conversion and sustenance of his ordinary powers. It is because we confine our union with the divine Being to communion with Him by our ordinary powers that our religious life is so paltry. But the fault rests, not in the powers, but in the method of using them. We commit two blunders. We use our powers in analysis, not in synthesis; and the result is that the self is not offered to the divine life for its unification. The self is more than the collection of its faculties; and we have to realize that there is no end to the spiritual treasure latent in it when God has access to it. Then, again, we think God rather than experience God. But a thought of God is not the experience of God—actual presence and passion. We have to learn that in the infinite personality there is no end to such action and passion. These recognitions, of our own deeper self and of the divine self, open the way for inlows from God constantly increasing unto perfection. Within our self God speaks and to our self; there is no identity, for identity would close intercourse. In this—the fine principle of the higher mysticism of our day—lies the sure hope of further spiritual advance.

But now every increase of living experience of this sort brings with it an increase of power to understand what God’s will is, what it is doing, and by what method He is doing it. Those ideas, the divine immanence in the world, the social soul of the universe, the entire life of self-conscious life, have as yet no place in theological system. The divine transcendence idea and predestination idea have been drawn deductively from data that are abstract; we must now build them up by induction from what we have seen are the data alone intelligible to the modern mind. They will then assume their proper position as the conditions that make real religious consciousness. To enlist the finest sympathies of modern culture and to effect its greatly desired harmony with modern faith.

held in conjunction with belief in transmigration, but in a strict sense it has reference to a state of being prior to any incarnation. The reference is to the human soul. For the pre-existence of the divine nature of Christ see the art. Jesus Christ (cf. also pre-existing soul). But it is evident that the existence of the souls of animals and plants are treated, for the most part, in connexion with transmigration (q.v.).

2. Origin of the doctrine.—The origin of belief in pre-existence is obscure. Man has difficulty in conceiving himself as non-existent, but experience familiarizes him with the facts of birth and death. When he reaches the conception of a soul in distinction to the body, his thought turns not only to the future but to the past. What is its origin? Among the answers which suggest themselves is this, that it has already existed before its union with the body. The inquiry may not proceed beyond the thought of previous incarnations, and of this we have many examples in the more primitive religions. But in other cases the inquiry has been pushed beyond this, or has advanced independently, to the thought of the existence of the soul in a spirit-world previous to its embodiment on earth, and a definite doctrine has been formulated. It is not necessary to specify exactly the origin of the doctrine, or the precise influence which one exercised on another with regard to it, we can in some cases trace its development and observe the extent to which it has prevailed. It is found in a well-developed form in Greek religion and philosophy, in Judaism, in the early Christian Church, in the religions of India, and to a very considerable extent associated with modern thought in the West.

Greek and Roman doctrine.—Belief in the pre-existence of the soul prevailed widely among the Greeks from an early date, and at a later time became a theory of their philosophers. The influence of Greek thought in this respect was strongly felt in the early Christian Church, and is still apparent to some extent throughout the whole of Western civilization. To gain a knowledge of the subject it is well, therefore, to begin by observing its place and character in the Greek religion and philosophy. Regarding the origin of the doctrine ancient philosophers, as the highest ideal thinkers, it is probable that, in the early stages, Egyptian or Oriental thought had any considerable influence. It appears to be of native origin and to have two distinct sources: (1) the early religious ideas of the people were in many cases connected with mythological tales; (2) the philosophical principles which were gradually formulated in the schools, and from a statement of which this doctrine followed as a corollary; but, even in the latter case, religions pre-possession was not without its influence.

To the Greeks, as to many other peoples, the soul is air or breath (πνεῦμα, ψῡχή), or an essence of a similar nature. It departs with life; it comes at the birth of life. What is the essential difference between Homer and Hesiod do not give us much help, but the answer of the Orphic religion is that it is divine. The direct testimony as to what was taught in the Orphic religion as early as the 7th century B.C. is not in existence. Plato speaks of it as an ancient doctrine that the souls of men, 'having gone there from here below, and return hither again and are produced from the dead' (Phaedo, 78 C). Philolaus states that Homer and Hesiod are ancient witnesses that the soul is joined to the body by way of punishment, and was not 'formed in' (Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 432 A; cf. Plato, Phaedo, 62 D). The statement of Plato and even of Philolaus may refer only to transmigration, but their testimony must be taken in connexion with the evidence of the Orphic tablets, on one of which the soul declares, 'A child of Earth and of starry Heaven am I; but of Heaven is my race.' There is also the strongest probability that Pythagoras derived his views on the soul's pre-existence from Orphic sources. The egg used in the Orphic ritual was a symbol of the divine egg of the universe as the principle of all life. We have here indications of an ancient religious belief that had already taken definite form. At a later time it gained precision and became the object of statements at the hands of the philosophers who have adopted it. In Plato and some other ancient philosophies the pre-Socratic philosophy prepared the way for the dogma. Some unifying principle was being sought. Thales found in water the principle of all things; Anaximander in undetermined, unlimited matter; Democritus in atoms which are indestructible; the Pythagoreans in number. The Eleatic school accounted for the phenomenal world by the principle of eternal, immutable being; Heraclitus by continual change, becoming; and the Atomists by an attempt at combining those two principles. The thought of the indestructibility of atoms involved that of the pre-existence of the constituents of the soul; and, as already in the Orphic religion, the devolution of the human body by the plurality of the gods. The correlation between thought and body is worked out by Anaxagora (c. 470 B.C.). He introduces into his philosophy the thought of a world-forming mind (οὐσία) that is absolutely separate from matter and that acts upon it. This matter-forming mind is immanent in different degrees as an animating soul in plants, animals, and men. The human soul is thus a portion of the world-creating mind, and existed in it prior to its manifestation in the body. In his treatment of the soul, however, the conception of immateriality is not yet made clear.

Plato (c. 387 B.C.), developing the teaching of Socrates, turns his attention in the first instance, not, like the earlier philosophers, to the investigation of external nature, but to reflection on the mind itself, its essential qualities, its endowments and activity, and in this way arrives at his theory of ideas. The idea is not a mere abstraction, but a real archetypal essence of the eternal. The product of the mind, the archetype of the good, the idea of the good Plato seems to identify with God who existed from eternity. Matter also existed eternally, but without quality or order. At the beginning of time God appears as the world-soul, the universal animating principle, and the germ of the material world forms the soul of the world. The chaotic matter is reduced to order and fitted to this world-soul as its body, which it animates and rules. The universe, which is the result of this creative work, is fashioned for the sake of what is good only, in beauty and harmony, after the model of the eternal ideas. Of this universe man is a part. He consists of soul and body, and in the embodied soul there are the three elements, the cognitive, sensuous, and creative. The relation of the last two to the first resembles that of two steeds to a charioteer. Sometimes Plato seems to think of the whole soul as pre-existent and immortal, but in general it is the cognitive part which is distinguished. This rational soul, as distinguished from the irrational and material elements, is of the same nature and character as the world-soul. A certain definite number of souls have been created by God, and this number is neither increased nor diminished.
Before the terrestrial life begins, the soul, with true personality, exists in a state of purity so refined that it is difficult to conceive its original estate, from beholding it, as we now find it, mured by its abode in a mortal body. It has knowledge of the divine and eternal, and enjoys a life of bliss in contemplating the ideal world. From this state of purity, for the sake of completing the world-overall scheme of things into a more integrated body. Its higher nature is still shown, when incarnate, by love of wisdom and by a yearning for the divine to which it is akin. The soul is indestructible, but in the conflict of the earthly life, the soul is sometimes taken at death into another human body, or even into a lower form of existence; if it maintains its purity, it returns to its original state of bliss, from which, however, it will again become incarnate. Through all these changes the continuity of its life is maintained. The soul in any particular body may, apparently, be undergoing its first or any subsequent incarnation. In the Phaedo a proof of pre-existence is found in the doctrine of 'reincarnation,' the meaning of which is illustrated in the Meno. It is also taught by the Stoics that knowledge of the universal is not acquired by direct experience or by teaching, but is drawn out of the soul; that the gaining of knowledge is an awakening of the memory which has become dulled through the soul's emigration, the recollection of ideas with which it was familiar before the present terrestrial life began.

Aristotle (335 B.C.) regards the soul as an organizing principle, manifesting its activity in plant, and animal, and human life. The soul is the microcosm, uniting in itself all the faculties of the lower grades of organic being with the additional faculty—reason. This reason, which is divine and immortal but not subject to transmigration, is the only element in the soul that exists before the body. His statements are, however, conflicting and his reference may be merely to the universal reason.

For the Stoics (from 310 onwards) the soul is an inborn breath pervading continuously the whole body, or man. The soul is a corporeal being separate from any particular body.

Stoic teaching, as well as Platonism, Pythagoreanism, and Oriental mysticism, had its influence on Greek and Jewish speculation at Alexandria from before the Christian era, and the thought of emanations was given a prominent place. This thought was taken up and developed by the Neo-Platonic schools which arose from the teaching of Ammonius Saccas (c. A.D. 210). Besides its influence in Alexandria the Neo-Platonic movement gave rise to Roman, Syrian, and Athenian schools.

The most notable exponent of Neo-Platonicism is Plotinus, the mystic who founded the Roman school in A.D. 224. In the system of Plotinus the Absolute One or the Good is incomprehensible, or at least, with Plato, the highest of the ideas, but not a result of all we call being, greater and better than reason and intelligence and sense, though it is that which gives them whatever reality they possess' (Enn., v. 14).

The ideas are emanations from the Absolute One, and as such are manifestations from the ideas. As the sun emits rays, the One, through its very perfection, overflows and sends forth an image of itself; and this image in turning to body and matter becomes the souls, pure or intelligible. In like manner the soul, an immaterial substance, is an emanation from the soul's of which it is an image. The ideas, endowed with true being and life, are immaterial in the soul. As the soul exists in the One, so the soul exists in the soul's of which it is an image. In the same art, the human soul is an emanation from the divine soul.

4. The doctrine in Judaism.—According to the teaching of the OT, the soul had no previous existence apart from the body. The representation of man's origin excludes the idea. In the case of the first pair there is a direct creation (Gen. 5th etc.). When the other works were finished, man was not yet made (Gen 128), and in the statement 'God created man in his image . male and female' (v. 25) the same verb is used as in v. 1, where the object is 'the heaven and the earth,' and in v. 4, with object 'sea-monsters.' The account in 2 is more in detail: the dust is fashioned and man becomes a living soul (nephesh) by the divine inbreathing. The life of the soul or of the body is not contemplated apart from regard to other individuals and race, there is nothing to suggest the view that the soul existed before the joint life begins on earth. The few passages most frequently quoted as favouring pre-existence are to be explained otherwise. 3.

In Job 14:4 I can imagine a篇 of my mother's womb, and asked shall I return thither, 'mother's womb,' on account of 'return' as an image of death. It is parallelism, a way of speaking with the soul, which will be taken in its natural sense (cf. 30:34 106:16); then in 'return thither' there may be an abbreviated comparison between this and the depths of mother earth (Sir 40:9); or, lease pre-
cibly, the state after death is thought of as being similar to the conditions in the womb whence man issues when life begins. The latter passage is in Ps 139:13, where the allusion is to the secret, curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. The term 'lowest parts of the earth' is elsewhere used of the realm of Eden, e.g. in the Babylonian Talmud, where it is applied to the underworld; and the reference is explicit in B. 25b to 'my bones' ('RV my frame'). We have here, therefore, a poetical comparison of the 'mother's womb' of v. 13 with the deep, mysterious recesses of the earth. In Job 38:7 the context shows the words are used in an implied sense: 'the feeblest known; for the earth is mine; (I know then that thou hast brought forth);' i.e. Job was old as the dead and dusty. The reference of the words may be to a fanciful idea that passages like 1 S 2, 12, and 2 Chr 29:46, can be thought to have any bearing on the subject.

Outside the Hebrew canon, however, and there still early traces of the doctrine, and in Hellenistic circles, and in later Judaism we find it fully developed. The idea of a disembodied soul, with an individuality of its own, had already become familiar to the Jews through their contact with Persian and Greek thought. The question of the disciples (Jn 20 [see below]) shows that theories of pre-existence were known to the Jews of Palestine in the time of Christ. Josephus tells us that it was a doctrine of the Essenes that souls after death are only transposed to the terrestrial realm, from which they wander forth from the most subtle ether, they are drawn down by a kind of natural allurement and entangled in bodies as in prisons (BJ II. vii. 11). Whether his account is exact or not, the doctrine has been traceable through the Essene, and their traces were probably influenced by the Pythagorean views that spread with Hellenism. Parsi and Buddhist influences are also suggested.

Among the Jews of Alexandria the doctrine was held by the Qumranians, as we see from the statements of Philo and from the Apocryphal writings (Wis 3:36, 'Now, I was a child of parts, and a good soul fell to my lot; nay rather, being good, I came into a body unformed'). He speaks first as if his personality was distinct from his soul (so, too, Wis 15:3, where man at death 'is required to render back the soul which was lent him' ('RV'), but then he corrects this and speaks of the soul which pre-existed as being the real self. He implies, further, that there is a distinction between soul and body. He has therefore put the body (cf. Slav. Enoch, xxiii. 5, 'All souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world'); Syr. Apoc. Baruch, xxx. 2 and 2 Es 4:24, sometimes quoted, are not to the point). Philo the Hellenist developed this idea; he took the doctrine of Plato's idealism, and fitted it into his allegorical method of interpreting the OT. Man is composed of soul and body. The soul consists of two parts, the rational and irrational principles. It is only in speaking of its functions that he adopts the Platonic tripartite division. The irrational part of the soul, like the soul of animals, rises by generation, and, being material in its origin, is mortal. The rational principle, which is the true soul, is pre-existent and immortal. It is an emanation from the Deity; and, although Philo makes a distinction between the Supreme Source of all things and the world, he speaks of the human soul as 'a ray' or a segment of the Soul of the universe (Myst. Nov. 30). It is 'an emanation or a ray' of the divine reason (De Mundo Opificio, 51). Of incorporeal souls, which are emanations from the Deity, there are two classes, and these have their abode in the air and the heavens. The higher class consists of 'angels' in the Scriptures; they do not descend into bodies and are incorruptible; but the other class, viz. the souls of men, being nearer to the earth, are attracted by the body, and by their union with it become corruptible. The soul finds in the body its prison-house or tomb, from which it escapes at death to enjoy its true life.

In the Talmud and the Midrash the pre-existence of souls is clearly taught. They are created before God and given a distinct existence as beings. There are variations in the statements regarding details such as the time of their creation and their abode. In Briskh Kallah, 8, God is represented as taking counsel with the souls of the righteous before He created the earth. According to Tannhâin, 3, all souls which were to enter human bodies were formed during the six days of creation and were in the Garden of Eden. Before their descent to earth the souls are kept in the seventh heaven. In the Zohar they are kept in the 'house' (Sîrê, 143b), and it has been said that the Messiah will come when all the souls in the gîph have passed through the earthly life ('Abodâh Zîrâh, 5a; cf. Yôhûmîth, 62.1).

It is not settled whether the soul comes to earth at the time of conception or after the embryo has taken form (Sanh. 90c). The doctrine appears in great detail in the Kabbalistic literature. According to the book of Zôhâr (13th cent.), the soul in its essence is derived from the Supreme Intelligence, the Universe and the Heavens. He purposed to create the world, it was brought before Him in His will, and He formed all the souls that were to be given to men; they were there made in the exact form in which they were afterwards to appear as children of men on the earth; they were created pure, but He saw that some of them would afterwards corrupt themselves in the world (Zôhâr, i. 90b). They are sent into their bodies that they may be educated by taking their part in the universe, and then contemplates creation. The doctrine was further developed and rendered popular by Isaac Luria (16th cent.) and his school. All souls destined for the human race were created together in Adam. They had their place in different parts of his body—the brain, the eye, the hand, etc.—and, as there are superior and inferior organs and members, there are corresponding differences in the qualities of souls. As every human soul is a spark from Adam, all bear the taint of his first sin. These theories of the Kabbalists have therefore been misunderstood. Perhaps the most elaborate system of transmigration (cf. Luria, Sîfer Haszâidîñ;). At present the doctrine, as taught in the Talmud and the Midrash, is part of the creed of the Jews (cf. Prayer Book, passim), and the mystics, whilst they may deny the doctrine of the race, adopt in addition the Kabbalistic views. In the Morning Prayer in the Synagogue the form of expression, 'the soul which thou hast given me,' is similar to that used in Wis 3:8, but it is understood in the sense made explicit in v. 39 (cf. above).

5. In the Christian Church.—Pre-existence is not taught in the NT. When the disciples asked the question, 'Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?' (Jn 9), they probably had the doctrine of pre-existence in mind; but this would merely show that it was current in Palestine at the time, and that they may have still held it at this stage of their discipleship. Through the influence of Hellenistic and Buddhist religions, it soon made its appearance among certain sects who derived part of their teaching from Christianity, notably the Mandaeans (q.v.), originating in Palestine in the 1st cent. There is a considerable amount of material in the Gospels according to St. Mark. One passage from Antioch and Alexandria in the 2nd cent. ; and the Manicheans (q.v.) from Persia in the 3rd. It is involved in their theories of emanation and of the inherent evil of matter, by association with which spirit is defiled. An illustration may be given from the
speculations of the Valentinian Gnostics. From the dust of the earth and the pneumatic seed which Achamoth had conveyed into it the Demiurge formed man and breathed into him psychical life. He placed him in the lower heavens, but in consequence of disobedience banished him from his abode in the light of material body. Men multiply and the best of them—those with pneumatic natures—have an innate longing to return to the Pleroma. With the Manicheans the soul is a particle of the heavenly light imprisoned in matter, from which it may, at death or after further purification, return to the realms of light.

Under the influence of Greek philosophy many of the Church Fathers made a theory of pre-existence part of their system of doctrine. As early as the middle of the 2nd cent. it was taught by Justin Martyr, who, being a Platonist before his conversion, allowed his philosophy to colour his views of Christian doctrine; but its most in- fluential advocate was Origen, who worked it out in a clearly defined form in his great abridgment de Principiis. Origen was familiar with the Alexandrian philosophy, being a fellow-student of Plotinus at the school of Saccas. Fundamental to the system of Origen is the thought that God is immaterial and indestructible and that the spirits which God has created from all eternity are the spirits of men, and these were made in the image of God. All created spirits are endowed with freedom, and in the exercise of that freedom the spirits of men have fallen. The material world was subsequently created for the discipline and purification of spirits who have misused their freedom. The fallen spirits of men are banished into bodies in this material world. Man has a threefold nature: body, soul, and spirit, the material body and the rational soul or spirit being united by the animal soul. The rational soul is the immortal and eternal part which has suffered the premundane fall. Origen was followed in this teaching by Pierius, John of Jerusalem, Hylmus, Nemesis, and others. Jerome at one time believed in it, and Augustine acknowledged himself in doubt. It was opposed by Methodius and Gregory of Nyassa, and condemned by a decree of Justinius A.D. 529, and by the Council of Constantinople in the same year; but in the Western Church it maintained itself in some quarters till the time of Gregory the Great at the end of the 6th century. Since that time it has been common held that the existence of all men was present to the foreknowledge of God and that it is part of the divine purpose; but a definite statement of actual pre-existence has not had a place in the acknowledged creed of any of the great Christian Churches. Still, individual theologians are to be found who have explicitly maintained it.

A particular phase of this doctrine occurs with regard to the person of Christ. It was taught by Origen and held by his followers that, like the soul of Adam, the soul of Christ was pre-existed by God from eternity. It did not, like the others, suffer a premundane fall. The divine nature of Christ united with this undeified soul and through it with the body. Among modern writers Isaac Watts (1674) adopted this theory. Cf. also Julius Müller.

6. In Indian religions.—The doctrine of pre-existence has a place in some form or other in most of the religions of India—Buddhism and Islam being but a few of the exceptions. Whether it was brought there by the Aryan invaders or afterwards originated among them, or was adopted by them from the pre-Aryan inhabitants, has not yet been determined. The significance of the doctrine is conditioned by the varying conceptions of the Deity which have been current in different periods and in different religious systems. The prevailing mode of thought is pantheistic, but in the Vedic hymns it sometimes shades off into polytheism; and sometimes—as is the case also in the later Buddhist literature—it denounces pantheism. Thus, in Buddhism it becomes practically atheistic; whilst the pantheism of Brähmanism becomes blended with polytheism in Hinduism. In the Rigveda the mother Aditi, 'immensity,' is conceived of as having created all existents, and she is 'what has been born, and what will be born.' The teaching—a already a part of Brähmanism—becomes clear in the Upasnisadas (c. 500 B.C.) and in most of the systems of philosophy founded on them, as well as in the codes of law. The doctrine is common to all these writings that the soul (purusa, or the self, atman) is eternal. It has always existed and it always will exist. In the case of man the soul, when united to the body, is brought to birth and endures the mission of an earthly life. Of the various modes of presenting the doctrine only examples can be given here. According to one representation, all organized existence, material and immaterial, develops out of a primal substance, prakṛti, in virtue of its own internal tendency. Or, when this view is set forth in such a way as to involve a materialistic monism, but in the Śaṅkhyā philosophy the basis is dualistic. According to the last theory, besides the prakṛti, there are individual souls existing eternally and indestructible, and it is to unite with these that the prakṛti energizes itself. There is no supreme soul, for all souls are equal; but the modifications of the prakṛti with which they unite produce differences in the earthly mind. Or, if the soul is in origination from matter, it can free itself from it and regain its liberty. There is another way of presenting the theory in the Upasnisadas and worked out in the Vedānta philosophy which is essentially idealistic and involves a pantheistic view of the universe. One principle of life animates man and nature. It is the atman, or self. It appears in nature as air or ether and in man as breath. The individual soul (jīvātman), which has its abode in the heart, is part of the supreme self (paramātman). The existence of a practical, experimental kind. The consciousness of separate existence is, however, illusion, ignorance of its real nature, and true knowledge consists in recognizing itself as identical with the supreme atman.

A doctrine of pre-existence cannot be said to find a place in Indian Buddhism (which denies the atman), but it appears in a distinct form in the closely related system—Jainism. The Jains believe that the world is eternal; all animates beings are composed of soul and body; the soul has always existed and always will exist, but during the earthly life or series of lives it is in bondage through its association with matter.

The doctrine of pre-existence is found in many of the Hindu sects of the Vedānta religion among the Hindus are Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism, although the sects which represent these have been subjected to almost endless subdivision. The materials for their creeds are derived chiefly from Brähmanism by paraphrase and by the addition of purely Hindu and aboriginal, that were independent of Brähmanism. Vaiṣṇavism has the greatest number of adherents, and among most of its sects the influence of the Vedāntic idealism, as expounded by Śaṅkara, is apparent, although as time went on the distinctive conception of the creed. Sometimes Kṛṣṇa, one of the incarnations of Vīṣṇu, is represented as being alone real, the absolute being in human form, and the consciousness of independent
existence in men is the product of his deceptive magic; but in the teaching of the Panchârâtras individual souls are emanations from the Supreme Being and, till they are absorbed in him again, enjoy a temporary existence, as a result of which is described in the Vedânta-sûtras, Sûtra l. 6. 1-2, the doctrine of Tâmânuja, who are numerous both in N. and in S. India, attribute a distinct but finite reality to individual souls; and the followers of Ananda-tirtha in the south regard individual souls as having been pre-existent in some preceding incarnation and from God. The Sûtras—in some respects diffeent—follow the Vedântic teaching on this subject.

In Saivism, which is more closely related to the doctrine of Sâkhâ philosophy, the distinction of the soul from God on the one hand and from matter on the other is made clear. While the soul is united to matter, it is subject to error and sin; it is separated from God, held back as by a chain which the faithful should earnestly seek to have broken. There is, however, a branch of the Saivite religion, represented chiefly by ascetics in Benares and in the Deccan, in which a pure idealism is adopted. God is regarded as the only substance, and objects, including the individual ego, as His ideal thoughts.

These notices are far from an exhaustive enumeration of the modifications of the doctrine to be found in the Indian religions; but from them we see that pre-existence has been part of the teaching of all the great religious systems of the Hindus except Buddhism; that it is still a definite part of the teaching of that Hinduism, whether the cult adopted be that of Vishnu or that of Siva, which is now the religion of more than 200,000,000 of the people of India, as well as of the smaller communities of the Sûtras and the Jains.

7. In other religions.—The belief in previous incarnations common to many primitive religions—among N. American Indians, Australian aborigines, African tribes, and elsewhere—is discussed under the title INCARNATION; here we are concerned with the origin of the soul previous to any incarnation. On the other hand, it is probable that pre-existence was believed in among some races whose religio-philosophical systems were similar to those of the Hindus, except Buddhism. From the Rigveda, one of the oldest secular writings of the Veda, we learn that the doctrine of pre-existence was held by certain authors so early as the second millennium B.C. The doctrine of pre-existence is also shown to have been held by such philosophers as Pythagoras, and by such poets as Homer and Virgil, and (as peccatum originarium) it is itself an intelligible act, cognizable only by reason, performed by the individual, not in the phenomenal world but in the supersensible sphere. He does not, however, represent this act as taking place in a pre-existent state. The act is timeless (Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Verknüpfung, ii. [Gesammelte Schriften, Berlin, 1900-13, vi.]).

The thought thus darkly suggested by Kant was given more definite form by subsequent philosophers. Schelling, postulating pre-existence, conceives of man as falling at the beginning of all things from absolute to self-dependent existence, in which state he remains till birth. Variations of a theory of pre-existence on a basis of idealism or of realism are to be found in Schleiermacher, Schopenhauer, I. H. Fichte, Herbart, and many others. Julius Müller presents the doctrine in a clearly-defined form. A threefold primitive condition is assigned to man—his origin, his final end, the eternal ideas, in the extra-temporal existence of which every person is a part of the temporal beginning of his earthly development. Believing in trichotomy, he regards the ψευδόνομος as being generated with the body, and the πρωτόνομον οίκον as the element that is pre-existent. The πρωτόνομον οίκον is thought of as the source of the providence of nature, because involved in a condition of primitive sinfulness in the extra-temporal stage of existence. Among recent philosophers J. M. E. McTaggart thinks that pre-existence can be proved in a directly metaphysical way. He believes in a plurality of lives both before and after the present life. Henri Bergson, developing his theory of creative evolution, speaks of souls as being continuously created, which, nevertheless, in a certain sense pre-existent. William James, in explaining his transmission theory of the function of the brain, thinks of our consciousness as being continuously derived from something mental (a mind or minds) that pre-existed—from a consciousness that existed before the earth or the world. The direction in which the minds of many writers are turned is shown by the frequent use of such terms as ‘oversoul,’ ‘soul-stuff,’ ‘mind-stuff,’ ‘subliminal self,’ and Fechner’s ‘psycho-physical threshold.’

Belief in pre-existence is expressed by several English poets and by other writers. Vaughan has it in The Retreat (1654), the leading thoughts of which are borrowed and amplified by Wordsworth in his Ode on the Intimations of Immortality. In the treatment in both cases there is an echo of
Plato's doctrine of reminiscence, with this difference that it is the child in its earliest days that has the clearest recollection of the heavenly world and the impression becomes dimmed as life progresses. In the Poem of the House of Usher, M. J. L. assumes pre-existence to account for his familiarity with a strange place, and for the bond that binds two lovers. Browning represents Cristina as feeling that 'ages past the soul existed' (cf. the Ueberweg, J. belief whilst two assumes the in the ian by present and ian, in D'Oultre (1856), whilst not advocating transmigration in the ordinary sense, speaks of birds as embryo souls, candidates for the life to which the human soul has attained. Edward Beecher is an advocate of existence in The Conflict of the A. B. O. Wilberforce, in The Hope That is in Me, 'I believe we have all been in being prenatally.' The evidence of a similar belief can often be seen in recent Russian literature. Among modern theosophists the belief is common that the conscious spirit is an eternal entity, a unit from eternity.

9. Summary.—By referring to the particulars given above it will be seen that belief in pre-existence prevailed very widely in ancient times, especially in the more developed ethnic religions. To what extent borrowing occurred has not been determined, but the probability is that in several cases the belief originated independently. It is held at present by most of the Hindus, by most Jews, and by many philosophers and other Christians in Christian countries. There seems to be a tendency to revert to it in philosophic arguments in favour of the immortality of the soul. The doctrine appears in at least three distinct forms, each of which has several variations. (1) In the pantheistic form the soul pre-existing only in the Deity, and in the present life it continues to be merely a manifestation of the Deity. The Vedantic philosophy, Spinoza, Hegel, and many others may be cited. It was shown to Leibnitz that to strict pantheism the same theory applied. (2) Another form is where the soul is thought of as having a distinct independent existence during the present life, and as having existed previously, but not as a soul. Manicheism and some of the Pantheistic of the 18th century, in which the pre-existing soul is a distinct individual entity. The degree of consciousness ascribed to it varies, but the present life is a continuation of that which went before. The soul is an emanation from or is created by the Deity, or is eternally existent. It is in one of the varieties of the last form that the doctrine generally appears. The conditions in which the pre-existent soul lives are seldom described with any attempt at exactness, but generally to be states of bliss or at least of freedom from distress exceeding anything known on earth. This is the doctrine of the Essenes, Plato, Philo, and the Saivites. In many cases pre-existence is simply postulated, but this may or may not be made a belief in it. It has been regarded as more easily credible than any other account of the soul's origin—than either creationism or transmigration; as accounting for the feeling of familiarity that one sometimes has for a place never visited before, and the affinity that man has for other men. The details of or at their first meeting (so in modern poets); as accounting for innate ideas (Plato), for original depravity (Müller), Origen derives it from the nature of the soul and regards it as the correlative of immortality; the idealists from the conception of existence. McTaggart hopes (1915) to justify his belief by a discussion of the fundamental of reality. None of the arguments advanced is convincing, and the phenomena observed can be better accounted for on other


R. Moore.

PREFERENTIAL DEALING.—'P referential dealing' has been defined (e.g., in the Christian Social Union paper on Proposals for the Social Order) as pertaining to dealings only from tradesmen who observe the standard regulations for each trade'; and 'standard regulations' are taken to mean 'the best that can be ascertained at a given time in a particular locality, whether the regulations be those of the local authority or of an arbiter by an arbitrator. In this sense the term preferential dealing was first applied by the C.S.U. in 1906. An attempt had been previously made in England to organize a movement on similar lines under the title of a 'Consumers' League,' but no definite results seem to have been obtained by this method. It should be noted, however, that in America the 'National Consumers' League' has accomplished a great deal. It has a wide scope of action, including the promotion of legislation by the various States in regard to the early closing of shops, the limitation of the hours of work for women and children in factories, etc. At an earlier date the principle of preferential dealing had been recognized in England by the 'Fair Wages Resolution' passed by the House of Commons in 1891, requiring the payment of 'standard' or 'current' wages under all Government contracts.

As interpreted by the C.S.U., this practice was described at first as 'exclusive dealing,' but this negative term was soon replaced by the positive term, 'preferential dealing.' It was found that the mere suggestion of an organized attempt to exclude tradesmen from public custom, for any
by more or less magical means, but in many instances this is in addition to actual cohabitation. Some writers have maintained that ignorance of the cause of conception must once have been widely spread, and possibly at one time in the history of mankind, has been universal. The reasons alleged for this ignorance are several: conception is found not to result from the wide-spread practice of cohabitation before puberty; why then should it follow it after puberty? Premature intercourse is always dangerous, and even at times disastrous. The proportion of births to acts of sexual union. And even where the cause is known, it is not regarded as invariable and indispensible.

In spite of all this, it may be doubted whether the belief in virgin-birth has ever been wide-spread. In most cases where conception is due to a god or spirit these are envisaged in very material and human aspects. Among the Sinupolo (British New Guinea) pregnancy is thought to result from frequent cohabitation. Conception begins in the breasts so that the woman becomes pregnant. Later the child drops to the abdomen. There is no idea of an intra-abdominal organ. Among the Yakuts the woman is thought to have a greater share in procreation than the man, who therefore takes no responsibility for monstrosities.

2. Averting barrenness and securing male children. As the possession of some children at least is considered a great invariable with savage peoples as well as at higher levels, many devices are made use of to avert barrenness.

The Eskimo woman of Behring Straits goes to a shaman, who gives her a kind of doll over which rites have been performed. She carries this doll under her pelt.4 This is a piece of imitative magic, and may be compared with a Japanese method in which the woman is packed in a form of delivery with a doll at the phallic festival.5 Various practices with a doll-like image occur elsewhere—among the Bataas, in Torres Straits Islands, in the Sandwich Islands, the Himalayas, the Basutos and other African tribes, etc.6 Among the Jahoma women are thought to be barren or fruitful at the will of the clan deity. They have a black doll which must be presented to the chief, and is supposed to be given by the wife to her husband's care during her pregnancy. In the Congo region heathen women are said to be cured by entering the ndeula secret society, when the entrant gets a new body.7 Among the Awauma barren women wear tiny horns in hope of bearing children, the reproach of barrenness being the worst local. In Central Africa the woman provides a black hen, which is tied to her back, and there fed as if it were a child.8 In Egypt barren women pass seven times under the stone on which the bodies of decapitated criminals have been washed, and then have their faces in the polluted water. Others step over the body of a decapitated man.9 Bathing in or drinking the waters of a sacred well or spring is often resorted to for the cure of barrenness. A young woman with a child in it, or who has become mothers after doing so. In modern Muhammadan districts favourite places of resort are the tombs of saints, where the writers say that flowers and plants spring from the heavenly grounds. Women visit the tombs of Christian saints. Contact with fixed rocks or boulders or relics of legal guilt is also recommended; the reformation then believed to be effectual for the removal of barrenness—the spirit of the stone or of the dead buried there perhaps being supposed to assist the rite or even to be reborn.

Sometimes special ceremonies occur to ensure that the expected child will be a boy. In Sabai, Torres Straits, the expectant mother nurses the image of a male child made by her husband's sister. On the other hand, a woman was not only male offspring. In Japan the expectant mother puts part on her husband's dress, and having gone round a well three times, looks at her face in the water. Without looking behind, she makes the Woman of the moon drink it. Then for three days she leaves the cover on the well, which is a

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3 C. G. Seligmann, JAT xxxii. (1902) 300.
4 W. G. Sumner, ib. xxxi. (1901) 50.
5 In R. L. Labrador, Africa, 1898, p. 458.
7 Examples in G. B. Cranon, The Magi Art, London, 1911, i. 70 ff.
8 Roscoe, JAT xxxviii. (1907) 110.
9 FL xxxi. (1910) 467.
10 J. H. Miles, JAT xxxi. (1906) 164.
11 FL xxv. (1904) 72.
12 E. W. Lane, Modern Egyptians, London, 1854, ii. 70.
16 A. C. Haddon, JAT xix. (1896) 389 ff.
domestic god. In India a low-class mother of daughters only has been known to kill a neighbour's girl as a sacrifice in order to ensure the birth of sons.

3. Tabus during pregnancy. — The expectant mother and sometimes also the father are the subjects of various tabus, for the mother usually connected with food, for the father with that also, but more usually with his actions or pursuits. The validity of the tabus is generally realized in a tabu state, since her condition is associated with those sexual crimes which are so mysterious to and so much feared by savage man. Some of the tabus imposed on her or her husband may also be due to the belief that following the eating of some particular food; others are the result of mal-observation or superstition; others are purely arbitrary. Only a few typical examples need be given here.

Among the Australian tribes food restrictions are general for the woman, less so for the man, for fear of hurting the child or causing its death. 2 In Murray Island birthmarks are attributed to the mother's eating a certain fish, the juice of which touched the child. 3 With the Sinagulo of British New Guinea, the child shall be deformed, certain species of yam and fish are forbidden to a fish, lest the child's skin be toughened. 4 Among the western tribes of Torres Straits no woman may eat of a certain penguin till past child-bearing, 5 in Halmahera the woman shall not go near the remains of her husband's food, for that would cause difficult labour. 6 In Acean one of the tabus, or tabas, is that a woman must not eat many specified articles of food for fear of harm to the child. 7 With the Waawanga (E. Africa) the woman must not eat meat called roroko, if it is already dead the child will be deformed. 8 If she does, her child will be sickly, and, when it begins to crawl, its hair will fall out, and sores will occur on its scalp. 9 Among the Bagah, while there are no special tabus, precautions are taken against eating foods which might do the child harm. The husband must not take viands which are tender, rice, water-roof, lest a miscarriage occur. 10 The father is prohibited from eating certain foods among the Bangala, and many others of the tribes. 11 There is a prohibition among several Indian tribes against eating certain foods of the gynaec (medicine-man). The husband is said to be in a state of filo. Tabu is also placed on certain foods for the woman by the man, but not vice versa. 12 With the Baganda sickly or delicate children are kept away from the woman, who is forbidden to eat several kinds of food, lest the child be still-born or delicate. 12 Among S. African tribes there are several restrictions prescribed by custom, but no evil consequences are thought to follow departure from these. 13 In ancient Persia the woman was forbidden to eat dead matter under pain of death, and she could not be purified from this pollution. In some Indian tribes, women from the Indians of the Issa-Japura district, S. America; foods are much restricted—eg., a peace-offering is given away, but it has teeth like that of animals, etc. 14 A further tabu is seen in the very general avoidance of sexual connexion between husband and wife either during the whole period of pregnancy or during part of it, especially towards the end. Some of the precautions—tabus—is for the child to be deformed (Sinagulo, British New Guinea) 15 or lest the hunting and fishing of the father should be bad and the child sicken or die (Bangala). 17 Such avoidances are the result of the belief that any time of sexual crisis is dangerous. Examples are found in many parts of the world. 18

In British Central Africa a man will not commit adultery during the pregnancy of his wife because he would be accused of it if she died.

In connection with the object of certain Hindu rules are worthy of notice. The pregnant woman must be given food before the household and even before guests; 19 way must be made for her and she must be kept-free from hunger even if she is fined for committing a nuisance; 2 A Brahman must not eat in her house; 2 the crime of killing her is equal to that of killing a Brahman.

Other tabus are of a precautionary nature, though the link between them and the unborn child or the process of birth is of a magical kind. One of these is that no knots may be tied during pregnancy by the woman, otherwise the child would be deformed—this, the woman being thus herself apt to be tied up, or the child constricted. This is akin to the custom of unlocking all locks in the house at child-birth, lest the womb should be locked up, or to the German superstition that a pregnant woman should not creep through a hedge. 2 So, too, Aim men should not spin or twist ropes when their wives are pregnant, lest the child's intestines should be entangled, and Romans were praying to Lucina when they be to loosen their hair, so that she might loosen their wombs. 2 For similar reasons a pregnant woman should not sit with legs crossed, nor should her husband do so, nor any one sitting near her; nor should they sit with clasped hands. Lucina sat by the side of the house, and she was the house-ladder, the Lucina, the ladder to Heaven, the Lucina, the ladder to Hercules; hence his mother travelled with him seven days. 11 In Sumatra the woman must not stand at the door or on the threshold when the husband returns. 12 In other places among the Torajas standing or loitering on the ladder is forbidden to every one for the same reason. 11 In India an elder woman should not enter the bathroom, for that would cause harm. No work must be done—e.g., locking or unlocking a door—lest the child be deformed if you any accident in cutting, lest it have holes in its flesh or a hare-lip. 2 An ancient Parsi regulation was that no toothpick should have the bark left on it. This was dead as a toothpicker, or an ivory toothpick, in which case the child would come to harm. 14 In India no one should step over a fallen bress, lest he cause suffering to a pregnant woman. 2 The woman herself who went to the Weta, a large tree, a step could not arise, and in Hindustan stepping over a hare's form causes the child to suffer from hare-lip.

In some instances charms are worn to prevent any mishap which might happen to the woman or the child, or to give an easy delivery.

Among the Bagandas in the later weeks of pregnancy pigments are painted by a medicine-man on the woman's breast, abdomen, shoulders, etc., and she wears charms to cause easy delivery. 17 After her marriage a Nandi woman collects pieces of their dress from unmarriagable girls in the neighbourhood and wears them as a charm to ensure pregnancy taking its normal course. After birth they are returned and a feast takes place. 18 With the women of the Tung in India while pregnant women wear wooden beads with festoon-medicine inside to avert dangers of pregnancy and cause easy delivery. They are made by the medicine-man. 19 A New Guinea man, when his wife is pregnant, puts the sail of the canoe on the bed. He is procured from a priest, who blows upon it. 20 Among the Awar and among the Toda of the Nilgiris instances A. E. Crawley, The Mystic Rose, London, 1902, p. 9.

Pregnant women being in a state which renders them liable to the attacks of evil spirits, various precautions are taken against these. The charms so often worked probably form one of such precautions.

1 Stannus, J.R.A.I. xl. 306 (1902).
2 Institutes of Vīśṇu, xxvi. 39 (SBE viii. 1900) 216.
3 Dāṇḍakāyana, ii. ii. 60 (SBE xii. 1905), and Ci. of Lives of Manu, vii. 407 (SBE xxv. [1886] 325).
4 Law of Nārada, xxxvi. 228. 230.
5 Aparatā, r. 39 (SBE ii. 59).
6 Institutes of Vīśṇu, xxvii. 2 (SBE viii. 1902).
7 Mann, The Ideals of the E. Indian and Malayean Races, from Lapland, and among European savages, will be found in G.B., pt. ii, Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, London, 1911, 294, 295.
9 Anthropo., v. (1910) 763; Ovid, Fasti, iii. 327.
11 G.B., pt. i., The Magic Art, i. 114.
14 FL. xiii. (1909) 257.
15 J. W. West, J.A.I. xxxix. 100.
16 C. W. Hobley, J.A.I. xxxix. (1905) 845.
17 H. H. West Sheman, J.A.I. xxxix. 154.
18 A. E. Rose, J.A.I. xxxix. 279.
Among the Sinhalese the woman is protected from devils by mantras for charging each day's first food and drink. 1 Among the Papuans the woman is induced in its cause miscarriages. The woman is protected at night by an idol, which is connected with a second by a chain of palm-leaves, while before the latter a fire is kept burning. 2 Then the woman must run along the chain in fear and then leap on the tree, mistaking it for the woman. 3 With the ancient Parce fire was maintained in the house by the woman before the fire was protected Zoroster's mother when attacked by demons. 4 Among the Greek woman, her husband must throw an evil spirit on childbirth, the river-spirit and also the Python are worshipped to cause easy delivery. 4 Protection of the woman against jinn is credited to the Protection of the house from the seventh month onwards. After delivery it is let loose in the Jew's quarter, carrying the jinn with it. 5 Among some of the Java spirits, (spirits) is invoked, and a religious dance performed as soon as pregnancy is diagnosed. 3 Prayer is also offered for the child's health. For a Ravnakala goddess of pregnant women cf. E.B.B. 3046. 6

Sometimes the pregnancy rites are of a more elaborate nature than those which have just been described. 7 The seventh month husband and wife go to a river or well. Banana-leaves are fastened round the upper part of the woman's body. Through an opening in front of these the husband drops a weaver's shuttle, which an old woman catches, pretending that it is a child. An egg, emblem of the afterbirth, is then passed through, and a cut is made at the opening in the leaves, cutting the nest in two strands. The purpose of this ceremony is to facilitate delivery. 7

Most elaborate of all are the rites followed in India, of which, as practised by Hindus and Muhammadans, a detailed description has been given by H. A. Rose. 8 8 These rites vary from tribe to tribe, and consist of ceremonies in the 3rd, 5th or 7th month or in all three, or in the 8th or 9th month. There is an interchange of presents between the woman and her mother. Offerings are made to the spirits. The woman is bathed and dressed in new clothes—not worn before the performance of the rites. The kinfolk assemble, and gifts of food or fruit are placed in her lap. She and her husband adore the gods. The Muhammadan rites are analogous to these, but without the worship of the gods.

The Kathis, a Panchab tribe, perform funeral rites for the female with a sacrifice, while the parents hold a sacred thread for the birth. 9 This goes back to the belief found in the Laws of Manu that after conception by the woman, her husband becomes an embryo and is reborn from her. 10 He dies when his son is quickened; hence the funeral rites.

4. Power of the pregnant woman.—The condition of the pregnant woman is often thought to have magical power, especially for fruitfulness.

Corn grown by her is used to fertilize the growing crops among the Zulus. 11 She eats of the food at the feast held among the Shoshoneans and Navahos. In Indonesia when a rice crop is being ordered to increase the fruitfulness of the rice. 12 In the Nicobar Islands gardens are made more fertile by her presence in them or by her ashes being thrown on them. 13 Similar treatment is accorded to savages and survive in European folklore. Probably for similar reasons, but more water is sacrificed for the woman in the Kirdi, with offerings to the earth 'pregnant with the seed,' the unicorn calves burned, and their ashes used at the Parthia. 14

It is said that in Lancashire gypsy belief a pregnant woman protects a man from hurt by mortal hands. 15

On the other hand, pregnant women being more or less in a tabu state, 16 their influence on the crops may be dangerous, as examples from New Guinea and elsewhere show. 17

In British Guiana, again, if a pregnant woman eats of game caught by hunting dogs, it is thought that they will never hunt again. 18 In the Panjāb it is held that a snake becomes blind if the shadow of a pregnant woman falls on it. 19 Presbyteral priests say that a pregnant woman is effaced by two men, both must be cleansed by the bārebāshī rite. 20

5. Determination of sex, etc.—Many methods are adopted to discover whether a woman is with child, its sex, and the like.

If a Negro woman is in doubt as to her condition, she goes to the sorcerer. Allowing his eyes with a magic drug, looks into a calabash of water and tells what is to happen. 21 In Banke's 'Island of the Dead' a priestess is enchanted by the spirit of the river. If the water squirts out, a boy will be born; if not, a girl. 3 Sex is determined among the Veddas by the position of strips of basalt; they have distinct beds in which they have already referred to. If they fall over the face, a girl will be born; if on the occiput, a boy. 5 In Japan, if some one calls a pregnant woman 'good morning,' then at the end of three days she is asked whether the child is born. If it is born from the left, the child is a boy; if from the right, a girl. Another method of determining sex is to add together the years of the father's and mother's ages and divide by nine; if the remainder is odd, a girl will be born. 22 Among Muhammadans in the Panjāb it is thought that if the woman's milk before birth is thin, she will have a boy: if when put in a shell and fire is applied, it dries up, she will have a girl. 23 According to the Sūdārṣaṇa Pūjālīkā (vii. 34 t. [SBE.xxi. 24]), a preacher of the law (Buddhist) can discern if a woman is pregnant of a dead child or if she will have a healthy child. He discerns by the odour whether the child will be a boy or a girl.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited, see H. Ploss and M. Bartels, Das Weltbild, Leipzig, 1902, 1903; J. A. MacCulloch.

PREMONITION.—See PRESENTIMENT.

PRESBYTER.—See MINISTRY.

PRESBYTERIANISM.—The name 'Presbyterian' may be applied in a general sense to that theory of the Church which aims at realizing its visible unity through government by presbyters, clerical and lay, such presbyters being set apart by their peers with popular consent, being all of equal status, and being organized for purposes of ecclesiastical administration into Church courts, which rise one above another in an ascending scale, from the congregational to the national. In a sense more particular 'Presbyterianism' is used to denote the concrete effort after the realization of that idea which, originating in the work of John Calvin, was elaborated by those who followed him into a definite form of Church organization, that begins with a definite form of ecclesiastical ritual, and which in one form or another counts perhaps 100,000,000 adherents to-day. Presbyterianism seeks to avoid, on the one hand, the absolute subjection of individual congregations to government from without and above, and, on the other, their absolute independence of all restraint. Of the three great types of Church government it is therefore the middle one, between Congregationalism and Episcopacy.

I. Emergence of the Calvinist Presbyterian System. — 1. The NT Basis.—Serious Presbyterian scholarship is long past the stage of the crude 'jure divino' defence of Presbyterianism, as if it were the only form of Church government expressly sanctioned by the Word of God and the institutions of the Bible. During the later sixteenth century, the famous controversy between Puritans and Anglicans the Puritans claimed divine sanction for their ecclesiastical system, or, at least, divine disapproval of that of their opponents, as against the Anglican argument from the experience of the episcopate; but in the later stages of the conflict the two sides reversed their roles. The controversy died down about A.D. 1700 after the battle over the Ignatian Epistles; and the whole question of the Presbyterians' claim to the Christian Church was only revived under the stimulus of modern historiography.

2. S. H. 1144, 14.
3. Shāhīyāt tā-ḥayāt, li. 6 (SBE.v. 247).
6. S. E. 14,
7. A. D. W. 163.
8. Rose, J.A.I. xxxv. 231.
cal scholarship, with new methods, and under a
new form. It is now realized by impartial critics that no one form of Church government is to be
definitely associated with Ignatius or Calvin or
any other. While Calvin, therefore, and others of
his day believed themselves the restorers of primi-
tive Christianity, freed from the errors and corrup-
tions of Romanism, modern scholarship cannot
absolutely subscribe this opinion. Even if the
Reformation, however, had been successful in its
attempt to construct a clear picture of the NT
Church, they must have found it impossible to
reproduce with perfect faithfulness a primitive
creed and polity which later had been in success-
ively changed; and all the conditions of modern
worlds; conversely, such a reproduction of primi-
tive institutions would be a poor guarantee for
their success in modern times. A living organ-
is necessarily subject to change, and the attempt
to ignore a millennium of ecclesiastical history
could not but fail. So far, then, as the advocate
of Presbyterianism makes use of the NT to-day,
he must claim to reproduce the spirit and intention
of the primitive Church, and not its mechanism;
he must live in the Church to-day, and not
those of representative government; how it has
produced a unique and admirably worthy type of
character; and, if these and other possible con-
tentions savour to some extent of pragmatism, he
may reply to this criticism that Church govern-
ment can be, as an actual fact, traced only in
the NT age included— to motives of expediency,
and that one of the fatal errors which have helped
to render the Church has been the injudicious eleva-
tion of government into the region of dogmatists.

Although the conditions prevalent in the early
Church are inconsistent with the possible existence
of either Presbyterianism or Episcopacy as we
understand them, we find both presbyters and
bishops mentioned in the NT; and the problem of
their relationship, which has given rise to endless
controversy, cannot be passed over. Whether we
argue with Jerome that bishop and presbyter were
originally identical, and hold with Lightfoot that
the episcopate was developed from the presbyter-
ate, or with Luther and Harnack, that the offices were distinct from
the beginning; or whether, with Lindsay and Loofs,
we hold that πρεσβύτερος was the official name,
while εἰκεναύω described the function, the problem
remains the same, viz. How did the bishop come
to overshadow the presbyter, and finally reduce
him to a definitely inferior position? The most
feasible explanation yet suggested seems to be
that which is founded upon the bishop's connexion
with the Eucharist, a connexion indicated by
practically all his later antecedents.

2. Sub-apostolic development.—While the διάστη
cs still existed, the official in charge of the celebra-
tion would enjoy a distinctive place, not only in
the Church itself, but in the eyes of outsiders. As
the Church developed into a world-wide body, the
aspect of the Eucharist gained prominence, the
bishop's pre-emience would develop with it. The
cruc of the entire episcopal development seems to
lie here; and, once the bishop had definitely
asserted his supremacy, the episcopate and
the Church, circumstances favoured his steady
elevation. Roman imperialism and Jewish
nationalism were in deadly conflict about the close of
the 1st cent.; Jewish Christianity was rapidly dis-
appearing; and all the conditions were in favour
of the Gentile εἰκεναύω and his function being
recognized as against the Jewish πρεσβύτερος
and his function. The Didache is the most valu-
able document for this transition period; and in
it, as in the present threefold ministry, with the
supremacy of the bishop, the presbyter has the
divinely-appointed form of Church govern-
ment.1 It is difficult, at this time of day, to
accept Ignatius's own view that he received this
type by divine revelation; and the brief interval
of time between the time of his exhortations
and that his theory cannot have been extensively in
practice when he wrote; but his martyrdom
bared and fleged his teaching, and gave undue
weight to his ecclesiastical expediency. Moreover,
the Church was faced in final political or interna-
tional strife by heresy within and hostility without,
and the concentration of power in as few hands as
possible proved of great value. The forming of a
creed, and of a collection of Holy Scriptures upon
which to base it, was logically followed by the
need of an authoritative interpretation for both.
The bishop, already prominent, naturally if not
logically became the authoritative mouthpiece of
the Church in matters of the faith; and apostolic
succession in the Church definitely connects the theory of the apostolic
succession of the episcopate with the necessity
of maintaining sound doctrine; and the bishop thus
emerges from the comparative obscurity of earlier
times with a status in the Church which is
close to that which he had previously enjoyed in matters
of administration. Cyprian's position introduces
a new factor. By his time creed and canon had
attained a position of greater certainty, and the
sacerdotalism of the Church under OT and also
apocryg canons had been intensified; so that
apostolic succession is now a guarantee not so
much of sound doctrine as of the validity of the
priesthood. The evolution of territorial from con-
gregational episcopacy was completed by the
gradual assimilation of the ecclesiastical system to the
imperial. The fall of the Empire, the trans-
fusion of barbarian respect from it to the Church,
the conversion and absorption into the Church of
the northern peoples, all assisted in the process of
their organization and so by degrees growing
into the great mediæval hierarchy—the feudal system
being theoretically crowned by the twin summits of a
papacy supreme in spiritual affairs and an empire
superme in temporal.

1 This episcopacy was congregational, not diocesan.
tual scope; but the mastery of the system was never wholly undisputed, and the essential Christian truth of the worth of the individual before God never fell completely out of sight. Throughout the growth of ecclesiasticism we can discern a tendency to a group of revivals, but while it was manifesting itself primarily in the form of Montanism (q.v.), it was suppressed, but, in its essence, defined extinction. Athanasius was faced by Arius, Augustine by Pelagius, Bernard by Abelard, Augustus by Scotus; the slavery of obedience was always incomplete. But it is in monasticism (q.v.) that we can see most clearly the opposition of individualism to the tyranny of the institution. The impulse which, in the successive forms of Manichaeanism, Novatianism, and Donatism (q.v.), succumbed to the need for closer organization persisted in the form of monasticism, and established an unbreakable hold upon Western Christendom.

From the beginning of monastic history the conversion, the education, and the civilization of N.W. Europe were almost entirely the work of monks; and, while the episcopate succeeded in forcing the monks into the priesthood, monasticism conquered by forcing edibility on the Western clergy and in manifesting in the order a closer discipline and control. The opposition between the secular clergy and the monks runs throughout mediavalism; and the monastic side of the opposition represents the preparation for the Reformed Churches. Whereas the secular clergy obeyed a monarchic bishop, the monks obeyed a presbyter-abbot. Their vow of poverty gave expression to the truth that a man is of value apart from his property, their vow of celibacy destroyed the feudal leitish of family relationships. It was a vow of that of free-will obedience to a superior in whose election they had a voice, and in making this vow a man left a society in which he was a mere irresponsible cog accidentally placed in a machine for one into which he entered voluntarily. Thus, as A. V. G. Allen puts it, 'every direct specific purpose of the monk seemed in the long run to have been reversed, or to have proved a failure,' yet there was 'a deeper purpose which could not be defeated,—the accomplishment of an inner fulfillment of family relationships. It is in this sense, as we might call it, conception of Christian organization, that we discern the germ of the Reformation. Moreover, whereas the secular clergy and the episcopate had all along represented sacramentarianism, the final growth of the Reformation, the monastic system, on the whole, had stood for the homiletic aspect of worship and a form of organization at once more elastic and more representative of the popular voice. Of course, each side reacted upon the other. The monks were often the stoutest champions of orthodoxy, and their services were often most highly ritualistic; on the other hand, the Church was democratic enough to make it as possible for the most obscure Churchman to ascend to the papal throne as it is for any obscure citizen of the United States to become President; and the semblance, at least, of representative government was retained in the election of bishops by the cathedral chapters and the choice of the pope by the conclaves. But, in essence, the differences which afterwards between open in the Reformation between Catholic and Protestant subsists throughout the Middle Ages between the episcopate and monasticism; and it only required favourable circumstances to set on foot the process of differentiation.

4. Decline of papacy and the Reformation.—

The decisive factor in the final separation of the 16th cent. was the weakening of the papacy, which was the only power capable of holding together the opposed sides of ecclesiastical life. The fate of Boniface VIII. marked an era in the decline of the papal monarchy, which had ruined the Empire, and it is only by a more general look upon the growth of European nationalities; the by- lonish captivity of the Avignonese popes weakened the papal grip upon England and Germany. Early in the 14th cent. William of Ockam and Marsiglio of Padua, roused the pope in the interest of Louis of Bavaria. Marsiglio's doctrine of the democratic idea of Church and State is a sign of the times; the fact that the Fraticelli were deeply involved in the anti-papal revolt is another; and the whole incident has been well named the Minia
tura Reformation. The work of Wyclif in England is a manifestation of the same spirit, which, passing from England to Bohemia and John Hus, remained active there far into the 15th century. These various movements combined projects both of political and of ecclesiastical reform—they attacked the dogma as well as the organization and morals of the Church. To the growing distrust of the papal monarchy and the whole system with which it was bound up the Great Schism contributed in no small measure; and the conciliar movement, while it represents in essence the struggle between the aristocratic episcopal form of Church government and the autocratic papal form, helped to pave the way for democracy by asserting the rights which the popes had exercised. They affected to rule. With the close of the Council of Basel in 1447 the papacy secured an illusory victory over its foes, but not even the splendour of the Renaissance period could blind the eye to signs of decay in the moral and financial corruption of the Curia. The rise of European nationalities, the inventions of printing and of gunpowder, revolutionary discoveries both geographical and scientific, contributed to the general ferment. Moderate men might desire a reform of the Church on the existing basis, but others were driven by the monstrous indifference of the Curia towards its own corruption to consider the evil as inherent in the system itself, and to desire a more radical reformation. In particular, the New Learning, by exposing the hollowers of the papal pretensions, by weakening the belief in transsubstan
tiation and sacramentarianism generally, and by reviving the interest of Europe in the teaching and homiletic side of Church activity, helped to relax the hold of the Papal government. It was the duty to set free the monastic side of its life from the long alliance with the episcopal. Finally, in the hands of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, the crisis came—dissension matured into division—and monasticism achieved its independence in the Re
to. It is no accident, but the result of a profound historical necessity, that the lands which remained in the Roman obedience were precisely those which had been fully Christianized in pre-
monastic days, whereas the lands in which monarch missionism, especially of the type which had laboured went over to the Reformation side.

From one point of view, the Reformation repre
sent the revolutionary and the rending of Christendom in pieces; from another, in which the pieces correspond, with some definiteness, each to some previous tendency within mediavalism; and, from another standpoint, the Reformation is the substi
tution of spiritual unity under the headship of Christ for the secular lordship of the Church, and thus a fall of the papal monarchy. The democratic constitution proposed for the churches of Hesse, e.g., was the work of Lambert, a Franciscan monk, and recalls the Benedictine organization. Lutheranism re
minds us forcibly of the Augustinian order; and

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1 Christian Institutions, Edinburgh, 1898, p. 178.
2 Ibid., p. 175.
the Presbyterian type of constitution under Calvin and his followers calls to memory the organization of the great monastic orders of later mediaevalism, which many three centuries diluted into the groundwork of society. Point for point, this parallel between mediaeval tendencies and Reformation facts could be worked out in much detail. It will suffice, however, to note that Presbyterianism, like other ecclesiastical organizations, underwent a sudden and suddeny about 1550 on a career totally unprepared for, but was the emergence into freedom of a tendency many centuries old. Substitute Christ for the pope as the head of the Church, and spiritual for corporal unity, and you have at once the nature and form of Presbyterianism. By and by, it became a rare event to find them in unreflecting minds.

5. The question of government.—When we consider the great importance which by and by came to be attached to the question of Church government—so that the form of organization adopted by Presbyterianism became, in time, its chief differentia from the rest of Protestantism, and 'Jure Divino' arguments went hand in hand with argumentation on ecclesiastical rights—it is curious to reflect that, in the early days of Protestantism, the question of government was a secondary consideration. The Reformers, following the monastic lead, were more concerned with the passions of Christ and the moral minds, and provided they got rid of the papal headship and could secure the safety of great truths like that of justification by faith, they kept a reasonably open mind on the question of organization. The salvation of the soul was in their eyes the primary object; the question of Christ was the vital point; other matters were subsidiary. Being in revolt against over-organization and all the loss of individual Christian liberty which that implied, Luther, Calvin, and the rest could scarcely make a virtue of ecclesiasticism.

Ecclesiastical organization was perhaps the least important activity of Martin Luther and the Lutheran Church. In common with the Calvinists, this Church recognized the priesthood of all believers and the parity of ministers, but, unlike the Calvinists, and not subscribing to the idea of a fixed principle of organization in the Scandinavian countries, where kings and bishops co-operated in the work of reformation, the episcopate was retained, though in a modified form; in the German princely states, the episcopate was delegated to the civil power, which in turn delegated it to Consistories, and the persistence of civil government and patronage in the Church prevented Lutheranism from ever attaining to the firm representative organization which has become a feature of Presbyterianism.

The attitude of Melanchthon, who would have recognized either bishops or a pope if they could have been shown to be of real use, has remained typical; the small crop of Lutheran Free Churches has resulted mainly from doctrinal objections to the union of Lutheranism with the Church formed a century ago in Prussia and allied states, and at least one such body seceded on the question of whether government was an essential feature of the Church at all.

The Calvinist bodies were prevented by circumstances from any such indifference to the form of Church government; for, whether by accident or by necessity, they found themselves situated either in republics or in principalities and kingdoms where the question was one of symmetry with the civil government. The Lutheran plan impossible, and where the opposition of the bishops sooner or later demanded the repudiation of episcopacy. As has now been shown, the retention of episcopacy in some Reformation lands and its rejection in others was no accident, but a logical consequence of the attitude assumed by the bishops and the civil authorities towards the Reformation.

II. SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT.—I. Doctrine.

(a) The first of these is the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God, which is the keynote of all the other Calvinist developments. This carried a decided pressure on the dogma of a pre-established destination (q.q.v.), which, in their rigid Supranasussian form, denied any man participation whatever in the work of saving himself, and, in their milder Infralapsarian form, left him only a very minor part to play in it. This dogma, however, may seem to the sensibilities of to-day, is not to be dismissed off-hand as if it were a mere negation of man's free will. The 'mere good pleasure' aspect of the doctrine is not the vital part of it. In the days when Calvin promulgated it the agony of a dying age and the birth-pangs of a new might well seem to renew the circumstances under which Augustine had set it forth, and to force upon men anew the conviction that God was all and man was nothing; to depend absolutely upon the sovereignty of God for salvation was better than to depend upon the arbitrary will of a corrupt deceiving papacy and an ignorant, evil-living priesthood; the folly of too much freedom was demonstrated by the excesses of Anabaptists and the little subtilities of the followers of hyper-Calvinism were harrowed from the least hesitated between universism and the predestined release of certain elected men from the consequences of a totally depraved and enslaved human will. Calvin's doctrine of election was not so much as a proof of the justice and the absolute freedom as the joyous proclamation that man lived in an ordered universe where the sovereignty of God removed from the region of doubt the salvation of the true believer. It is an attempt to recognize necessity and order in the world of God's creation—to see temporal things, in Spinoza's immortal phrase, 'sub specie aeternitatis.' This teaching runs throughout the Calvinist Confessions; and, though the settling down of modern civilization has induced in many quarters a revival of the softer Semi-Calvinism, it still permeates the official teaching of Presbyterianism.

(b) The other doctrinal differentia of Calvinism is found in connexion with the sacraments. It differs from Lutheranism in regard to baptismal union, and it is of some importance to note what it substitutes for the reformation of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation fell into disfavour as vitally connected with the idea of the priesthood, and organization against which Protestantism was an avowed revolt; and the Lutheranism idea of consubstantiation, with its insistence upon the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, seemed to more radical Reformers to differ so little from the Catholic notion as to be an insufficient guarantee against the reintroduction of an essential part of the priest's function in the priesthood using unscrupulously a magical key by which they could open or close heaven to the rest of mankind. On the other hand, Zwingli and his following, by denying any real presence at all and reducing the service to a mere ceremony, seemed to go too far in the other direction. In actual fact the difference between Luther and Zwingli seriously divided the Reformers. Calvin's theory of the sacrament occupies a position between these extremes, it substitutes for the reformation of Christ a spiritual, though quite real, presence; for the magical opus operatum of Roman Catholicism it substitutes an operation of the Holy Spirit where-by the believing communicant feeds upon the Christ; it professes to find in the real presence a mystery too profound to be explained by
the simple mechanical theory of Catholics and Lutherans or to be explained away by the equally simple denial of Zwingli; and, while the mediating position of the Calvinist theory has brought it under the suspicion of being an elipsozoa cunningly devised in the interest of ecclesiastical and political monopoly—this was how a Presbyterian politician rather than a philosophical theologian—so far as is known, no scrap of evidence exists to show that Calvin had any such deliberate purpose. It fits in quite articulately with the result of all the logic that can be gathered from the evidence there is to the effect on the part of one who was not an extremist to devise a theory of the sacrament which would retain the real presence of Christ without degrading it into the mechanical production of a priest with a formula. If it has served to hold together a great mass of Protestant opinion upon a subject so vital, that is not so much the result of any definite political design as a tribute to its innate reasonable and moderation. It remains yet a feature of constitutional Presbyterianism.

II. POLITY.—The most characteristic aspect of Presbyterianism, however, is its evolution as an ecclesiastical polity. It is a natural inference from the doctrines of justification by faith and of the sovereignty of Christ over the church and a consequent right of the church to ordain and depose its own officials. The Calvinist theory of the sanctification of the regiment, and of the efficacy of preventive and corrective discipline, made ecclesiastical government and ecclesiastical polity inevitable. The Church is a voluntary association of believers, and the Church is the body of Christ. The articulation of the body is glued together by the office of the minister, and the of the clergy as a special caste wielding the powers of spiritual life and death was thereby destroyed. The ecclesiastical organization was looked at no longer from above but from below: the call of the people and the approval of his peers replaced episcopal consecration in the making of a minister; the laity received a share in the government of the Church, and the responsibility of officials to the general body became a recognized feature of ecclesiastical organization. All the marks of unholiness assumed by Reformed Church constitutions, an essentially democratic spirit is discerned. All was, at first, experimental; definite and rigid systems were evolved only by degrees. A 'pure human' episcopacy did not frighten Calvin; and Knox, the founder of national Scottish Presbyterianism, approved, before his death, the reintroduction of bishops for certain specified purposes and on a basis of responsibility. But the fundamental ideas of the Calvinist theory of the Church were the basis of the old type of episcopate, and, before long, the dangers involved in the preservation of even its outward form rendered a definitely Presbyterian theory and system inevitable. Circumstances forced upon Melville and others a greater rigidity of view and practice than had been found necessary by Calvin and Knox; and the conception of ministerial parity as an essential feature of the true Church was forced upon the Calvinist communion by ecclesiastical and political strife. The effusion of blood, as well as ink, in its defense caused the Presbyterians to set a great, perhaps an exaggerated, value upon their theories of Church government, for which they have suffered and fought, as other men for their faith.

The distinction between the nature and history of Presbyterian Church government is necessarily found in Calvin's Institutes and especially in bk. iv. of this work, which deals with the doctrine of the Church. According to Calvin, a Church and ministry are essential to the existence of a true believer, for whose edification the ministers at public worship expound God's Word. A careful distinction is drawn between the invisible Church—known only to God—and the visible Church which is about us here. We shall learn, in the course of this book, that God has spoken to his people in a variety of ways, but that the Word of God is the only rule and guide of life. The Church has to do with the word of God. The Church is the great instrument of the everlasting purposes of God, the means of bringing him glory. The Church is to be sought in the word of God and to be observed by the word of God.

It is not surprising that, in time, Catholicism came to regard Calvinism as the arch-enemy. The Calvinists, e.g., were excluded from the Peace of Augsburg (1575), and were only reconciled to the Peace of Westphalia (1648) on this condition: How far the teaching had become mutually may be gathered from the fact that, as late as 1647, the stately and balanced Westminister Confession cannot refrain from abuse of the pope (xxvi. 6).

1 In the Church God uses men for the useful and honourable office of the ministry, and in Holy Scripture, the touchstone of all his ideas, Calvin finds only two permanent orders of ministry—the pastor and the teacher—though temporary offices, such as those of apostle, prophet, and evangelist, existed in NT times for special purposes, and might profitably be temporarily renewed on sufficient occasion. Of the permanent officers the pastor roughly resembles the apostle, whose function he localizes. What the apostles did for the whole world, every pastor should do for the flock over which he is appointed (bk. iv. ch. ii. § 6). His office entitles him to preach, to administer the sacraments, to exercise discipline, and to exhort; and, while this is ordinarily to be done for a special church to which he should be restricted, Congregationalism is avoided by the qualification that the pastor should move by public permission or by ordination to public authority when the public good demands it. The idea of ministerial parity, which later became a rigidly defined principle of the Presbyterian system, comes out in the contention that, in Scripture, bishop, presbyter, pastor, and minister are interchangeable for the same purposes. Calvin's later correspondence serves to show that he had no objection to episcopacy in so far as bishops might be useful and expedient; but his doctrine of the Church leaves them no essential place in it. Historically he regards the ancient bishop as a mere chairman of presbyters; and, with him, Jerome's famous dictum as to the original equality of bishop and presbyter, which raised no controversy in Jerome's day, and yet was never forgotten, because the basis and character of Church and Calvin's eyes, is shown by the admission of the laity to a share in these. Elders assist in the government of the Church, and deacons are divided into two classes according as they care for the poor and sick or deal with almshouses. The permanent officials of the Church therefore are: pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The essential for the making of a minister are: the call of God, examination as to life and doctrine, the call of the parishioners, and the solemn ordination to the office. Calvin almost goes out of his way to defend the people's right of electing their minister, but recommends that, in the interest of peace and common sense, other ministers should preside over the elections in the absence of the people. And in the Church we have in essence many of the features of present-day Presbyterianism—e.g., the equality
of ministers, their election by the people, the share of the laity in Church government, and so on. But so far nothing unique is present, except perhaps the unusually vigorous defence of popular rights. The determinative feature of Calvin's system, however, appears on consideration of his theory concerning the relations between the civil and ecclesiastical orders. The Church, as he saw it, has a threefold power: (1) she can declare and interpret dogma, though she has no right to invent new dogmas not found in Scripture; (2) she can legislate for the Church, but she has no right to demand any obedience upon her members to the prejudice of their consciences; thus he frees men from the Roman type of bondage to tradition and custom, and reduces the spirit of Church government to the observance of mutual charity and self-sacrifice; (3)—and here the most distinctive feature of Calvinism is reached—he insists upon retaining for the Church a certain sphere of jurisdiction. Unlike Luther and Zwingli, who freely surrendered the administrative and disciplinary power of the Church to the civil authorities, whether princely or republican, Calvin attempted to mark off for the Church a sphere of spiritual jurisdiction distinct from the civil; and on the determination of his followers to define and preserve this sphere, irrespective of princes, his name stands out as the one that trouble that fell to the lot of Presbyterianism in later years. Spiritual government, in his view, was as necessary to the Church as civil government to the State; and the two jurisdictions, though mutually helpful to each other, were in fact quite distinct. The Church could not surrender, voluntarily or compulsorily, the power of the keys; she claimed no right to inflict civil punishment, but only to admonish and, if necessary, to excommunicate, for the purpose of producing repentance in offenders—a purpose in which the civil procedure frequently failed. This useful power of ecclesiastical discipline for spiritual evil-doers was to be in the hands of a Consistory of elders which is in the Church what a council in a city; and the basis of its judgments upon individuals was of course to be Christian doctrine. The error of the Roman Church lay not in the claiming of this power, but in the abuse of it for unworthy and unwarrantably evil ends, and Calvin's Church sought to interfere with or to minimize in any way the scope of the civil power. He calls the magistrates "ambassadors of God," "viceroys of God," and says that God considers their office an honourable one; and, while he indicates his personal preference for aristocratic government tempered by democratic consent, he holds that it is the duty of all Christian men to obey whatever lawful rulers have dominion over them. The only circumstances under which resistance, active or passive, is justifiable arise when the commands of rulers clash with the commands of God. Conversely, it is the duty of rulers to preserve public peace and happiness, and their first care must be for religion and morals. Their cooperation is due to the Church in this regard, provided this is done to preserve, not to disturb, the order of the Church, to establish, not to destroy, discipline. For, seeing the Church of God as a perfect spiritual corporation of the elect (I speak of spiritual coercion), it is the part of pious kings and princes to maintain religion by laws, edicts, and sentences, as they do, for instance, in France.

While thus fully recognizing the civil jurisdiction, Calvin holds that it should not interfere with the ecclesiastical, unless by direct invitation or necessity. In this effort to define the respective limits of Church and State, he perilously co-operation while keeping spiritual jurisdiction and liberty inviolate, he stands alone among the Reformers. The forms of procedure set forth in bk. iv., ch. x. are of only secondary importance. The point of his system, which is distinctly characteristic of Presbyterianism consists in his determination to keep ecclesiastical discipline in ecclesiastical hands. Such, in brief, are Calvin's ideas of Church government. The Church he wished to settle in Geneva. In that city there had long been an unstable equilibrium of three forces—the vicar-general from the Alessandri family, the Consistory, and Calvin, often a member of the same house, and the people; and, when Calvin arrived in the city in 1536, the people had just won their freedom, after a contest in which independence and the new faith had played an equal part. In a state of confusion that had supervened; and Farel the Reformer knew that no one in the city was capable of reducing the chaos to order. Accordingly, he persuaded Calvin to relinquish his project of further study for the work of organization. The system of Church government introduced was natural to Presbyterianism: not only did Calvin's own ideas run in that direction, but the attempt to continue episcopacy would have had scant hope of success in a city which had just shaken off the last vestiges of hierarchy. Calvin had hated the bishop less as a Roman Catholic, or a corrupt Churchman, or an official without NT warrant than as an interferer with their liberty, just as they afterwards hated Calvin and the rest for their interference. Trouble began almost at once. In a memorandum of 15 Jan. 1537 Calvin asked the Council for a body of incorruptible men to exercise Church discipline up to and including excommunication. But the civil authorities did not like Calvin's request that the Church might have a disciplinary authority which neither Luther nor Zwingli had asked for it, and many citizens feared for their personal freedom. In 1538 a majority of the new Council consisted of Calvin's opponents. Strife began, and grew so keen that the ministers were forbidden to preach politics. Disgusted by this, and angered by the attempt to force upon them the observance of the Bernese usages, the ministers finally revolted openly at the Council's command to exclude no one from communion. Calvin's refusal led to a crisis by refusing to dispense the sacrament. They were banished, and all mediation was rejected by the Council. This refusal to accept dictation from the civil power on a matter vital to the welfare and liberty of the Church, and the choice of banishment before surrender, are a new departure in Protestant history, and are determinative of Presbyterianism.

Calvin's first experience of Geneva, however, did not deter him from returning, though reluctantly, three years later; for no city in France was safe, and no city in Germany politically free, and in Geneva alone could he hope to find a sphere of operations. Within twenty-four hours of his return he was at work; and the Ordonnances were the final fruits of his labours. He wished to embody the distinction between civil and spiritual jurisdiction, to secure the independence of the Church within her own sphere, to obtain the acceptance of a creed based on Holy Scripture alone, and to establish a Reformed discipline. The difficulty was that he must gain the consent of the civil powers to his solution of a problem which had hitherto been solved very differently, and must induce them to relinquish all claims over their subjects. Agassiz, moreover, the enforcement of a NT standard of morals was distasteful to many citizens. Accordingly the Ordonnances,
while Calvin's sole work, do not represent his ideal. Four classes of official are recognized in the Church—pastor, teacher, elder, and deacon. The ministers were chosen by those already ordained after an examination as to life and doctrine; the civil power then approved of them; finally the people heard them, and they were ordained without laying on of hands. The democratic idea of this became aristocratic in practice; for, in actual fact, the people of the Church, or, at least, the prominent ministers. The ministers were to meet once a week in conference and once in three months for mutual criticism; in this 'venerable company,' which did not, except by censure and moral weight, interfere in the actual business of the Church and the State.

The clergy were indeed legally and practically the only literate people in the country. They were not only valued as religious leaders, but as an educated class. The standard of education varied in different districts; it was, as a rule, lower in the south of France, where the educational policy had been least successful, and higher in the cities of the north, especially in Geneva. The Church's literary life was in the hands of the presbyters, and was of the highest value to the country.
—still less the almost fantastic contention that they were intended in time to be superseded by fully-qualified bishops. In this connexion we may not unreasonably reconstruct the Scottish system of 1560 in the Canadian organization of to-day. There, similar needs have called forth similar expedients. The difficult problem of Church extension in the rapidly-filling West has called forth the creation of a system of church courts, and without any afterthought of episcopacy. Divinity students in full standing and lay missionaries who look forward to ordination after a special course correspond to the readers of 1560. Knox's doctor is represented by the professors of theology, his dedicated followers by his kinsmen, and the deacon by the manager. The parallel is strikingly complete.

In the Church of 1560 the germ of the later Presbyterianism is discerned in the weekly meeting of local ministers in the towns, the Synod is foreshadowed by the superintendent's Council, and the General Assembly, irregularly constituted as yet and with uncertain powers, met at frequent intervals. The fully articulated system of later times grew out of Knox's fellowship with his fellow workers took substantially the same view as Calvin regarding the relation of the civil and ecclesiastical powers; indeed, though his own views on the point were independently matured, Knox had conceptually all along and Calvin on it during his exile and the struggle of his Church. This was repeated on a national scale in Scotland. The return of Mary Queen of Scots from France in 1561 ushered in a period of strife. The Reformers mistrusted Mary's good intentions towards the new Church, and resented the withholding of recognition from certain of their standards; she, on her side, was piqued by ministerial interference in her private concerns, and saw in the Church a formidable obstacle to her scheme of Roman Catholic reaction. Politics and the greed of the nobles went hand in hand with ecclesiastical strife to make difficult the way of the new Church; and civil war at length broke out, as a result of which the unhappy queen was driven from Scotland (1568) and the Roman Catholic power in the country was finally broken. But the defeat of the Roman Catholic party and the establishment of the Protestant succession in the person of the infant James VI. did not bring peace to the Church. The threat was not necessarily impossible to secure their stipends in terms of the revenues due to them with the civil authorities; and, after some discussion, bishops were re-introduced into the Church by the Concordat of Leith (1572). To this expedient Knox consented before his death, recommending, however, that such bishops should be responsible to the General Assembly. The experiment proved a disastrous failure. Not only did the new episcopate escape ecclesiastical control, but they also rendered the clergy poorer than ever, by becoming the cats-paws of the nobles in their seizure of ecclesiastical revenues, instead of the pay-masters of the unhappy clergy. The contemptuous name of 'tulchans' applied to the bishops of 1572 shows the estimation in which they were held, and a good part which they played in the history of the time was a severe blow to the cause of Episcopacy in Scotland. In 1574 Andrew Melville returned to Scotland from Geneva, and proceeded to uphold the independence of his church and by no means to be tolerated in a pure Church.

Circumstances assured his success. By 1580 the 'tulchans' had disappeared; and in 1578 the second Book of Discipline was prepared, to be enforced by Assembly in 1581. The first Book had grown out of the circumstances of the time, and found its best sanction in con-
temporary needs; the second Book, on the other hand, aimed at the deduction of general principles from the NT. E.g., the offices of superintendent and reader were exalted as episcopal and unscriptural; and, whereas the first Book had set up any Church courts, the second supplied the omission, but, strangely enough, left out the most characteristic court of all—the Presbyterian. Presbyterians had, during the session of the Assembly, felt the need of some ecclesiastical organization of a higher order than any which had hitherto been current; and the Book of Discipline, with its determined attempt at a closer organization than that of 1560, never secured, in its entirety, the sanction of the civil power.

From the time of Melville's return to Scotland a determined struggle raged in the country for a century. On the one side we have Melville and those who followed him, holding the most rigid views concerning the purity of all ministers and the divine right of the General Assembly and the Kirk; on the other, the determined Episcopalianism of the Stuart kings. Parallel to this divergence of view, and vitally connected with it, ran the question of the relation between Church and State. The second Book became acute in every state where the Reformed Church functioned as the church authorities. Melville, on his side, believed in the double jurisdiction of Christ and the temporal king, and strenuously resisted any interference with the Church within her own inviolate sphere; James VI., on the other side, believing in the Divine Right of kings, saw in the Church's claim to spiritual independence as great a menace to the royal power as the papal jurisdiction had been. Moreover, as his succession to the English throne became more and more assured, the king was moved by a sense of the risks attendant upon the maintenance of two differing ecclesiastical polities within his dominions, and his consistent aim was to conform Scotland to Anglicism. By means of episcopacy he could best hope to maintain control over the Church. Throughout the long struggle absolutism by Divine Right, episcopacy in the Church, and royal supremacy over all causes were bandied together against limited monarchy, Presbyterian Church government, and ecclesiasti-
cal superintendence.

The details of the struggle need not be closely followed. The king, on his part, aimed at the complete subordination of Church and people to his views; the Church, on her part, resisted royal interference in spiritual matters. But the Church founded all her activities, beliefs, and claims on the Word of God; and, as the ministers alone had the right to interpret that, no practical limit could be set to the claims of the Church, except by effective intervention on the part of the civil power. The king, as it turned out, would concede nothing, and the ministers claimed too much; and there is some truth in the thesis that Scotland had to choose between the tyranny of a king and the tyranny of a ministry self-constituted as the interpreters of an infallible Bible. But, on the whole, the Church represented the popular will, and served the popular cause. The ministers were chosen by popular election, they educated the people, they created the ability and the docility to win their confidence; and there is no doubt that during the 17th cent. the General Assembly was a more representative body than the subservient Scottish parliament. Presbyterianism won a victory from the crown and from parliament what has been called its Magna Charta; but Episcopacy was re-introduced.
in 1610, and the next opportunity of the Presbyterians came in 1638, when the injudicious and obstinate interference of Charles I. and Laud with the liturgy caused a wave of feeling to inundate Scotland that made the National Covenant possible. The Glasgow Assembly, which though already by the substitution of Episcopacy; and the king, whose hands were tied by difficulties in England, was powerless to save the bishops. Four years later civil war broke out in England between king and parliament. Now at length the long oppression of the burghers and the appeal to arms, and by the Solemn League and Covenant the Scottish Church and the English parliament were united in the cause of representative government and religious freedom.

The movement of repression was well under way in 1561, by which time Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and other measures were in operation against nonconformity. A second Act of Uniformity followed in 1563. About 1565 Parker described it as the greatest act of Supremacy that had most threatening foe—and certainly it was the most definite and concrete form of opposition to existing ecclesiastical arrangements. About 1570 Cartwright, a Cambridge Divinity professor (later desired for treason), brought Presbyterianism into prominence by his activity; and in 1572 the propaganda evolved into the 'Admonition to Parliament.' The 'Admonition' consisted of two manifestoes which never reached the stage of presentation to parliament. It is fanatically Presbyterian in tone, and aims at the substitution of presbytery for episcopacy in English Church government. In the same year the first English Presbytery was erected at Wansworth. Cartwright was forced to flee the country, but maintained from his exile a vigorous literary defence of Presbyterianism against Whitgift. Other writings in defence of presbytery, such as that of Travers in 1574, continued to appear; and in 1583 enough Presbyterians existed in England to draw up and declare an English Model of Church Government; but after that date the Presbyterian movement, having flourished for a decade, began to decline. Whitgift, though he did not, like Bancroft, insist on the divine right of episcopacy, was the great exponent of the Presbyterianism; and the means of an ecclesiastical commission, forced from all ministers the admission that episcopacy was at least not contrary to Scripture. In 1584 the Presbyterians failed to introduce into parliament a bill in favour of their discipline; the Marprolate Tracts of 1588-89 routed Whitgift to a fresh access of persecuting zeal; the incident of the Armada in 1588 helped to confound in men's minds the ideas of nonconformity and political disaffection. Thus, while there were strong Presbyterian ministers in England, the Act of 1593 ended meanwhile all effective opposition to the State Church. Presbyterianism found itself in especial difficulties when subjected to persecution, because the Presbyterians, unlike the Puritans, could not retire except by means of an elaborate organization, and so could not retire into hiding till the storm blew over, without relinquishing essential principles. Driven by the Act of 1593 to exile, or silence, or the assumption of the cloak of Puritanism, Presbyterianism languished for a time; and the hopes raised by the Hampton Court Conference (1604) proved illusory. But, as time went on, the ideas of James I. and Charles I. concerning Divine Right gradually drove into alliance the causes of civil and religious liberty, and the consistent harshness of Laud towards nonconformity helped to precipitate the great crisis of the Civil War. About the time when the Long Parliament met (1629) Presbyterianism had begun to raise its head. London was made the centre of Puritanism, and Presbyterianism was widely diffused throughout England. In 1630 appeared Alexander Leighton's Sion's Plea against the Prelacie, for which the author was severely punished. Other incidents of the same nature occurred; and, while the Long Parliament began, to begin with, merely desired to abate the overweening pretensions of the bishops, there were many who desired more, and their ideas gradually prevailed. Scottish commissioners were in London, and preaching frequently, writing, holding conferences. In 1641 appeared Sanctymynus, a plea for Presbyterianism which recalled the days of Cartwright. The Root and Branch petition of Dec. 1640 and the ministers' petition of Jan. 1641 were on the same lines. Parliamentary defeats in the early part of the Civil War rendered the Presbyterian alliance necessary, and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 ushered in the period of Presbyterian ascendancy, which lasted till 1648. Charles I. had now combined against himself all the elements of political disaffection. The religious elements were the English-speaking Puritans and Presbyterians; Presbyterianism was meanwhile the dominating religious factor in the combination. The decision of battle went against the royalists, who were decisively beaten at Naseby in 1645; and at the end of the same year the Solemn League and Covenant show how short Presbyterianism yet was of learning from its own sufferings the lesson of tolerance. One of the avowed aims of the treaty was to force all the British Isles into Presbyterian conformity; and, though the English Presbyterians were less narrow and fanatical than their covenanted Scottish brethren, and though the Independents, a growing body, were still more set on liberty of conscience, the Scots had the better political reasons. The Westminster Confession of 1647, still the official Confession of English-speaking Presbyterians, is a noble monument to its authors and to the age which gave it birth; in its stately and balanced style of expression it expresses the Calvinist theology. It sets forth the Calvinist theology, in its pointed avoidance of what is merely controversial, it is the model of a Confession for a great body of Christian believers who are conscious enough of.
their own worth in the world to refrain from speaking evil of others. The same Assembly of divines sent forth the Form of Church Government, the Directory for Public Worship, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms; and of them many doubt whether he judge by its intrinsic excellence or its long and widely-diffused influence, the Shorter Catechism is undoubtedly the best. A new version of the Psalms also appeared in due course; and the Assembly that led to this deliberate revision of the Scottish Psalms consisted in the repudiation of Knox's Psalms for the new version, in the adoption of the King: James Bible in place of the Genevan, in the dropping of Knox's liturgy, the Book of Common prayer, the Largers, and the Confession of 1560.

3. Wane in England and Scotland.—In 1625, while the Presbyterians rejoiced in the creation of an imperial Presbyterianism and in the consent of parliament thereto, their power was on the wane. Independency was growing in the army, and men like Cromwell and Milton were aligning on the Independent side. Independency was gradually preparing to play the chief part in the religious situation; and 1646 may be taken as the high-water mark of Presbyterianism. After that date, except during the Commonwealth, the organization of the Presbyterian church organization ceased to exist in England; and, when Charles I. escaped to Carisbrooke, and made promises which turned the Presbyterians royalist, Presbyterianism fell with the falling cause. The Scots made a desperate effort to save the situation. Parliament, in defiance of the General Assembly, who thought Charles's concessions insufficient, entered into the 'Engagement,' and the Engagers' invaded England, to secure the Crown and Presbyterianism (1648). Cromwell was now master of the situation, and Pride's Purge and the execution of Charles I. rapidly followed. But the Scots were not yet crushed. After the disastrous failure of the 'Engagers' the Covenanters seized the reins of government, excluded all non-Covenanters from official positions by the Act of Classes, and offered Charles II. the crown only on the most rigid and humiliating terms. Nevertheless they did offer him the crown and prepared to fight for him, but stultified their efforts by first permitting the army of 80 unconverted officers and several thousand unconverted men. The defeat of Dunbar in 1650 brought them to their senses; but even then the excluded soldiers were re-admitted to the army only on condition of submitting to the Act of Classes. During the Commonwealth the Act of Classes rent Scotland with the strife of 'resolutioners' and 'protesters.' Cromwell's final victory at Worcester (1651) involved both in a common disaster; yet, though the General Assembly was dismissed in July 1653 after the manner of the English parliament, the minor Church courts continued to exist and the antagonism of resolutioner and preacher rent Scotland during the rule of Monk.

The Cromwellian régime of Cromwell was tolerant. The Rump Parliament having failed to touch the religious question, Cromwell had finally to take it upon himself; and, as the Presbyterians outnumbered their colleagues in the ministry, Presbyterianism still existed in a shadowy way. The minimum of ecclesiastical machinery that continued to exist was Presbyterian; but what was left was the ministry rather than the system. In 1660 Monk set up Presbyterianism once more, but not for long, for the flames before the storm let loose under Charles II.

(a) England.—To take England first: Charles would doubtless have tolerated Presbyterianism, if he could have secured for Roman Catholicism a share in the toleration; but the anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian sentiment of Commons and country was bound to prove too much for the easy-going king whose chief desire was to avoid further exile. The reluctance of the parties themselves foiled his efforts to secure a working agreement between Congregational and episcopacy. Bills introduced into parliament were of no avail; the Commons concluded a series of proceedings hostile to nonconformity generally by passing the Act of Uniformity, which became law on 17th May 1662, and six days later the Act of Disbandment. About that time the rise of a latitudinarian school in the English Church which included such men as Benjamin Whichcote, John Moore, John Tillotson, and Edward Stillingfleet, and which based episcopacy on no higher ground than that its holders might have held out hopes for Presbyterianism; and Charles himself made various attempts to gain for the Presbyterians by the use of his royal prerogative what parliament refused to grant. But parliament pursued its course by passing the First Convention Act (1664), the Five Mile Act (1666) and the Second Convention Act (1670), and when Charles, on his own initiative, declared an Indulgence in 1672, parliament forced him to withdraw it within a year. The Test Act supervised in 1673. Neither the Whig nor the Tory party had a personal generosity on the part of the king arrested the fall of Presbyterianism; and the efforts of James VII. and II. produced no better result. The Presbyterians distrusted Indulgences which showed Roman Catholicism an equal kindliness with themselves. On the accession of William III. they could not secure ascendency nor even a working compromise with Episcopacy, but only toleration. Between 1660 and 1670 Presbyterianism and Congregationalism were in the wilderness of persecution—a movement apparent in local working agreements and in a lowering of Presbyterian Calvinism. Socinianism became rife; and in 1727 the ministers of the 'Three Denominations' (Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist) formed an organization. The Presbyterians who remained steadfast were few except in the north. During the time of nonconformist revival about the middle of the century the Presbyterian were of more intellectual than spiritual import, as a cause of the great commercial, and eventually of the religious liberty about 1780. Before 1843 there were in England Presbyterians connected with the Established and with other Churches of Scotland—the first of these bodies being the Church of Scotland, and the others in 1787 united into the Presbyterian Church of England, which has 12 Presbyteries and nearly 400 congregations with missions in China.

(b) Scotland.—Turning now to Scotland, we find that the theocracy which had existed in 1839—a narrow theocracy with presbytery and the covenant in place of Christianity, hating alike prelacy and prelate, false faith and false believer, episcopacy and independency—had received a rude shattering at the hands of Cromwell. Worse was to follow under Charles II. The Restoration fell heavily upon Scottish Presbyterianism, as upon English. In 1661 the servile Scottish parliament enacted the royal supremacy in all causes, and in 1662 passed the Act Recusancy, which, by undoing the legislation of 1660, restored the twenty-seven outlawed ministers to a blast all the work of the Covenanting period. The Presbyterians discovered all too soon how easily Charles II. could sacrifice his promises to his inclination or interest. Episcopacy was re-established in the ministry, ministers being ousted and replaced by curates, whose characters, in many cases, as ill fitted them as their scholarship to take the places of those who had been deprived. The ousted ministers and their flocks took to holding conventicles; the system of dragging them into
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Compliance began, and, as feeling on both sides was exasperated, the situation in Scotland grew steadily worse. Previous experience made the Presbyterians chary of attempted compromise, and such Acts of Indulgence as were passed did little to mollify the growing bitterness. On the one side, we have the continued abuses of justice, persecution of the most odious kind, the doings of a Claverhouse in the field and a Mackenzie in the forum, torture, imprisonment, proscription, death. It is little wonder if we find, on the other, such fanaticism and rebellion on the part of the Covenanters, and the fanatical societies came into existence with their Apologetic Declarations, their fondness for the OT as a guide to the treatment of enemies, and their desperate anticipation of what the English Revolution achieved to them. In the last few years of Charles’s reign the persecution grew so fierce that the name of ‘Killing Times’ has been applied to the period; but the triumph of the Presbyterians came not long after, when James VII. and II. was deposed in favour of William III. Even then the issue hung in the balance for some time; but the sensitiveness of William III. to public opinion, coupled with the influence of Carstares, decided the establishment of Episcopalism in this sphere. Since 1689 no Scottish Presbyterian has ever been called upon to suffer for the name. It would be easy to exaggerate the sufferings of the period from 1662 to 1690. Much of the country remained quiet; Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods continued to function under the bishops; the old Covenanters were still according reverence; the bishops did not err on the side of worldly pomp; and a large proportion of the people had no objection to some features of Episcopacy. But where real antagonism existed, as in Galloway and in Fife, persecution steadily rendered it worse; incidents like the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the punishments which followed it could not be forgotten; the Covenanting and anti-Erastian element were in advance of the time, and with the bishops the sufferers under Charles II. have scored their mark deep upon the religious history of Scotland. To this day the suspicion with which the old Scottish Presbyterian looks upon anything that smacks of the Episcopal Church, and Episcopalianism remains a heritance from Covenanting times.

After the establishment of Presbyterianism the question of jurisdiction as between Church and State continued to be a source of strife, but the political sense of William III. rendered easier the smoothing over of difficulties. The last martyr to die the victim of opposed religious convictions was Aikenhead in 1697; the same year saw in force for the first time the educational ideas of the Scotch Reformers, the fruits of Episcopal enterprise under an Act of Parliament of 1635 having fallen into decay under Charles II. Presbyterianism by degrees justified its establishment in Scotland, its victory being largely helped by the contrast of its loyalty in the ‘Fifteen’ and the ‘Forty-five,’ with the unbridled superstitions of its Episcopal and Roman Catholic rivals. Moreover, a better feeling grew up between the opposing bodies, so that Archbishop Denison of Canterbury, in a debate in the English House of Commons, while protesting against Scottish Presbyterianism, could say that

1. He had no scruple against ratifying, approving, and confirming it within the bounds of Scotland; he thought the narrow notions of all Churches had been their ruin, and he believed the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant Church as the Church of England though he could not say it was so perfect.

The Toleration Act of 1712 lent the sanction of law to the new spirit of peacefulness; but the successful issue of the Toleration Act with Episcopacy did not, any more than the victory over Rome in 1688, end the troubles of the Scottish Church, for, in the same year, the Patronage Act introduced a new cause of discord which rent the Church in pieces. The first Book of Discipline had advocated the popular election of ministers and elders, but in 1713 the General Assembly as the final court of appeal in disputed cases, was decreed by parliament in 1667. Patronage was abolished in 1649, restored in 1660, abolished in 1690, and now restored in 1712—from which time onwards this ancient cause of strife assumes the position of chief disturber of the peace of the Church of Scotland. From time to time also the old question of civil and spiritual jurisdiction is raised. The result is to make the Church history of Scotland for the past two centuries a perfect kaleidoscope of separating and re-uniting sects. During all that period the Church remained singularly free from doctrinal troubles of any sort; the ‘Marrow’ case about 1720, the Simson and the Erskine case about 1735, and the Dissenting Act of 1740, which present all the heresy troubles of the Church until very recent times; but already in 1733 secession was at work. Troubles arose over the working of the Patronage Act—troubles encouraged by the indefiniteness of the constitution. The limits of law were broken, and the strife between patron and people tended always to be fought out on the higher ground of spiritual versus civil jurisdiction. The Erskines, after taking the definite step of constituting the ‘Associate Presbyteries,’ refused the concessions made to the Episcopalians in 1712, and would not re-enter the Church which thus sought to make amends for their ejection; their final ejection by the General Assembly of 1740 confirmed their secession. Previous to this their ‘Judicial Testimony’ of 1736 had recalled all the old Covenanting bitterness; and, after the Cambuslang ‘Wark’ and the visits of Whitefield in 1741 and 1742, they produced ‘The Declaration, Protestation and Testimony of the Suffering Presbyterians in Dumfrieshire.’ Their political and ecclesiastical separateness was thus made manifest. The Ulster Act of 1747, the ‘Prelatic, anti-Whitefieldian, anti-Erastian, anti-sectorian, true Presbyterian Church of Scotland,’ etc.—a document whose character is sufficiently indicated by its title. In 1746, when the ‘Forty-five’ had definitely failed, the Associate Synod itself split in two over the question of taking the Burgess Oath, and burgher and anti-burgher excommunicated each the other in 1747.

Meanwhile the question of patronage continued to agitate the Church of Scotland, which divided into the ‘moderate’ and ‘evangelical’ parties. Both objected to patronage; but the moderate believed in the enforcement of the existing law, while the evangelical party attached greater importance to the popular call. Disputed settlements resulted, often followed by parental solemnities, and, as a consequence of one such disputed election, Thomas Gillespie, who had been deposed for refusing to assist at the ordination of an unpopular presbyter to Inverkeithing, formed with Thomas Bruce, Bishop of Glasgow, and William Robertson, Bishop of Boston and halves of the Congregationalists and Burghers of Relief.’ Another sect was thus launched upon its career, but the kindly attitude of Gillespie towards the Establishment and his desire to get back to it contrast most favourably with the determined politicalism of Gillespie’s confreres, who had the best of the battle within the Church; but their ascendency was purchased at the cost of increased dissent; for, in 1764, there were 129 meeting-houses in Scotland, served by ministers
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for whom the people had forsaken unpopular presentees and parish churches, and the rigid enforcement of the patronage law seemed of set purpose to curb the ministry of the Hesperian opposition. The
moderates certainly pacified the Church, and put
an end to the painful scenes only too common at unpopular settlements; by 1770 the people had learned either to submit quietly or to see it quietly, but there was little change in the Presbyterian communion of Ulster. William Robertson, who led the moderate party to victory, was one of a group of brilliant men who adorned the Church of Scotland at that time; among others may be named John Home, the author of the tragedy of Douglas; George Campbell, who answered Hume, and Thomas Reid, who answered Locke. One result of the labours of the moderates was an improvement in the literary quality of Scotch pulpit work.

Towards the end of the century the burghers split into two—the Old Lights and the New Lights—over the question of the Covenant and the powers of the civil magistrate; the anti-burghers also divided into two Synods over the question of the civil magistrate; and, as the Cameronians, in their movement towards the Covenant, remained aloof from the secession, forming the 'Reformed Presbyterian' in 1743 and renewing the Covenanters for the last time in 1745, the Church in Scotland was torn in pieces by the end of the 18th century.

The end of that century witnessed important changes—the slackening of the anti-popish spirit, the beginning of debates concerning creed-subscription, the shifting of population with the resultant need for new churches, the rise of a missionary spirit and of a sentiment of greater catholicity. Roman Catholic emancipation in 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832 were symptoms of a wave of liberalism, which had its effect on the Church of Scotland. The Church's sore was still patronage, and from 1832 onwards overtures began to pour in from Presbyterians, asking for the restoration of the Call to its old place. The General Assembly of 1833 threw out the Veto Act, which conferred upon the majority of heads of families in any church the power to veto the appointment of any presentee on reasonable grounds—and this in spite of the powerful support of Thomas Chalmers. But this was the last victory of the moderates. They no longer prevented the passing of the Veto Act and the Chalmers Act the same year. Ten years of strife supervened. A number of causes célèbres brought the Assembly and the Court of Session into violent conflict, and the question was raised as to the competence of the Assembly to pass such Acts. The Claim of Right of 1842 took very high ground in regard to spiritual independence, and nothing less than total abolition of patronage, with complete independence of the civil power, became the claim of the Presbyterian party. The quarrel over patronage had developed into the old quarrel over jurisdiction, and in 1843 occurred the great secession known as the Disruption. Out of 1203 ministers, 451 left the Church. In 1847 patronage was abolished; but both the Old Light and the New Light Churches still continue their separate existence, though the signs of the times point to better things. Indeed, the tendency of nearly a century past has been, on the whole, towards the re-union of the broken fragments of the Church. As two examples, in 1820 the two bodies of Old and New Lights coalesced into the United Secession Church; and, by the union of that body with the Relief Synod in 1847, the United Presbyterian Church was formed. The Reformed Church became the pioneer of union; and in 1900 was consummated the wider union of United Presbyterian Church and Free Church into the United Free Church of Scotland. A remnant refused to enter the new Church, and this was declared on 25 June 1876 at the House of Lords. The House of Commons had declared it a legal Free Church. The latest statistics show that the Church of Scotland has 16 Synods, 84 Presbyteries, 1442 parish churches, 53 chapels with ordained ministers, 201 mission or preaching stations, 718,710 communicants, 4 synods of students, 201 teachers and 218,702 scholars, adult classes numbering 59,091 scholars, and a Christian literacy of 1,555,116, 166, 104. The United Free Church has 12 Synods, 64 Presbyteries, 1565 congregations of members, 9814 ministers, 512,005 ordained ministers; communicants number 1,046,049, Sunday Schoolss 2224 with 24,055 teachers and 223,559 scholars, adult classes 2018 with 77,666 pupils; and the annual income is £1,046,049, 8s. 4d. In addition the Church of Scotland has a Synod in England, a Presbyterian in British Guiana, and missions in Africa, India, and China, while the United Free Church has Presbyteries in the Italian and Iberian peninsulas and missions in India, Manchuria, Africa, Indo-China and Indo-Burma. Scotland has 4 Synods, 13 Presbyteries, and about 160 congregations (many of them vacant) with a mission in Africa. Of the smaller bodies, the Reform Presbyterian Church, which is in full communion with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of America and the Presbyterians, has 49 congregations, and the Synod of United Original Seeders has 4 Presbyteries, 26 congregations, and a mission in India.

4. Ireland.—Presbyterianism in Ireland took its rise among the colonists who were settled in Ulster after the abortive rebellion of the early 17th century. These settlers were mainly of Scottish birth; and, as Episcopacy was just then enjoying one of its brief triumphs in Scotland, Ireland received her fair share of exiled Scottish ministers. Thus the spread of Presbyterianism was rapid. The Anglican Churchmen, poorly supported from England, could not in any case have made effective opposition; as it was, following the lead of Archbishop Ussher, they welcomed the Scottish ministers, and for a time Presbyterian and Anglican worked amicably together. Under the new conditions the original evil repute of the Ulster colonists was gradually lived down; but the growing success of Presbyterianism brought the animus of the country, who, forsaking the spirit of Ussher for that of Laud, secured, for the time being, the suppression of Irish Presbyterianism. The process was complete by 1636. Five years later Scottish troops were sent into the country to aid in the suppression of a rebellion; and, as the completion of their task demanded a prolonged stay in Ireland, the chaplains of the force were able to re-introduce Presbyterianism. A Presbyterian was formed at Carrickfergus on 10th June 1642, and within twenty years the Church numbered 5 Presbyteries, 80 congregations, and 70 ministers. This brief period of rapid expansion was followed by a century of persecution, which was interrupted by a short space of toleration and liberty. The last Act of Toleration, the Act of Toleration and Relief of 1706, only to be resumed under Queen Anne by the Test Act of 1704. The results were made apparent in a steady stream of American emigration, which drained Ireland of vast numbers of her best citizens; but not until the Act of Union of 1801 was the Act of 1704 cancelled; and even since then Irish Presbyterianism has enjoyed freedom rather than privileges.

Two controversies have agitated the Church. The first arose with the Disruption and the New Light movement, which, beginning in 1709 as a revolt against creed-subscription, resulted in a wide-spread
laxity of doctrine. The movement was not decisively checked till about 1750, when the arrival from Scotland of a sufficient number of rigidly orthodox seceders turned the tide. The Arian controversy broke out in the early half of the 19th cent., and, after a ten years' battle, Henry Cooke, a famous figure on the orthodox side, forced matters to a decision in 1829. The secession of only 17 ministers was a sufficient proof of the triumph of orthodoxy. There followed in 1840 a union between the Secessory Synod and the Synod of Ireland. The result was especially the separation of the south and east in 1854, when there was only one Presbyterian Church in Ireland. From that time onwards progress has been rapid in every department of Church work. The Region Domum was discontinued in 1859; but the lesson has been more than balanced by the addition of a Sustentation Fund to the interest on the commutation of life-interests. The Irish Church has been of great influence, especially in Ulster, where powerful position has had to be formed, but also wherever Ulstermen have congregated abroad. It numbers at present 36 Presbyteries, 562 congregations, 653 ministers, and over 100,000 communicants.

5. Wales.—Alone among the Presbyterian Churches of Britain, the Welsh Presbyteries owe nothing to Scotland. Its formation resulted from an evangelical movement within the Anglican Church, which was begun by Howell Harris in 1735. As the movement grew and spread, societies were formed, and the treatment meted out to these societies by the Established Church at length drove them to separatist courses. The unwillingness of the episcopate finally forced the societies to seek ordination for their pastors elsewhere; and, after they had adopted the practice of ordination by provisional commission, they gradually developed into a strong Presbyterian Church which has nearly 200,000 members to-day. There is also a Welsh Presbyterian Church in the United States of America with over 13,000 communicants.

6. France.—Early in the 16th cent., a movement of reform had begun in France under the impulse of the New Learning. Francis I., an enthusiastic patron of the Renaissance, was keenly interested, and the movement was fostered by men of weight and influence, as, for instance, Guillaume Farel, and by women of position like Margaret of Navarre. The prospects of reform were bright enough, until the outbreak of Martin Luther alarmed the Church in France as elsewhere. Francis passed the sentence of the enemies of the reform, and from 1535 Protestantism was proscribed. Yet, during the persecutions under Francis I. and Henry II., Protestantism continued to make headway in France; and, as this was due mainly to the influence of the exiled Calvin, who, from Geneva, poured into his fatherland a steady stream of letters and messengers, it was the Calvinist form of Protestantism that gradually diffused itself throughout the country. In 1555 La Ferrière, a noble Frenchman, who desired but a little to see the Bible in French, was sent to Geneva for the purpose, succeeded with difficulty in persuading his immediate circle of friends to elect La Riviére, one of their number, as pastor, and thus form a congregation. So rapidly was this extended that by 1560 there were 2000 congregations were formed throughout France. Church and king had hitherto seen in Protestantism no more than religious nonconformity; they now began to discern in it a political menace as well, and the result of the discussion between the two parties, as the result of a discussion at Poitiers, the Reformed Church in Paris summoned delegates from all over France to a meeting in the capital; and 150 delegates, assembling in due course in a private house in the Faubourg St. Germain, constituted themselves the First National Synod of the Reformed Church in France (26th May 1559). They adopted a Calvinist Creed (the Confesse Gallican), and, with such changes as the different conditions of French religious and national life necessitated, the constitution the polity of Geneva. Each congregation had a pastor, elders, and deacons; but the Geneva practice was departed from by regarding the diaconate as a spiritual office, and establishing the deacons as a seat in the Consistory, which directed congregational affairs. The first set of these officials in each church was chosen by popular election, but subsequently such gaps as might occur were filled by the Consistory; and this "aristocratic" method of election was long maintained in the face of popular opposition. To bind the congregations together, provision was made for a gradation of Church courts. Provincial Synods, composed of all the pastors within the bounds, with one elder or deacon from each congregation were to meet twice a year, in order to decide upon appeals from congregations, to arrange and effect the translation of pastors, and generally to administer all competent affairs. General Synods, representing the whole Church, and composed of all the pastors, were to be held as need arose. As time revealed defects in the system, means were devised to remedy these. A Colloque—the analogue of the Presbytery—was inserted between the congregational Consistory and the Provincial Synod and, in addition, a department that delegates to the National Synod should be commissioned by the Provincial Synod instead of the Consistory, the Church was provided with a compact conciliar organization, which fitted it to play a part in the political sphere. The Church now was a national institution; its members came to be known by the name 'Huguenots' (q.v.), probably Eudynens, 'oath-companions'), and it found itself definitely linked with the party whose chiefs were Anthony, King of Navarre, Louis, Duke of Condé, and Adnaur Coligny, as against their political and religious opponents, headed by the Guises, Duke and Cardinal. Henry II. died in 1559, the year of the first National Synod; and Francis II., the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots and of Mary of Guise, the new faction, did not live long enough to do serious mischief. During the minority of his successor, Charles IX., the regency was in the hands of Catherine de Medici, who pursued the policy of playing off the two parties in the realm one against the other. The Colloque of Poissy (1561), at which Beza pleaded the cause of Protestantism with an eloquence that drew a reluctant tribute from his opponents, was a consequence of this policy; and the result of the conference was the tolerant Edict of St. Germain (1562). But in March of that year a massacre of Protestants, inaugurated at Vassy by the Duke of Guise, transferred the issue from the council-chamber to the camp, and in the course of the next thirty years France was torn by no fewer than twenty civil wars. Between the two parties, the one on the royalists' side, the other on the Protestant side, enjoyed almost invariably the military superiority, but the Huguenots were always formidable enough to extract good terms even from defeat and to renew the contest as need or opportunity arose. It will not be necessary about to lend them definite support, as, e.g., in 1571-72, when Coligny was all-powerful at court, and the English marriage project and the union actually arranged between Henry of Navarre and the English princesses from all the Consistories, to interfere with this delicate balance between Protestantism and the Crown. But the regent feared undue Protestant influence no less than the undue preponderance of the Guises; and the reaction from this brief period of friendli-
ness took the shape of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572. Exiled in Rome until in Madrid this horrid butchery excited universal disgust; and, as a result of it and of the renewed civil war which followed, a large moderate party began to form in France. Toleration, however, had not been extinguished in the Church, and, in the barons of the Catholic party, as persecution upon the Protestants, viz., an increase of zeal; and, war, conducted by leagues on the one side and on the other, each affiliated with sympathetic foreign powers, continued to distract the unhappy country. At length, in 1588, Henry, now reduced to the situation of the chief barriers of the peace and the chief menace to the royal power, took the desperate step of having the duke and the cardinal assassinated; and the support of the Crown might, as a consequence, have passed speedily and definitely to the Protestant side, but for the assassination of the king in his turn by a fanatical Jesuit emissary (1589). Henry of Navarre, leader of the Huguenots since the death of Coligny in the great massacre, was now king; but, while he could and did yield way in some field, he could not, so long as he remained Protest-ant, conquer so definitely as to pacify France. Accordingly, he turned Roman Catholic (20th July 1598) and, after the peace of Vervins had ended the contest, began to speak of the French nation for a common object, the Edict of Nantes (1598) was issued. The Protestants were given the right of public worship, except in Paris and a few other places; they still had to recognize the establish-ment of Roman Catholicism, but their own members had full civil and political rights; and they were given, besides an annual grant, full control of such towns and strongresses as had been in their possession the year before the Edict. In many ways the Reformed Church had suffered during the civil wars; the absence of many members in the field had woefully reduced the livings of the clergy, the number of congregations had shrunk from 21500 to 768; the influence of Henry of Navarre as leader was in sad and unspiritual contrast to that of Coligny. But the constitutional frame of work of the Church had been well looked to, and altogether 15 National Synods had been held during the wars. At one of these, held in La Rochelle (1671) under the moderativeness of Beza, the confidence of the king and the development and renewal, and Presbytery government formally adopted during the brief sunshine of royal favour. Thus, though the growth of the Reformed Church was checked, owing to many of the Huguenot nobility and gentlemen following the king's lead and turning Roman Catholic, a strong body remained staunch, and the growth of the Church's wealth was some compensation for its slower increase in numbers. The grant of 43,000 crowns per annum was devoted to the foundation and upkeep of theological colleges at Angers, Orléans, La Flèche, and Saumur, and the independence of the French Church was rendered complete. After Henry's death in 1610 his work as a statesman was taken up by Richelieu, but Richelieu's fear of the Huguenots, combined with his executive capacity, gave his religious policy a reactionary character. An expedition was sent against Béarn, which had been a Protestant stronghold for sixty years, and a massacre of Protestants resulted in the re-es-tablis-hment of Catholicism in the province. In any event, the king determined that a royal commissioner must be present at all meetings of the National Synod to ensure that none but strictly ecclesiastical matters should be discussed. The policy culminated in a demand for the suppression of the Reformed faith, which was refused; but the city was forced to capitulate after a year's resistance (1628), and, with the capture of the sadly-reduced stronghold, the polit-ical power of the Huguenots disappeared. Thereafter the Synod of 1618 was suppressed; and the consequent removal of all organization was also thrown heavily upon the individual congregations. The Huguenot nobles were tempted with offices and political preferment, the pastors were tempted with higher stipends; and many yielded to these temptations. But the Synod of 1626 was the final process was carried on : Colloques were suppressed in 1657, and in 1659 the Synod of Loudun was informed by the royal commissioner that Synods would be held in future only if the king considered them necessary. But the Edict of 1628 was dissolved; yet, up to the death of Mazarin in 1661, the Huguenots continued to be numerous; for their commercial honesty enjoyed no less repute than their commercial skill, and, realizing their economic value to the nation, Mazarin did not push them to extremity. But he had deprived them of their last shred of organization, and, after his death, the king fell under the influence of Roman Catholic bigots, who used the opportunity to destroy the Huguenots. Bribery again did its work, backed now by the exclusion from office of all Huguenots; converts to Protestantism were banished, while converts to Catholicism were held in honour, and their former pastors forbidden even to travel to France. Many were napped in great numbers by Catholic priests, to be rear in the Catholic faith, and their parents had no redress. About 1651 the practice began of con-verting Huguenots by quartering upon them troops of dragoons, whose iniquities and licence were communi Cat The desperate Protestants at length took to emigration as a relief from their troubles; but, about after 50,000 had got away, a royal edict stopped even that loophole of escape. Finally on 22nd Oct. 1668 the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked. All Protestant ministers were to leave France within fourteen days, all Protes- tant churches and schools were to be closed, and the children, after baptism by Roman Catholic priests, to be brought up in the Catholic faith. If any of the unhappy people were caught in the attempt to flee the country, the men were sent to the galleys and the women to prison, for life; seven months later the penalty was altered to death. Nevertheless, some 250,000 made good their escape; while the number of those who took the unenviable position of Catholic priests was reduced to 5000, of whom 1000 were driven from the country. This drastic act was largely due to the desire to make the Protestants, who had placed themselves under British protection, feel the power of the state, and to drive the Protestants out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country. The first step had been made, and the next was to drive them out of the country.
which supervised drove Catholic and Protestant alike into the wilderness. Robespierre's death, however, brought saner counsels, and Protestantism received in 1793 the full measure of liberty which it had enjoyed from the absolutist standpoint, greatly modified the Presbyteri-

an constitution of the Church in its enactment of 8th April 1802. Congregational Consistories and National Synods were abolished. Congrega-
tional Synods and presbyteries, consisting of 6,000 souls, and the Consistory for each was composed of all the pastors in the group, together with 6 to 12 elders, who were chosen from among the principal tax-payers. Five such con-
sistorial churches were grouped into a Synod circle, and these Synods were made up of one pastor and one elder from each congregation; they required State permission to meet, and a State functionary had to be present at their meetings. Indeed, so many were the restrictions that, during Napoleon's reign, none of those Synods met; and no Church court intervened between the consis-
torial church and the minister of culture. The Reformed Church, thus hampered, fulfilled government expectations by giving no trouble, but she suffered a great deal.

Yet Protestantism grew in the country, and amid the excitement of 1848 a great national gathering, with representatives present from 89 out of the 92 consistorial bodies, ventured to meet and make an effort at reorganization. They set up the old Presbyterian system once more with the complete machinery of Church Consistories, General Consistories, Provincial Synods, and General Synods, and would, no doubt, have secured State sanction for their proposals, had not the seces-
sion occurred among them. During the long period of disorganization differences had grown up unchecked; and friction immediately resulted from the effort at closer organization, becoming acute over the question of theological belief. The representatives of the old theology, under Monod of Montauban, seceded, sacrificing State connexion and State grant, and setting up on a voluntary basis the Union of Evangelical Churches. Their organization is a mixture of Congregationalism and State connexion, and, though their numbers remain small as compared with the parent body, they have increased to some extent and are notable for their evangelical zeal. The parent body obtained, within three years, all that they asked for except the National Synod; even that they obtained in 1872. But the concession was followed almost immediately by a dispute over the framing of a new Confession; and the government took away from the General Synod all legislative power. Nevertheless, the body continues to meet once every three years, and, if it does no more, it at least represents the unity of the Reformed Church, and crowns its organization. All along the Protestant Church in France has wielded an influence out of proportion to its numbers; and its divorce, in common with all the others, is a great calamity. State connexion should not impair its future usefulness. It has always, like other Reformed Churches, been on the side of civil as well as religious liberty, and it would be interesting to investigate how much such sympathies, exhibited by the Church in the French Revolution. Huguenot refugees have been the best of citizens in every land of their adoption, and the martyr Church of France is entitled to occupy a place of pride among its Reformed neighbours. Between the two typhoons, French Churches of France count about 80,000 members, of whom about 95 per cent are in the parent body.

7. The Netherlands.—The situation of the Netherlands on the borders of both Germany and

France, together with the comparatively advanced state of education and independence of character among the Netherlanders, favoured the spread of Reformed Church influences. Thus early as 13 July 1528 the martyrdom of Henry Voes, John Esch at Brussels testified to the progress of the movement, which, Lutheran at first, but later markedly Calvinist, found from the outset a determined opponent in Charles V. The excesses com-
mited by the Jesuits in 1540 and 1541 gave the authorities an excuse to intensify the perse-

cation; the Inquisition was introduced into the land, and in 1550 the anti-Protestant movement culminated in a barbarous Edict against the pos-
session of Protestant books, the reading or dis-

section of Scripture, and all connivance at such offences. If a man convicted of such offences re-

pented of them, he met death by the sword; a woman in similar case was buried alive; any one persisting in error was burned. In spite of this climax to the measures of persecuting zeal, and the death in all of 30,000 victims during the reign of Charles V., Protestantism grew to such an extent that the need of a Creed and constitution began to be seriously felt, especially in the south. In 1559 the Committee of Consuls and Nobles, of the south and England, drew up a Creed modelled on the French Confession of the same year. This Creed, revised by Francis Junius, developed into the Confes-
sio Belgica; in 1603 a Synod at Antwerp adopted a Presbyterian constitution, and later, when the southern provinces had relapsed into Romanism, this Creed and Confession were accepted in the northern provinces. Meanwhile Charles V. had abdicated (1555); but the accession of Philip II. brought one chief to the Protestants. Philip in-

creased the number of Roman Catholic bishoprics in the Netherlands from 4 to 14, made merciless use of the Inquisition, drafted troops into the country, and began to interfere with the civil liberties and privileges of the people. These aggravations of the 1550 Edict gradually identified in the popular consciousness the causes of civil and religious liberty, and Protestantism developed from a party into a national movement. A goodly number of the younger nobles formed a league, and approached the regent—the Duke of Parma, with the request that the Inquisition and the Edicts might be withdrawn. Pending the arrival of a despatch from Spain, the regent relaxed the severity of the laws; and a great wave of Protes-
tant entrenchment was raised. The number of the crowds, thousands in number, assembled to hear the Protestant ministers, and the resultant enthui-
siasm found vent in an outbreak of iconoclast fanaticism, which was responsible for the wrecking of some hundreds of churches, but fortunately avoided the approach of bloodshed. Philip res-
tilated by sending the Duke of Alva into the country with 10,000 fresh troops, and he employed the most barbarous means to end the revolt. His Council of Disturbances, by the severity of its sentences, frightened the loyals into a Union of the Council of Blood. In three months nearly 2000 executions took place, and the inquisitorial operation of the Protestant Church was broken up by the death or exile of the pastors. At this stage Prince William, a great admirer of the Reformed religion, and a loyal supporter of Philip, was moved to change his religion and his allegiance together, and then began in earnest that struggle for inde-

pendence which issued in one of the most ob

stable and bloody chapters in the history of the Netherlands. The Duke of Alva, at Philip's order, put himself in charge of the whole country, and, with brief intermissions, till 1609. In the course of the struggle the southern provinces were won over to Catholicism; but in 1579 the seven northern provinces, by the Treaty of Utrecht, banded themselves together, declared their inde-
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pendence, and launched the Dutch Republic upon

career, electing William of Orange their first
State. The celebration of the Protestant
had been shattered at Alva's first onset, but a
number of the exiled pastors had met at Emden in
1571 and framed a set of Calvinist articles against

day of their return. They took up inter alia
the question of the relation of Church and State,
which they solved after the usual Calvinist fashion.
But, when the improved situation in Holland soon
after permitted their return, and they renewed their
Emden Articles at the Synod of Dordrecht (1574),
the Stadtholder and Council refused to recognize
these discussions in the Zwinglian elements had
played their part in the moulding of the Dutch
Reformation; and, while the Calvinist theology
was generally accepted, there were many William
of Orange among them, who were not prepared to
concede to the Church the measure of independence
demanded by Calvinism. William had set before
himself the ideal of toleration, and he believed
that this could best be secured if the State were
supreme. Accordingly, he submitted to the Church
the task of framing a Presbyterian constitution with State control.
But the Church rejected his proposals in their
turn, and counter-proposals from the Synods of
Dordrecht (1578) and Middelburg (1581) also
failed to secure agreement. The situation was further
complicated by the secularization of the Church
in the seven provinces and the consequent diversity
of views. Finally, the problem was solved by the
omission of a National Synod from among the
courts of the Church, which was organized under
seven independent Provincial Synods. These Synods
were made up of representatives from all the
'm Classes,’ the ‘Classis’ being a body which had
the characteristics partly of a Kirk-Session, partly
of a Presbytery. The civil power was dominant
over all.

Although war went on till 1609, this settlement
of the Dutch Church was followed by a marvellous
outburst of intellectual activity. Between 1575
and 1650 five universities were founded—at Leyden,
Franeker, Groningen, Utrecht, and Harderwyk—and
the Netherlands became the head of the
theological school of the Reformed Church. This
intellectual activity disclosed itself in two great
controversies—the Arminian and the Cocalian.
Arminius established the Calvinism of his day, as
Petry did the Gallican church, and sought in
theological innovation. In 1603 he set forth the theory
that Christ died, not for the elect only, but for all,
and that grace was not irresistible. This protest
against the harsh doctrine of unconditional election
was vigorously counter-attacked by Gomarus from
the Calvinist standpoint, and interest in the
controversy rapidly spread to all ranks of society.

Nor was the battle merely doctrinal, for the
Calvinists still held out for spiritual independ-
ence, while the Arminians were ready to accept
a large measure of State control. The political
situation added a third element to the complica-
tion. While the majority of the States favoured
Arminianism, Maurice of Orange, who was
suspected of aspirations to the supreme
power, took the opposite side. Even after the
death of Maurice in 1609 the troubles continued.
In 1610 the Arminians, chief among whom were Grotius the theologian and Barneveldt the statesman,
issued the Remonstrance; disquieting incidents occurred in various quarters; and the parties of
Dort was assembled to settle the matter.

At this Synod were present 23 foreign delegates—
from Germany, England, Scotland, etc. Early in
the discussions the Arminians were ruled out of
the house because they would not submit to the rules
of debate; thereafter their positions were con-
dened under five chief heads. A persecution
followed. Many of their pastors were exiled; Grot-
iius himself was exiled, but the party was not
less fortunate, was executed. After the death
of Maurice of Orange the exiles were permitted
to return, and were given complete liberty of
speech and action. They founded the dissenting
movement known as Remonstrants, which, although it has pro-
duced some eminent theologians, has remained so
weak in numbers as to confer a pragmatic sanction
upon its Calvinist opponents. Even to-day it has
not more than 5000 members.

The second great controversy—the Cocceian—
was so named from its originator Cocceius, a professor at Franeker, who sought to save the
Calvinist theology from traditionalism and scholas-
ticism. He contended for a Biblical theology, and
held that Scripture should be its own interpreter.
Working along these lines, he arrived at the
Federal Theology, with its doctrine of the OT
coherent of works, which had been superseded by
the NT covenant of grace. This Covenant The-
ology (q.v.) was vigorously opposed by Vœtius and
others; but the spirit of the movement was in
the hands of the Cocceians, whose type of doctrine was accepted by the
English Puritans, embodied in the Westminster
Confession, and speedily became dominant in the
Calvinist churches.

During the second half of the 17th century
Holland was a refuge for oppressed Presbyterians from other
lands, notably from Scotland. Many Scottish
ministers were trained in Dutch universities; Scottish congregations flourished in many Dutch
towns; and the influence of Dutch theology spread
to Scotland, and to all the colonial Churches
that own the Church of Scotland for their mother.
This was also the century of Dutch colonial ex-
pansion, and Presbyterianism flourished in all the
Dutch colonies.

Up to about 1800 the only interference with the
old Presbyterian system was in the direction of
more efficient ministerial supervision—an object
secured by the appointment of a visiting committee
in each Classis. But about 1800 the Netherlands
was attacked by the prevalent disease of constituti-
mond-mortgaging, and the Church shared in the
general disorganization for about two decades.

The return of the House of Orange to power in
1813 brought the trouble to an end; and the
Church constitution, as renewed in 1816, was
an example of thoroughgoing and broadly
organized churchmanship, over, being completed by the addition of a National
Synod. The State supremacy, however, remained,
and it was further strengthened by a decree of
1827 authorizing a permanent committee of the
National Synod. This committee was composed
of 7 members, chosen by the Crown, out of 14
nominated by the Synod. In 1852 the State adopted
the policy of the concurrent endowment of all
Churches, and, except for the endowments, all
connection between Church and State has since been
at an end. The Church has been in the last century
a marked feature in the Dutch Church. In 1816
the Synod sanctioned a change in creed-
subscriptio whereby the subscriber accepted any
doctrine, not quae, but quatenus it was contained
in Holy Scripture. There was a wide-spread relaxation of Calvinist rigidity; and the
fear of this laxity on the part of the more
orthodox Presbyterianists has given rise to two
important secessions (1837 and 1866). These
have been dissolved, but the parties have been in
a liberal development of numbers, so that in times comparatively recent
many of her pulpits were vacant; but a return
to greater orthodoxy, coupled with a gratifying
increase in the number of Divinity students, holds
out a brighter hope for the future. The Reformed
Protestant religion is professed by the Dutch
royal family and by about three-fourths of the Protestant population, and at the end of 1812 the reformed, Walloon, English Presbyterian, and other Continental Churches, in 18 provinces and 314 districts, 10 provincial districts, 44 Classes, 1362 parishes, and at least 700,000 communicants. Branches of the Reformed Church also exist in the E. and W. Indies.

Notable Continental Churches.—By their sanctum initial struggle for existence, and their widespread influence, the Churches in France and Holland have earned their title to pre-eminence among the Presbyterian Churches of the Continent. But other Presbyterian or partly Presbyterian Churches exist in Europe, which, by reason of persecution, politics, or geographical situation, have remained isolated until the recent creation of a General Presbyterian Alliance. Indeed, some are isolated still.

The National Evangelical Church of Germany combines Lutheran and Presbyterian elements. The Decree of Augsburg (1555), by its adoption of the principle 'Cujus regio, ejus religio,' introduced into Germany a fruitful cause of religious hardship and ecclesiastical discord. In 1559 Frederick III., an enemy of Calvinism, succeeded to the Palatinate, and, in terms of the treaty, began the endeavour to make Calvinism the religion of his dominions. His methods, which were not above suspicion, failed in the Upper Palatinate; but the succession to the Lower; and, where they did succeed, he prevented the introduction of Presbyterianism in its entirety by keeping in his own hands a large measure of ecclesiastical control. The Presbyterianism of the Palatinate has made for itself an enduring monument in the Helvetic Catechism, the work of Oliberian and Ursinus, which, intended originally for local use, speedily won semechnal significance as a Calvinist standard. The Catechism softens the rigidity of Calvinism with regard to predestination and some other points, and is remarkable for its general moderation of tone. Among the duchies of the Lower Rhine Presbyterianism was planted by refugees from Holland, France, and Britain; Alva's persecution drove Dutchmen over the border in thousands, and the influx gradually changed the prevalent type of church. It is noted for its Synod of Emden Articles. But the civic authorities have prevented Presbyterianism from ever fully realizing itself. When the map of Europe was readjusted after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, these Presbyterian provinces fell to Prussia; and 1817, the tercentenary of the Reformation, appealed to Frederick William II. as a favourable occasion for uniting the two Protestant Churches in his dominions. The united Church was called the National Evangelical Church of Prussia, and the Prussian lead was followed by most of the other German States. Each of the two uniting Churches retained its own standards and its own system of government, but modifications introduced from time to time have very largely lessened the differences of the two Church bodies. The Lutheran theology and ritual have made serious inroads on the Reformed Church, but the Presbyterian form of Church government has been equally successful in the invasion of the Lutheranism of the '.Sceptre' of Prussia. It retains its firm hold on the Church organization as a whole.

In Hungary a modified type of Presbyterianism existed long before John Calvin ruled in Geneva. The intestine wars of the Hussites (q.v.) about the middle of the 15th cent. led to the forming of the Unitas Fratrum, who, abhoring the idea of strife, repudiated both the warring sects, and contented themselves with the guidance of the Holy Scriptures and the Catechism, the latter being patterned after the Bible alone. A constitution essentially Presbyterian, embodying the eldership and the discontinue, was adopted in 1496, and testified to the presence in the Church of a strong lay element. But a distinctive feature was introduced into the government of the Church by placing the presidency of each Synod in the hands of a bishop elected by the pastors. In 1557 the Church was strong enough to assemble no fewer than 200 pastors in one of its Synods. It had indeed achieved the status of a national Church, and in Reformation times the most cordial relations were inaugurated and maintained between the Bohemian Church and John Calvin. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War the abortive rebellion of the Protestant nobles and the crowning of Frederick V., the Elector Palatine by the rebels gave to the persecuting zeal of Ferdinand II. an excuse for increased severity, and his victory was followed by the ruthless suppression of Protestantism in the empire. Heidelberg's Edict of 1628 gave the persecuted Church the first opportunity of renewing its activity, and, after 314 a cent; and a half of repression, the submerged Protestantism of the country soon blossomed forth into vigorous life and development only to be crushed again by the measures of a reactionary successor. A better constitution was granted in 1681; but the State, by means of its ecclesiastical Council, still keeps a firm hold upon the organization of the Church, and rules over its Synods and superintendents to the detriment of a complete Presbyterianism. The Church in Bohemia and Moravia continues small in numbers; but its heroic past and its present zeal for Home Mission work and education hold out the hope that a more liberal policy on the part of the State may usher in a more prosperous time.

In Hungary, as in many other lands, Calvinism superseded in time the original Lutheran form of the Reformation, and, whereas a Synod at Erdély in 1845 adopted the Augsburg Confession, the Synod of Nitra (1852) identified itself with the Helvetic and Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession the standards of the Church, which has since faithfully adhered to them. When Hungary fell into two separate political entities about the middle of the 16th cent., its Presbyterianism developed in the Reformed or tolerant provinces, and the Church grew unchecked till 1692, when Rudolf of Hungary conquered the principality, and began to persecute the Protestants. But the Treaty of Vienna (1660) restored Transylvanian independence and ushered in a period of seventy years' peace. The Church prospered till 1677, when Leopold I. of Hungary again subdued Transylvania, and persecution, marked by the imprisonment, exile, enslavement, and even death of Protestant pastors, plunged Protestantism into misery once more. The century of humiliation which followed ended only with the Toleration Edict of Joseph II. (1787), which conferred upon the Protestants a new lease of life. Presbyterianism in Hungary was closely identified with the political aspirations of Hungary, and has been greatly benefited by the comparative independence which Hungary enjoys within the Dual Monarchy. Congregations to the number of 2000 and a membership of over 500,000 testify to the strength and vitality of the Church. By 1881 the old territorial division of the Church was retained, but in that year the organization under five independent provinces was unified by the Synod of Debreczen. In her isolation this Church

footnote: 1 About 67,000 in 1912.
has developed distinctive features in her government. Each Tractus, or Church county, the body corresponding to our Presbytery, is presided over by a senior elected by the pastors, and a condutor or curator elected by the elders. S-favoured the province has a clerical superintendent and a lay curatur. This arrangement combines the benefits of Episcopal supervision with those of Presbyterian parity. The Church has been chiefly remarkable for its educational work; and its organization of parish schools, high schools, and colleges vividly recalls the ‘devote imagination’ of John Knox concerning Scottish education. In a land hemmed in by circumjacent Catholicism the work done by the Church in maintaining single-handed its army of some 5000 teachers with 300,000 pupils is of immeasurable importance for Protestantism.

The cantonal system of Swiss government has served to restrict the honour of Calvin in the land of Calvin’s adoption. All the cantons except three—Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel—favoured the Zwinglian rather than the Calvinist form of Church government; and in the three cantons named the Church remained isolated and quiescent till the beginning of the 19th century. The period of religious transition which had been characterized by secessions and divisions, In Geneva, on the occasion of a visit paid by the Scottish preacher, Robert Haldane, in 1817, a revival of evangelical zeal began. C. B. A. Malan, J. F. M. d’Aubigné, and others founded the Evangelical school of theology, and were deposed in their turn. At the same time the State was engaged in an attempt to destroy the independence of the Church; and the agitation finally issued in the formation of the Free Evangelical Church (1849).

This Church is still weak in numbers, but it withdrew sufficient strength from the national Church to leave it at the mercy of the State, and since 1874 the national Church has really ceased to exist.

In Vaud the famous theologian, A. R. Vincent, advocated the policy of separation between Church and State; and, when the State, as in Geneva, attempted to subordinate the spiritual to the civil power, 100 ministers seceded in 1845, forming the Free Evangelical Church of Vaud, which has been recognized for its missionary zeal. The national Church is now controlled by the State, but not too rigidly.

In Neuchâtel a similar effort by the State to assume control of the Church resulted in a secession under F. Godet in 1873.

In Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium 16th cent. Protestantism was strangled in its infancy; and only in the last century have more liberal ideas permitted the rise of a Reformed Church in those countries. The Italian Church, the descendant of the Waldensians, began its work in Piedmont in 1849, received an additional impetus when the unification in Italy under a constitutional government took place in 1861, and now exercises its semi-Presbyterian government over a membership of about 200,000. The Dutch Reformed Church, which had begun by Scotsmen in 1852. Persecution and exile followed in 1860, and the refugees, meeting at Gibraltar, took over the Westminster Confession, and adopted Presbyterian Church government. The consequent government, which had their work since centred mainly in Seville and Madrid. This Church owes a great debt to the support forthcoming from Scotland and Ireland.

Belgium has recently become possessed of two Reformed Churches, each about 7000 strong, one of which has laid claim to a historic succession by adopting the Confessio Belgica. Small Reformed bodies also exist in Denmark, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, Greece, and Poland; and, if we are to judge from the justified enthusiasm of the leaders of future government, we may confidently assume the present to be only the day of small things, and anticipate a great future for this new democratically constituted variety of Church organization.

The total number of Presbyterian communicants in Europe is now well over 3,000,000—more than half of them in the British Isles.

iv. History Outside Europe.—When we come to consider Presbyterianism elsewhere than on the continent of Europe—e.g., in America—we reach a new phase of Presbyterian history, in which petty obstruction takes the place of sanguinary persecution, in which battles and martyrdoms are replaced by slow development and construction; and, whereas in the heroic days of early European Presbyterianism the leader often balked larger than the cause, in other continents Presbyterian progress was, on the whole, a triumph of principles rather than of individual men.

i. America.—To America Presbyterianism was introduced by the Scotch and Germans who had made their contribution, as is seen below; but the contribution of the Church of Scotland has been greatest of all. Episcopacy arrived in Virginia with the early colonists of 1604, and in 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers founded the old New England movement, and the Church showed its rescript by it, not by its weakness but its strength, of becoming Presbyterian. In the Free Church of Scotland, the Tradesmens, the Ancient and Modern, and the Free Church of England, 1684, the Free Church of Scotland was founded. The Presbyterian wing of English Puritanism was represented from the beginning, and its adherents were at first scattered to make organization possible or profitable, and only when the persecutions under Charles II. began to drive men from Scotland and Ulster to the colonies did numbers to be organized and minds to organize them make their appearance in the American colonies. Emigration from Scotland was encouraged during the persecution, and from 1660 to 1688 a steady stream poured out of the country—often in compact bands of several hundred men belted up with money from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the first church was built at Freehold, N. J., in 1692. By 1700 there were over 30 congregations—half of them in the two States above named; indeed, Presbyterianism soon became a feature in the life of the middle colonies. Francis Makemie, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Lagan in Ulster, had been sent out in 1683 in pastoral charge of a band of emigrants; and, combining in the land of his adoption the callings of itinerant trader and evangelist, he found in the country a sufficient number of Presbyterians to make organization worth while and enough Episcopalian opposition to make it expedient. In 1699 he was called to the charge of Snowhill in Maryland, and in 1706 seven ministers, with Makemie as leading spirit, founded the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Thereafter a rapid development took place. Appeals were made to Scotland, Ulster, Dublin, London, and considerable assistance was forthcoming, notably from the Synod and the General Assembly regarding deaconesses as the supply of ministers, the operation of Test Acts at home supplied the Church with a steady influx of emigrant members, and in 1716 she was strong enough to combine her four Presbyteries into the Synod of Pennsylvania, with herself presided over by a presbytery and a constitution soon made itself felt, but, when the Presbytery of Newcastle, alarmed at the lax doctrine of some of the incoming ministers, ordained in 1724 that all its future licentiates must subscribe the Westminster standards, and overturned...
the Synod to make this rule general, the discussion in the Synod revealed the existence of two parties in the Church. In New England elements of the Established Church were not only far removed from the birth New England clergy looked askance at the more rigid Presbyterianism of Scots and Ulstermen. The resultant controversy lasted some years, and it was mainly the tact of Jonathan Edwards that saved the ministry of the old Presbyterian standard from being split. A compromise was effected by the passing of the Adopting Act, whereby the Westminster standards were taken over as embodying in essence a sound system of doctrine and government, and their oligarchy of ministers preserved. But the principle that the circumstances might allow or Christian prudence direct. By this wise measure the Church was enabled to retain its historic connexions, to avoid Congregationalism, and to secure a degree of flexibility fitting it to deal with the conditions prevalent in a new and growing country. A fresh controversy soon arose over the question of ministerial education. The supply of ministers, both from the colony itself and from overseas, fell so short that it almost ended in its total absence. The standard was hard to avoid. William Tennent, a Dublin emigrant, attempted to meet the case by founding a seminary, later known as the Log College; but his students frequently possessed more zeal and piety than education or culture, and filled the older Presbyterian bodies. The visit of Whitefield in 1730 was followed by an outburst of revivalism, and at length the un-Presbyterian methods of the Tennent school moved the Synod to insist upon Presbyterian discipline and a standard of education for all its ministers. The disruption resulted in 1745, when the Church split into the Synod of Philadelphia, or old side, and the Synod of New York, or new side. But the new side were quite alive to the benefits of education, and the old side not alive to the blessings of evangelical zeal; and a sense of duty, combined with mutual esteem and a common interest, secured re-union in 1758. The cause of missions to the American Indians, which had been in operation since 1741, was warmly espoused by the ununited Church, which also interested itself deeply in the New Jersey College. When the Revolutionary war broke out in 1775, the Presbyterians of the middle colonies, who had not forgotten the history of their earlier secession, took almost to a man, and their devotion to the Revolutionary cause earned for the Church the lasting respect of the nation. John Witherspoon, who had come from Scotland in 1768, was the principal actor in the completion of the Church's organisation, when, in 1788, 13 Presbyteries, meeting by their representatives at Philadelphia, constituted themselves the first General Assembly of the Church. They organized the Church on Scottish lines, and adopted the Westminster standards, making determinative the principle that 'God alone is Lord of the conscience.' At this stage the Church numbered 4 Synods, 13 Presbyteries, 186 ministers, and 419 congregations. About the end of the 18th cent., unions and federations were the order of the day, for 1845 in the United States ten and Congregational Churches drew up the 'Plan of Union,' which was really an effort to secure external and operative unity by ignoring the differences between the Churches. As a result the number of ministers increased, and the number of congregations, but became thoroughly leavened with Congregationalism. Members poured in at the rate of 10,000 to 20,000 per annum; but the younger churches became lax in their adherence to Presbyterianism. A test case came at length in 1830, when Albert Barnes, a Congregational minister called to a Presbyterian charge in Philadelphia, was vetoed by the Presbytery on account of his known laxity of doctrine. The breach of the Church into old school and new school followed in 1838, and endured for thirty-two years. Plessing ran high in both schools and sects over the question of the doctrine and discipline. A half of the new school repudiated their brethren of the south, and in 1861 the southern portion of the old school seceded. This fresh dismemberment drew the two northern bodies together, and they united in the United Presbyterian Church. Many Churches had been vigorously engaged in Home Mission work, having sent out between them no fewer than 25,000 missionaries; and the united Church followed up the work with enthusiasm. Foreign Missions had been inaugurated in 1810 as the result of a denomination activity, but in 1838 the Church took over her own. Early in the period of separation the new school reverted to the original plan, but in 1854 she resumed control of her own work, the result of which has been the establishment of missions in Mexico, Brazil, Africa, Syria, Persia, India, and China. With over 9000 ministers, almost 1,500,000 members, 300 missionaries, and a dozen seminaries, including such famous schools as Princeton and Union, this Church is, in point of size, the greatest single Presbyterian organization in the world. Of the other Presbyterian bodies of British origin in the United States little need be said. The Presbyterian Church in the United States (South) was formed in 1861 by the union of the old and new schools in the southern States. It possesses missions in Mexico, Brazil, and India, but its principal mission work has naturally been among the emancipated negroes. This Church has upheld the conservative tradition of the South. Since the end of the Civil War it has become increasingly friendly with its northern neighbour, but re-union has not yet taken place. It has over 1700 ministers and nearly 300,000 communicants.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which, with its Coloured Branch, numbers about 150,000 members, had its origin in the Kentucky revival at the end of the 18th cent., when doctrinal and ecclesiastical vagaries increased to such an extent that at length the General Assembly intervened, forbidding the Cumberland Presbyterians to ordain ministers who had no church fellowship. This secession gave birth to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which retains the Presbyterian polity, but has lowered the standard of ministerial education, and has relaxed some of the severer Calvinist doctrines. The United Presbyterian Church of N. America represents the main stream of 18th cent. dissent in Scotland, and its membership is over 100,000 strong. It remains very strict in its adherence to old standards, but is notable for its great evangelical and missionary zeal.

Among the Presbyterian Churches in the United States which trace their origin to continental Europe it will suffice to mention two. The Reformed Church in America (q.v.), which till 1807 was sustained at the expense of the Dutch Reformed Church, enjoys the distinction of being the oldest Presbyterian body in the United States. The first congregation, with Jonas Michaelius as pastor, was formed in 1628 in what was still the town of New Amsterdam; another was formed in 1662, and flourished under Dutch rule till 1664, when the colony passed into English hands and became New York. The English authorities confined the activities of the Church to the Dutch inhabitants and the Dutch Reformed Dispensations, which remained in force till about 1700, its expansion was checked. Thereafter the Church itself hampered
its own growth by the exclusive use of the Dutch language in its services and by retaining its affiliation to the Classis of Amsterdam. But in 1746 the use of English in the services was permitted, and in 1755 the Church declared its independence of the Amsterdam Classis as the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. Since then it has grown steadily, and now has a membership of about 300,000. The Dutch element and influence in it have naturally decreased, but the old doctrine, government, and ritual are still adhered to, and the doctrinal standard, the Heidelberg Catechism, is expounded weekly in every congregation, a period of four years. Foreign missions in India, Japan, and China constitute an important feature of the work of this Church; and the efforts of the Senderli family have made Arcot (S. India) a perfect model of what a mission ought to be.

The German Reformed Church was founded by emigrants, chiefly from the Rhine Palatinate, about the end of the 17th century. These settled mostly in Pennsylvania, and in 1746 M. Schlaeter and four other ministers formed the first Consistor or Synod under the Classis of Amsterdam. Schlaeter paid a visit to Europe in 1751, and secured substantial help from Holland, England, and Scotland. The Church declared its independence in 1773, and since then has continued to grow, and now numbers about 300,000 members. It is estimated that the German immigration to America during the last century two-thirds have found their way into the Lutheran Church, and the remainder, according to the Reformed Church. The German Church has retained its native language much more tenaciously than its Dutch neighbour. The Heidelberg Catechism remains the doctrinal standard, and German customs and ritual are strongly adhered to, particularly in connection with the great festivals of the Christian year. The six Churches already spoken of represent well over 95 per cent of American Presbyterianism.

Presbyterianism stands third in order of numbers among the Protestant Churches of America. There is no possible question concerning the comparative smallness of Presbyterian immigration and the restriction that the Church has placed upon her expansion by her insistence upon an educated ministry. Her membership is increasing over three times in the lifetime of the country; and in culture, influence, wealth, and catholicity of spirit she claims no American Church her superior. The huge sphere of labour presented by the United States prevents the overlapping caused by denominationalism in smaller countries, and this, together with the friendly rivalry that exists between the various bodies, is a happy augury for a prosperous union at some future date. The history of Presbyterianism in Canada presents two main features—enthusiasm for unity and tenacity in the face of opposition. The Huguenots first attempted to lay the foundations of Presbyterianism in Canada, and, while the tradition of Henry of Navarre persisted, they were not unsuccessful, but the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and the end of their work and turned Canada into a Jesuit preserve. The second impulse began from Britain in the latter half of the 19th cent., and, since then, Scottish characteristics have been well to the front. The increase of the Church had been a problem, and the problem was solved by seeking for outside help, and all the home Churches, as well as the American, did what they could. In this connexion the work of the Glasgow Colonial Society in Nova Scotia is especially worthy of mention. In the early part of the 19th cent. Episcopal opposition had to be faced in Canada as elsewhere. One-eleventh of the uncened lands in Upper and Lower Canada had been set apart for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, and it cost the Presbyterian Church twenty years of struggle to wrest its share from the grip of the Episcopalians. The battle raged from 1817 to 1840, at the end of which time the Presbyterians obtained a third of the 3,000,000 acres of clergy lands provided by the act of 1791; but in the end of a twenty years' course, the college applied to the government to endow additional chairs in King's College, Toronto; but, Episcopal opposition proving too strong to be overcome, the Church herself founded Queen's University.

The Disruption of 1843 aroused echoes in Canada, and this, with the territorial divisions obtaining till 1867, kept the Canadian Church divided. In 1845 there were seven principal bodies of Canadian Presbyterianism, but internal growth was steadily developed, and in 1860 a succession of unions began. By 1875 only four separate Churches were left, and these united on 15th June of that year to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. At present a scheme is afoot to bring about a wider union of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists. The General Assembly approved the basis of union in June 1916, but a considerable minority left the house; and so far the matter is incomplete.

The Church does excellent work among the French and German races. In her history and its most productive activity has been along the line of Church extension in the West, where, especially since the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, a notable work has been done in what is practically a new nation.

The Church at present has 70 Presbyteries, 2336 congregations, 1769 ministers, and about 300,000 communicants.

2. Australia.—Four-fifths of Australian Presbyterianism is concentrated in New South Wales and Victoria. The Presbyterian Church of New South Wales came into existence as the original population was outnumbered and absorbed by the respectable immigration of later times. The first Independent minister in the colony was John Dunmora Lang, who went in 1823 and some years later was instrumental in founding the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. In course of time certain ministers resented Lang's virtual dictatorship, and tried to end it by insisting upon punctuations of the 15th cent. Church, after the line of John Dunmora Lang and his following, who considered such rigidity injurious to the prospects of a new Church in a new land, seceded in 1838. Union was restored in 1840, only to be broken by a similar secession in 1842. The Scottish Disruption produced a further split in the colonial Church. She did her best to remain neutral, but her dependence upon Scotland for men to fill her pulpits produced the inevitable division in 1846. At length, however, her growing independence minister in the colony was John Dunmora Lang, who was called upon to face, paved the way for union; and since 1865 all sections have been united.

In Victoria the gold rush, and the situation created by the rapid influx of a certain type of population, brought about a union in 1855. By 1870 all the remnants had come in. Since 1859 there has been a federal union of the original six Australian Churches, with an annual Federal Assembly. Its 44 Presbyteries, over 600 congregations, and about 60,000 members, is in proportion to the area and population of Australia.

3. New Zealand.—The first Presbyterian Church of what became in time the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, occupying the north island and half of the south, was founded at Auckland in 1856. The personnel was largely drawn from the Church of Scotland, but comprised Irish and other elements. Since its early days this Church has done splendid
PRESBYTERIANISM

Home Mission work, and has grown with the growth of the colony. The Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland resulted from a resolution of the New Zealand Church in the early 1840's in support of the suggestion of the Free Church of Scotland in the settlement of the new colony. The Free Church accepted the proposal, and the experiment of founding a model colony was tried at Otago. The first batch of emigrants arrived in 1848, with a nephew of Robert Burns as their minister, and in 1854 the first Presbytery was founded. The gold rush of 1861 presented the Church with a problem which has been very satisfactorily solved. The united strength of the Churches in New Zealand now totals 17 Presbyteries, 230 congregations, and 40,000 members.

4. S. Africa.—There was a Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony from 1652; but, in spite of the steady stream of Dutch migration and an influx of Huguenots about the end of the 17th cent., the Church had practically no history for the first century of its existence. After British rule began in 1806, better days dawned for the Church; and a Synod was organized in 1846. A Dutch Reformed Church was given the equal status of a diocesan prelacy, but had left the supreme ecclesiastical power in the hands of the State. Ministers of a later date found State control irksome, and agitated to such purpose that the obnoxious feature was abolished in 1861. The Church was then split into a number of territorial fragments. The various Dutch Reformed Churches have a communion-roll of about 200,000, and the British Church numbers over 11,000 communicants.

Leaving out of account the spiritual, ethical, intellectual, political, and economic influence of its splendid history, and regarding it from the point of view of mere statistics, we may allow the following figures, reported to the last General Council, to vouch for the progress of Presbyterianism and to bear testimony to the fact that the seed planted in Geneva has become a great tree overshadowing the world.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent of Europe</th>
<th>1,451,423 communicants.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>1,013,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. America</td>
<td>2,713,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. America</td>
<td>12,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Indies</td>
<td>16,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>104,147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 6,415,014

As the total for 1858 was only 3,721,680, it will be seen that the communion-roll of Presbyterianism has nearly doubled itself within the last thirty years—a happy earnest of further increase.

III. NATURE AND WORKING OF PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM.—All forms of Church government are ultimately reducible to three—Prelatic, Congregational, and Presbyterian. The Prelatic type of government, exemplified in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, is characterized by the gradation of ministership into a hierarchy or pyramid, the gradation of the diocesan episcopate, and by the emphasis laid on the distinction between clergy and laity. The Congregational type recognizes neither gradation of ministerial rank nor gradation of Church courts beyond that of the congregation and makes of every congregation an independent judicature. It is the boast of Presbyterianism that it avoids the dangers of both its rivals; on the other hand, it has sometimes been charged with combining the evils of both without any admixture of their advantages. As opposed to presbytery, the Presbyterian type of government rests upon the equality of ministerial status, and seeks to give ecclesiastical power to the members of the Church in the form of the presbytery. In opposition to Congregationalism, it seeks to realize the unity of the Church, by entrusting to a carefully devised system of graded Church courts legislative, executive, and judicial, not merely advisory, powers. In the Presbyterian type of Church government, there are three chief types of government which combine features drawn from more than one of the three chief types mentioned above. It will be noted that in such cases the operation of some factor external to the Church, such as the civil power, has generally to be taken into account. Indeed, in the last resort, any given form of Church polity must logically be based upon some definite doctrine of the Church, and any such doctrine of the Church is bound, in its turn, to influence the form of polity which is used. Thus we find that, on the whole and in spite of exceptions, Calvinistic doctrine, Presbyterian Church government, and a simple type of service which lays great stress upon the homiletic aspect of worship go together; and, in most cases, these or other forms of influence will be seen working against the free self-development of the Church. Presbyterianism is characterized by the attempt to combine in its organization the following three features: (a) parity of the clergy; (b) government of the Church by its membership; (c) unity of the Church, so far as the conditions of nationality, language, space, and numbers will permit of organization. It will thus be seen that we have here the attempt to steer a middle course between Presbytery, which has made much of the doctrine of office in the Church, and Congregationalism, which is given over to individualism.

In support of the theory and practice of Presbyterian Church government the jus divinum argument has been largely made use of. At the height of the controversy between Presbyterianism and Predestination which divided Britain in the 16th and 17th centuries the argument was pushed to the extreme of identifying Presbyterianism with the ecclesiastical polity of the NT—a position untenable under the conditions of modern historical research, which would prefer to find the justification of any ecclesiastical system in considerations of expediency or of development. Yet the Presbyterian still cling to the jus divinum in a modified form. He holds that the NT, which sets forth the basis of the Christian faith, must necessarily supply the basic ideas concerning the institution which has sought to embody Christianity and to mediate it to the world; and he contends that in the fundamental ideas and principles of Presbyterianism the spirit and ideas of the NT are more faithfully reproduced than in any other polity. He would no more lay claim to a divine succession of presbyters than to apostles or external individuals or councils; the laying on of hands by presbyters has for him no more significance than episcopal consecration as a kind of mechanical device for the transmission of ministerial grace; he would find the true apostolic succession in the succession of the apostolic spirit by generations of faithful Christian pastors. His idea is of the jus divinum as belonging to an institution which is spiritually the successor of the NT Church, seeking on the whole to retain its office and its general type of organization while modifying them to meet new requirements in a different age.
The Presbyterian form of polity in modern times is based on the Calvinist doctrine of the Church. According to this view, the Church is a fellowship of believers which alone as such is the follower of Christ, and of all with Christ. Such an essentially spiritual idea of the Church renders it impossible for the Calvinist Presbyterian to unchurch any professed believer or body of believers on merely external grounds. The Church is, in fact, an invisible, hidden body, and the mechanical exclusion of any man from salvation by reference to some fixed ecclesiastical theory is a presumption. In fact, evangelical Protestantism must place first the true preaching of the Word and the proper administration of the sacraments, and all Church government is justified only as a means to that end. Up to this point Presbyterianism and Congregationalism are agreed; they differ only as to the means by which the Church can best serve those ends and express her mind to the world. Presbyterianism recognizes more fully than Independency that, in order to secure the three general ends of true preaching, true administration of the sacraments, and true discipline, an orderly and united body of believers, a certain amount of organization is unavoidable, even if of secondary importance, and the founders of Presbyterianism went to the NT for their models. In so far as they attempted or claimed to establish an exact and mechanical reproduction of the NT Church, they were mistaken, but they may at least claim to have worked out a system as nearly like it as anything that can hope to adapt itself to modern times.

1. Ecclesiastical offices and officials.—In order to grasp the significance of ecclesiastical office it is no less important to see the connexion of ‘gift’ and ‘office’ than to distinguish between them. At first the ministry of gifts that prevailed in the primitive Church rendered office unnecessary and even impossible, but it was not long before the failure or the capriciousness of gifts rendered office inevitable in the growing community, and offices and officials were undoubtedly existent in NT times. Gifts, on the other hand, were the basis of office, the holding of which originally signified the recognition on the part of the Church that the official possessed eminent gifts. As the Church grew in numbers, and had to face heresy within and persecution without, officialism naturally asserted itself as an ever-growing importance. Montanism, e.g., was, from one point of view, a protest against the growth of officialism in the Church, and the reaction against Montanism fostered the very growth against which it protested in vain. Ordination—at first simply the setting apart to a special task of a man with special gifts for it—became a more formal thing; the ritualism of the act came to surpass in importance the prayer which was originally its essence; and gradually the right to confer ordination, from being, the holding of which originally signified that a person became a distinction between superior and inferior orders of clergy. The whole tendency of mediavalism was in the direction of this growing sacerdotism, the original freedom and spontaneity of the Church was crushed rather than observed as the machinery of it became perfected, and the Reformers aimed at getting behind this perfection of lifeless mechanism to the simpler ideas and organization of primitive times, the earlier among them being to discontinue from such hallowed symbolism as the laying on of hands in ordination. The Calvinist and Presbyterian wing of the Reformation distinguished in the NT certain offices which were intended to be ordinary and permanent from certain others which were of an extraordinary and temporary character. These permanent offices were (a) the ministry of the Word, (b) ruling and discipline, (c) the care of goods, their distribution in needful cases, and the care of the poor and sick. Discipline, discipline, and distribution were the distinguishing marks of the Churches of the New Testament. It is true, of course, that the elders were and are used to discharge all these offices in the Church, but the essential peculiarity of the Calvinist and Presbyterian Church was that certain offices were established which were not mere incidentals in the service of the Church but were brought within the connection of the Church as a divine institution. That these offices were of the highest importance is evident from the fact that teaching power and business gifts form a sufficiently rare combination in the individual. Finally there comes about a clear distinction between the office of preacher and teacher and that of ruling elder; we find in Cyprian, e.g., a clear recognition of the distinction between teaching and ruling presbyters. The modern Presbyterian Church has always made a point of this distinction, which is very clearly brought out in the theory and practice of ordination. If ordination, as some have contended, were merely to ordain a man, a special new ordination would be required to transform an elder into a minister. But the Presbyterian system regards ordination as admitting, not to order, but to office, and the requirement of a special ordination for a minister is a recognition of the different offices of teacher and ruler. Yet there has always been a certain confusion in the mind of Presbyterianism with regard to the exact relationship between the minister and the elder, the teaching and the ruling presbytery. Some, like John Calvin, followed by Gillespie, interpret 1 Ti 5:17 as if preaching and ruling presbyters had held distinct offices from the very beginning; others, like Campbell, have considered the ruling elder simply as a lay elder and councillor of the minister, his spiritual work being only that which might be done by any other pious member of the kirk; a third and more sensible group of thinkers hold that the distinction of office has arisen naturally out of a distinction of gifts in a Church faced by the problems of growth and maturing age. It is, in fact, better to consider the office of presbyter from the practical than from the theoretic and Scriptural point of view. The ruling elder, at the least, discharges the useful function of meeting the spiritual and temporal needs of his people, of keeping the minister in touch with the general life of the Church; and his tenure of an office which renders him of equal status with the minister as a member of any Church court is of immense importance. If the ruling elders of the Church declined in the Middle Ages, that of the ruling elder vanishing altogether. But at the Reformation the removal of the crushing burden of sacerdotism caused both to revive. The minister as pastor, preacher, and teacher rose into new importance; and the Presbyterian Church among the rest, he has ever since retained the highest place in the esteem of the membership. The office is ministerial, not sacerdotal, and, whatever ‘preacher’ may be metaphorically, it is certain something quite different in practical
content from 'old priest writ large.' Regarding episcopacy and the episcopal office as a late development, unscriptural and unjustifiable, the Presbyterian reformers have always insisted upon the superiority of the clergy, and Calvin has always seen in preachers, the administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of discipline; and the sacerdotal side of the office has always been carefully kept in the background, lest the minister, in the guise of a priest, should ever become an ecclesiastical monarch. The ruling elder disappeared, as has been said, in the Middle Ages; the attempt to trace him back to the Waldensian movement has not been successful; nor did he reappear in the Lutheran Church. From the beginning the need of a body of men to exercise Church discipline was recognized by the Reformers, who felt that, while the *jus episcopate* ought to be transferred, it must not be allowed to lapse. But the question at once arose as to whether these men should be chosen by the Church or by the civil authorities, and the first to see quite clearly that the Church ought to choose them was John Calvin. In this he differs from both Luther and Zwingli, who left the exercise of Church discipline to the civil power, and, along among the Reformed churches, made it the function of the people, founded upon the NT, and possessed of spiritual office for the discharge of a spiritual function. With this is bound up the theory of the relation between Church and State. It may be noted that the very alliance between Church and State in Geneva which realized one side of his ideal baulked him in the realization of its other half, viz. the maintenance of a distinct and separate sphere for both. In France, however, the hostility of the State reversed the case; alliance was impossible, but the Church was therefore free to develop along her own lines. And the same state of affairs obtained in Scotland. In these two countries, therefore, the Presbyterian eldership came to its full development, and the office is distinctive of Presbyterianism. The elders are chosen by the general body of the membership, and specially ordained to their office. At first they held office only for a limited period, and then reelected, but the present precedent of other representatives of the popular voice; but in later times the office has come to be held 'ad vitam aetculam,' and Presbyterian Church government is by representation rather than by direct reference to the whole body of the people. The eldership is a spiritual functionary; and, while he is debarred from the ministry of the Word and sacraments, he has the right to assist in the administration of discipline and in the government of the Church, in whose courts his vote is of equal value with that of the minister. The work of the deaconate, since the decline of that office, has largely fallen to the eldership; and the assistance of a competent body of elders is invaluable to the minister.

In the early history of the Church it was found advisable to take the work of assisting off the shoulders of men otherwise too busy to attend to it, and thus originated the office of deacon. It is an open question whether the 'Seven' of the Acts of the Apostles were the first of those to be chosen at all, whether we have reason to believe their work being formally recognized by the Church as the work of ecclesiastical officials, or whether these seven were then chosen in the Gentile interest, because those already in office did not consider Greek and Gentile, but the Presbyterian deacon, so far as the office still exists, is a more faithful copy of his prototype than the deacon either of Roman Catholicism or of Anglicanism. The office was never generally regarded as a spiritual one, implying any spiritual function, though the French Church originally took that view; all that is implied in it is the application of spiritual principles to certain secular affairs. The originally unscriptural nature of the office is again evident in the fact that, in spite of the disabilities of women for public speaking and the like, deaconesses were very early at work in the Church. Yet the deacon is more than a mere member of a managing board. He holds an ecclesiastical office, and is called to hold in which office we may describe the deacon of Reforming times as a secular Church official. The office has largely fallen into abeyance, especially where State connection has eased the financial affairs of the Church, and the passing of the diaconal functions in such cases into the hands of the elder has done much to secularize the eldership.

Minister, elder, and deacon are the three ordinary and permanent officials recognized by Presbyterianism, but Calvin and the rest held that NT precedent would authorize the temporary use of extraordinary offices to meet special circumstances. The internal needs of the Church herself or the pressure of outside factors determined the nature of such special offices; and of the earliest days of the Reformed Church, e.g., there existed the office of teacher, as distinct from that of minister, an office which has quite naturally disappeared; for, with a growing knowledge of Reformed doctrine on the part of the people, and after the issue of Catechisms for the instruction of the young and comparatively ignorant, the special work of the teacher became unnecessary. Similarly, in John Knox's day the difficulty produced in Scotland by the inadequate supply of ministers to meet the national need gave rise to the two special offices of superintendent and reader, both of which disappeared as ecclesiastical situation became settled. The chairmen of General Assembly committees and the Divinity students who spend their spare time in mission work represent the nearest survival of these two offices today; but it is noteworthy that, in Canada, a problem similar to John Knox's is responsible for the existence of superintendents at the present time, and for the use made of special-counsel men, who are better trained than the ordinary minister. We have seen also that special offices exist in the Bohemian and Hungarian Churches, and, though a strict Presbyterian might, on the ground of these special offices, call in question the purely Presbyterian nature of the Church, it is equally possible to acknowledge the place of the diaconate in the dispensation of the Church, even in this case, raising no qualms in the breast of John Calvin. Undue State interference has in many cases caused modifications in the Presbyterian theory and practice with regard to office; but the offices of minister, elder, and deacon are alone recognized or required as permanent in a thoroughlygoing Presbyterian system, and even the deacon tends to disappear when the Church is prospering.

2. Church courts.—By the organization of her officials into a carefully graded system of Church courts Presbyterianism seeks to give expression to the unity of the Church. These courts exercise a threefold function: (a) legislative: they frame laws for the purpose of securing order and for the promotion of the spiritual growth of the Church; (b) executive: they give effect to these laws; (c) judicial: they inflict and remove ecclesiastical censures; and the higher courts review the proceedings of the lower. On the basis of the constitution of the Church, but the claim is made that both the constitution and the activities of the Church are ultimately based upon Holy Writ. In the Presbyterian Church the holding of a spiritual office is a necessary qualification for a seat in any of the
Church courts. Thus only teaching and ruling elders are eligible for membership, and the members of any court must be compilers of both. Congregational Church government is probably more directly popular in its nature, but Presbyterianism is also vigorously democratic; for both ministers and elders are popularly elected, and represent, in the last resort, the will of the people; not subject to the control and form of narrower government than the NT. It is responsible, too, for admission to ordination. The work of the minister is also looked after by the Session, which, if it sees fit, may bring before the Presbytery any matter connected therewith. In certain cases the Synod also sees to the proper distribution of ecclesiastical goods.

Where a Deacons' Court exists, the last-named function naturally falls to it. The functions of the Deacons' Court are not of a spiritual nature; it is responsible directly to the Presbytery.

(b) Presbytery. — The Presbytery — otherwise known under the various names of Classis, Colloque, Tractus, etc. — is the unit of the Presbyterian system and the means of realizing Church unity. It is the ordinary or sectional or intermediate Church tribunal, and the characteristic and distinctive feature of Presbyterianism. The extent of its bounds and the number of individual congregations within its jurisdiction are matters of convenience. On the Presbytery are represented all the ruling elders within the bounds, the representation consisting of all the ministers, together with one elder for each Session. Thus, as the moderator, who is always a minister, has no deliberative, but only a casting vote, it may quite well happen that, if there are no collegiate charges within the bounds, the lay element will control a steady majority. Formerly a doctrinal discussion or the study of a portion of Scripture might form part of the proceedings of a Presbytery, but such study or discussion would take place now only under very special circumstances, and, for the most part, the court confines itself to purely business matters. This court has the power to grant licence and ordination, and also to take them away — subject, of course, to the laws of the Church and the revision of the higher courts. It has also the power of oversight and the refilling of vacant charges. The superintendence and review of the proceedings of lesser courts also belong to it — e.g., in Scotland since 1630 it has been the practice of the Presbytery annually to examine the books and records of lesser courts and to examine into any lapses or proceedings from Scripture. In such cases the Presbytery acts as a court of appeal, and appeals from these courts. The Synod as a body, individual elders, or ordinary members of a congregation may petition the Presbytery concerning a moderator of Session. In the ordinary way the proceedings of Presbytery are regularly submitted to the Synod of the province. But it is in the power of any Presbytery to submit a suggestion direct to the General Assembly by means of what is called in Scotland an ‘overture’; and the converse of this appears in the Barrier Act of 1697, which forbids any General Assembly to pass an act affecting the constitution of the Church until it has submitted the proposal to all the Presbyteries, and their opinions on it have been received by a later Assembly. In the act of ordination only the minister or the ruling elders of the Presbytery sign. As the court intermediate between the Presbytery and the supreme court of the Church, the Synod has a comparatively narrow range of functions. It reviews the proceedings of Presby-

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1. *Moderator* is the name applied to the president of any ecclesiastical court.
PRESBYTERIANISM

PRESBYTERIANISM and previous in Scotland was supreme by the highest system of the whole Church; but, while Kirk-Sessions are represented in the Presbyterian and Synod, Presbyteries are represented in the General Assembly. The proportion of elders to ministers varies in the various Churches. In the Church of Scotland the scheme is as follows:

By an Act of Assembly, a.p. 1694,
(a) from Presbyteries of 12 or fewer parishes, 2 ministers, 1 elder;
(b) from Presbyteries of 12 to 13 parishes, 3 ministers, 1 elder;
(c) from Presbyteries of 13 to 24 parishes, 4 ministers, 2 elders;
(d) from Presbyteries of 24 or more parishes, 5 ministers, 2 elders.

By an additional Act of a.p. 1719,
(a) from Presbyteries of 30 or more parishes, 6 ministers, 3 elders;
(b) by a rule of Assembly enacted in 1699 every Presbyterian session to elect, for every four ministers on roll of Presbytery and for a part of four, and one elder for every minister and for a part of four.
(c) 67 town council elders from royal burghs, and two from the city of Edinburgh.

(a) representative from each university.

The Free Church simply took one-third of each Presbytery (ministers and elders alike); and every Church has its own scheme of representation. The personnel of General Assemblies necessarily varies much more than that of inferior courts from one meeting to another; and, as a consequence, any given Assembly may differ widely in its opinions from its predecessor. But the judicial findings of one Assembly cannot be reversed by another; e.g., if the Assembly of 1699 may think its predecessor wrong, but can alter the decision of 1859 only by finding that the suspension has already been long enough to satisfy justice, or express its disapproval by coming to an opposite conclusion on a similar case. As recent legislation, legally and in fact, is separate from previous Assembly — any act, indeed, which is not a judicial decision — can, subject to the usual limitations, be reversed, although, up to the time of its reversal, it is binding upon the Church. If the constitution of the Church is affected by any proposal, the Barrier Act prevents hasty action. It will be seen from the above that in the lowest court, the Kirk-Session, the lay element must predominate; that in the next lowest, the Presbytery, it may; and that in the Synod the same state of affairs will prevail as in the sum of the Presbyteries. Not until we come to the highest court of all can a clerical majority ever be theoretically certain, though, as a matter of fact and practice, the ministers are usually preponderate in every court higher than the Session. Still, when we consider that all ministers and elders eligible for a seat in any court of the Presbyterian Church are originally elected by the people, and must therefore, in the main, reflect popular opinion, and whether the ministers in the Synod and the Session stand in the way of hasty and irresponsible decisions even on the part of the highest court of all, we cannot deny the right of Presbyterianism to be called a thoroughly democratic form of government.

The Presbyterian system did not spring suddenly into being full-grown, but is the result of long development, patient study, and long resistance to opposition. In all countries of the English race, the general Presbyterianism is in Great Britain, the colonies, and N. America; but differences occur in various Continental Churches, due either to their smallness or to undue interference by the civil power.

Difficulties of the system do not gratuitously evolve of the Presbyterian Church is, on the whole, an advantage; but it has its disadvantages as well. When English Presbyterianism was subjected to persecution which it was unable to withstand, it could not, like Independ- entism, either as a sect, or as a party, make any headway. It had either to remain organized, in which case it became obvious and was crushed by force, or to sacrifice its organization and so cease to be Presbyterianism. On the other hand, when the successors of Richelieu set themselves to crush French Presbyterianism, they began by suppressing its organization, and the result justified their scheme. This is merely to say that close organization is an advantage in times of strength, but an inconvenience and weakness of times of weakness.

From the beginning the political influence of the Reformed Churches has been on the side of popular government, as has been noted in the case of France, Scotland, and Holland, where the Church found itself in conflict with the established ecclesiastical policy of the civil power in the necessity of fighting for its existence. The action of the existent authorities in each case contributed to identify in the general mind the causes of civil and religious liberty; and modern democracy owes heavy debt to the religious impulse of the Reformation. It is noteworthy, e.g., that the American War of Independence found the Presbyterians practically solid for the colonial cause—a circumstance due as much to their settled belief in representative government as to their memory of past wrongs on the other side of the Atlantic. In the case of Geneva the people had already won their civil liberty, and were prepared to recognize the Church, so that events took another turn; and in certain Continental states the civil power, while recognizing the Church, has felt itself under the necessity of putting pressure upon Presbyterianism in the interests of its own supreme authority. Indeed, in every land where Presbyterianism has made good its footing the question of the Church and State has arisen in a more or less acute form. Calvin's ideal was that the State and the Church ought to be in alliance, but that there should be no confusion between them. Each should have its own separate, clearly defined sphere of action: the State should not interfere with spiritual affairs, nor the Church with secular matters. But a Church member, who enjoys in that sphere a great measure of religious liberty and a share of ecclesiastical government, will not long be content with less in his civil capacity, and a king who believes in Divine Right, or an aristocracy clinging desperately to its privileges, cannot but look askance at a democratic Church. John Knox and Mary Stuart, John Calvin and Philip II., must sooner or later find peace impossible; no theory of the independent spheres of Church and State could discount the truth, from his own point of view, of James I.'s shrewd saying, "No bishop, no king." But, even under the conditions as they now exist, and the position of the Church secured, the difficulty remains of defining the respective limits of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, a difficulty increased by the very fact that friendly relations exist between Church and State. For alliance without mutual interference is hard to secure; the members of the Church are in...
PRESBYTERIANISM
another aspect the members of the civil community,
and it is constantly hard to mark off a definite
boundary between the secular and the spiritual.
The same problem as vexed niedifevalism on a
European scale has recurred on a national scale in
Presbyterian lands, and has been a fruitful cause
In Geneva Calvin experiof trouble and division.
enced this diflSculty of keeping alliance free from
a confusion and conflict of interests ; and in
Scotland, where a fairly successful solution of the
problem has at length been arrived at, this has been
accomplished only at the coat of prolonged conflict
and wide-spread secession. In spite of Calvin's
desire for the alliance of Church and State, the
modem tendency of Presbyterianism has rather
been towards separation in the interests of peace

and concord.
4.

Educational

activity.

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universities,

went on, the educational horizon widened and,
though for a time the Church became the victim
of a scholasticism as deadly as the mediji-val tjpe,
the principle of free inquiry, upon which the Reformation itself rested, could not for ever be denied.
The Church, with her doctrinal system fixed and
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hardened, has not infrequently been unsympathetic
and even cruel towards her intellectual ofispring
but modem science, with much else that has been
attacked by the Church, owes a greater debt to the
underlying principles of Presbyterianism than is
superficially apparent.
Even the much-abused
Higher Criticism is a truer spiritual child of the
Rerormation than the rigid orthodoxy which
opposes it, for the Reformers were the higher
critics and
revolutionary Biblical students of
and there are encouraging signs that
tiieir day
the Church, on the whole, is coming to see this.
It is all to the credit of the Church that, having
set on foot educational systems and institutions,
she has been content to see other authorities take
them over in their maturity, secularize them, and
use them in a wider interest than the ecclesiastical, while she herself undertakes the religious
education of her own. No part of the work of the
Presbyterian Church does her more honour than
her efforts on behalf of education.
The morality which accompanies
5. Morality.
the Presbyterian form of Church government and
the Calvinist form of doctrine is quite distinctive.
It might be logically expected tnat a profound
belief in the sovereignty of God, in election and
irresistible grace, would fill the individual with a
deep sense not merely of his insignificance but also
of his helplessnesB, and would conduce to a fatalism
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Reformers

general and the Calvinists in particular were from
the first deeply impressed with the need for popular education
for a democracy must educate its
citizens in the interest of sane self-government.
Moreover, the Keformers believed themselves to
be possessed of a system of doctrine so near to the
absolute truth that it could challenge comparison
with any other, and had only to be fully known in
order to be accepted by intelligent and educated
men. They therefore believed that an educated
public was the best guarantee of a successful propaganda. Their doctrine and polity were new,
and even among their own adherents many req^uired
some detailed and definite instruction in addition to
the general considerations that had induced them
to adhere.
From the beginning, too, an educated
ministry was one of the deepest desires of the
Reformed leaders. To them the chief thing of all
was that the Word of God should be properly
expounded and properly understood.
In this
exposition and understanding, which called alike
for an educated ministry and an educated people,
lay the best hope, not only for the expansion of their
Church, but also for the saving of souls. For all
these reasons the Reformed Churchmen were ardent
educationists. The school of Geneva, under Calvin's
care, soon became famous throughout Europe
the
first use that the French Church made of Henry IV. 's
annual giant was to found and endow colleges ; the
settlement of the Dutch Church was followed by
an amazing outburst of intellectual activity and
the destruction of John Knox's splendid scheme
for Scottish education was a blow from which his
country took long to recover. Knox advocated a
scheme whereby every parish should have its
school, and every considerable town its grammar
school, and the scheme was to be completed by
the maintenance of universities in certain important cities. The passing of likely pupils from the
lower institutions to the higher should be in the
public care, and, if need be, at the public expense.
Knox shrewdly advocated compulsory education
for the children of the very rich and the very poor ;
he seems to have trusted to the common sense
of the middle class.
One-third of the confiscated
funds of the old Church was to be applied for
purposes of education, but the greed of the nobles
ruined the project, which became in sad fact a
' devote imagination
;
and only in recent times,
with her system of primary schools, secondary
schools,

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with free and compulsory

education as far as possible, and bursaries to help
the needy scholar, has Scotland reached a stage of
educational development resembling that devised
by her great Reformer three-and-a-half centuries
ago.
It must not be forgotten that the educational schemes of the Reformers were devised in
the religious interest. Knox, in his enthusiasm,
even recommended that likely men should, if need
be, be forced into the ministry.
But, as time

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destructive of all energy and activity. But in
Calvinism we find the same paradox as in earlv
Islam, viz. that a creed apparently inimical to all
human activity has animated men to the most
prodigious efforts. Calvin and Knox, and others of
the same faith, when they considered themselves
merely as men, were the humblest of creatures,
giving God the glory for all that they did and
were but, when they considered themselves as
instruments in the hands of God, they were filled
with a sense of their usefulness in the world that
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made them marvels

of energy and even of ivrroLike Paul, they valued themselves little,
but they magnified their office. This combination
of personal modesty with diligence and fiery energy
has always been characteristic of the best Calvinist morality.
The Calvinist morality has
generally been a little hard and unsympathetic,
tending rather to the concealment and repression
than to the consideration of personal feelings, and
sometimes the Church's sense of official duty

gance.

has driven her into tyrannical and inquisitorial
interference with the private affairs of men but a
certain probity, a sturdy independence, a reluctance to act except from real conviction, a stiffnecked insistence upon just dealing, and the
energetic will to make the best of any given
situation have characterized Presbyterian morals
throughout, and have made of the Presbyterian a
sound and trustworthy business man, an excellent colonist, a soldier to be feared indeed, a
man to be reckoned with in any walk of life.
Considering his creed, which makes the almost
arbitrary will of God everything and man nothing,
the Calvinist's fervency in prayer is as paradoxical
as his energy and activity, but is equally a fact.
It has frequently been made a
6. Conclusion.
reproach against the Reformation that it broke in
and for this
pieces the unity of Christendom
rending of the vesture of Christ the Reformed
Churches have had to bear their share of the
blame. But, as has already been pointed out,
divergences existed in tiie Roman Catholic Church
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before the Reformation which this crisis only brought to light, and, to a great extent, what occurred was really the substitution of spiritual unity under the headship of Christ for mechanical unity under the headship of the papacy. More than this, Presbyterianism, when it came into national Churches was an inevitable result of the growth of nationalism in Europe; and, while Calvin and those who followed him were deeply impressed with the truth of the union of the Church and the Kingdom of God, yet this viewpoint of the Church’s mission did not prevent its realization in the meantime on any wider scale than the national. Yet, even when this is said, it must be admitted that the overscrupulous conscience of Presbyterianism has led to factions which are less justifiable, and not in the same degree necessary. The history of Scotland since 1700 affords abundant illustration of the truth of that statement. It must, however, be noted that, for the last century at least, the general tendency has been towards union and reconciliation, as the truth has been increasingly realized that the things which are common to the Churches are more important than the things which divide them. Apart altogether from the schemes which have been put forward to unite Presbyterianism with other denominations, in Scotland, America, and elsewhere, the different Presbyterian bodies have been uniting and are pursuing the policy of union on a wider scale than ever before. American Churchmen have been doing this when for the first time the effort was made to hold an Ecumenical Council of Presbyterianism. Since that time ten such Councils have met in various centres, and one by one all the representatives of Presbyterianism in the world have been present. The American Church has no authoritative control over the various independent Churches, but at least it serves to provide Presbyterians throughout civilization with a sense of the unity of the great Church to which they belong. The statistics collected become more and more full and accurate as time goes on, and it may be that the increasing influence of this pan-Presbyterian movement, and the increasing encouragement afforded by the results of its work, will one day lead to something greater than the formation of a bond between all Presbyterians the world over.

J ohn Dall

PRESENTSCIENCE.—See PREDESTINATION.

PRESENTIMENT. — By ‘presentiment’ is meant a more or less vague anticipation or apprehension of an event, which befalls the individual himself or some one in whom he is interested; as a rule also it is implied that there are insufficient, if any, grounds in his conscious mind for the anticipation; and it is usually implied that the event is an evil, a misfortune. A vague apprehension is one in which the details, the particular mode of the event, are not consciously thought of; e.g., a presentiment of death implies that the manner of the death is not foretold; it may be a feeling of depression, which suggests the idea, or more or less definitely, of some unfortunate happening.

The Society for Psychical Research and corresponding bodies in other countries have investigated a large number of cases in which an individual, either in normal waking or sleeping state or in a hypnotic trance—either without apparatus or by means of a mirror, a crystal globe, a pool of light, etc.—has reported, after an event has occurred, an event about to happen to himself or to a relative, a friend, or even a stranger, which, after the report was recorded, took place as it had been described. The correspondence between two or more reports and the representation in the former merely of the emotional element of the latter, ‘something terrible about to happen,’ or of its central fact, ‘A is going to die on the voyage,’ up to the complete representation of time, place, and circumstances has been shewn.

One of the most famous examples of this class is Williams’ dream of the murder of the Prime Minister, Perceval, in 1812, who dreamed that ‘something terrible’ was about to happen before it happened, which he represented in his last picture; a third, Countess Tschirschky’s dream of her father announcing to her the death of his wife at Borodino (Masterlinc, The Unknown Guest, pp. 112, 158: Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Stephen Grellet, London, 1890, i. 434), three months before it occurred, that place being unknown both to her husband and to herself at the time. A case of simple presentiment is that of the Countess of Seville, 1892, who dreamed that ‘something terrible’ was going to happen to a friend, with various circumstances in the dream which were afterwards verified, along with the fact, not having been checked before, that the daughter of the person in question became insane.

It does not belong to this article to discuss the many problems that arise in connexion with this branch of phenomena. Evidence is all-important, and it may be said that in none of the cases is the evidence such as would satisfy the rigorous requirements of natural science; obviously the prevision, presentiment, or premonition must be fully recorded, before the event to which it refers occurs; the event must be such that it could not have been anticipated or inferred as probable, at least in its details, by the seer; even then we should have to exclude mere coincidence (e.g., dreaming of a person’s death, and the death occurring within, say, a week afterwards), which would not be a premonition to a person who frequently had such dreams, but not, except in this one case, followed by the death of the person in question. Again, we must exclude cases in which there is a possibility that the premonition was related to its own fulfilment—where, e.g., nervousness caused by the presentiment of failure in a difficult or dangerous undertaking is itself a cause of such failure; in more extreme cases the death of the individual may be brought about by a delirium tremens, etc. It is also possible that some kind of premonition may be taking place on a given date at a given hour (e.g., the death of C. Brooks, Proc. S.P.R. v. 291.

Supposing, however, that all chances of error are excluded, and that either one perfect and unassailable case or a multitude of imperfect cases compel
us to assume the possibility of pre vision, different explanations will still be available: (1) spiritualism: it is suggested that spirits, whether of the dead or of higher beings, have a communication and deeper intelligence than the living man, and therefore can anticipate more accurately what is to occur, and that they may transmit this knowledge by vision or otherwise to human beings in whom they and may cause man to go so far as to be meaningless to another, as when A dreams of an event happening or to about to happen to B, the conditions leading to this event being present in B's mind and transmitted to A's without the intervention of the ordinary means of communication. This view can be extended, the facts of which B is only latently aware (whatever that may mean) may be transmitted to A and enter his consciousness as a dream or vision; (3) if there occur cases in which a future event, of which the conditions are not and most of any living mind, it is yet, foresee, we must assume a power, perhaps in our subconsciousness, in the subliminal self, of reading the future in the present. The future, in this interpretation, exists in the present, as the present in the past; time, like space, is only an illusion of the perfect identity of God, which perhaps our higher unconscious self may have partial glimpses, past, present, and future, are seen in one glance. It is obvious that this mystical interpretation explains nothing; neither spiritualism, telepathy, the subconscious, nor the supposed powers of the unconscious self, nor the possibility of seeing the future by any other means than the imperfect ones of inference and analogy can be admitted without evidence far more thorough than we have. It is also possible that the future may be dramatized into an actual vision of the conclusion realized; or (3) the conclusion may have been reached unconsciously, by a sort of summary intuition, by putting together a number of apparently disconnected facts; it may have been forgotten, and yet, again in abstraction from the self, may influence the latter as a presentiment or as a premonition, in any of the possible forms.


J. L. McINTYRE.

Presbyter John.—The story of Presbyter John is woven of the fact and fancy of the Middle Ages, the fact warped by the varying aspects of European policy, the fancy coloured by Oriental imagination and tradition.

Until the 14th cent., the evidence points to Asia and the house of Presbyter John. In the 15th cent., after the conquest of Timur and the overthrow of Christianity in Central Asia, the African claim took hold of the popular imagination. But the true claim of Asia has never lacked support in the writings of explorers and scholars.

Presbyter John is no mythical personage, though myth and legend have gathered round his name. The simple uncoloured report of Friar Johannes de Monte Corvino in 1305 is historically evidence of the 13th century. The first actual attempt by the Christian churches to come to the knowledge of the Christian nations of the 12th and 13th centuries. This evidence supports the conclusion reached by J. B. Burty in his Note to Gibbon (ch. lxiv.):

Sir H. Howorth has shown very clearly (Hist. of the Mongols, i. p. 566 note) that the second year of the Mongol Chinese territory was the Upper Orchen, between the rivers Yen and Sung, and that in 1142 they were defeated by Genghis. Tugruli received the title of Wang ("king") from the (Manchu) Emperor of Northern China for his services in 1183 against the Tatar. In fact, the name of the great Mongol hero, Chinghis also took part in this war, and his services were recognised by the title of Dai Ming, "High Brightness." For an account of Presbyter John—the name by which the Kadjis known were in the west—and the legends attached to him, see Howorth, i. cap. x. p. 594 sqq. (Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. Bury, 18, ii, n. 8).

1. Asia.—1. Otto of Freisingen (1145).—In 1145 Presbyter John first appears as an Eastern priest-king who had established a wide dominion in Central Asia. This rests on the Chronicle of Otto of Freisingen (v. 33, sub anno 1145 [MGH xx.]). The bishop of Gabala (Jibul in Syria) visited the papal court in 1145, and stated that not many years before a certain John, king and priest, who dwelt beyond Persia and Armenia, a Christian but a Nestorian, had made an expedition against the Turks of Asia Minor and Persia, the Samirgi and brothers, and had captured Ecbatana, the seat of their kingdom. He had then marched to the relief of the Church of Jerusalem, but was stopped at the Tigris. He was said to be the one of the ancients of the Magi, and had a sceptre of solid emerald.

2. The letter of Presbyter John (1165).—The letter was presented by the ambassadors of Presbyter John to the Greek emperor Manuel I. and the Western emperor Federik Barbarose (Albericus, in Chron. 1168).

In it Presbyter John, 'by the power and virtue of God and the Lord Jesus Christ King of Kings,' claims to be the greatest monarch under heaven. He desires to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and to fight against the enemies of the Cross. Seventy-two kings were under his rule. His empire extended over the three Indian, including Parthia India, where lay the body of St. Thomas. In his dominions were the unclean nations whom Alexander the Great had subdued, and far more overhanging the central land as they bear as to the outcome of the situation that they represent; the conclusion may be drawn unconsciously—i.e., in dissociation from our conscious personality, which it then affects either as a mere feeling or as an idea, it may be dramatized into an actual vision of the conclusion realized; or (3) the conclusion may have been reached unconsciously, by a sort of summary intuition, by putting together a number of apparently disconnected facts; it may have been forgotten, and yet, again in dissociation from the self, may influence the latter as a presentiment or as a premonition, in any of the possible forms.

2. The letter of Presbyter John (1165).—The letter was presented by the ambassadors of Presbyter John to the Greek emperor Manuel I. and the Western emperor Federik Barbarose (Albericus, in Chron. 1168).
The letter to the Nestorian bishop of Tarsus speaks of the visit of the Prester John to Alexander the Great.

The Nestorian bishop of Tarsus, who was commissioned to return to the East and deliver it to Prester John.

The letter of Philip to Gregory IX. (1237) to the king of Trebizond, who wrote to him:

The report was sent to Gregory IX. by Philip, provincial of the Dominicans in the Holy Land, and was forwarded by Godfrey, the papal penitentary, to the Dominicans throughout England and France. William of Montferrat with two others had studied the languages of Central Asia, and had received a promise from the archbishops of the East to submit their reports to the Catholic Church. It is important to note, in view of the African claim, that Friar Philip had also sent also to the patriarch of the Jacobites of Egypt, who had made the like promise. Matthew Paris adds:

Hisic suffulta est minor India, Aethiopia et Libya cum Egypto. Sed Aethiopum et Libyam non sunt subjecti Saracenis.

The letter of Philip to Prester John is not therefore in Ethiopia, but in the Far East.

The report of Johannes e Plano Carpio (1246).—The annals of Matthew Paris between 1238 and 1245 record the ravages of the Tartar hosts under Batu and the terror which they inspired in the West.

They were stayed at Neustadt in Austria by the valour of Emperor Henry VII. In the winter of 1242 they withdrew to the cast. This was in part due to the death of the Great Khan Ogotal in 1241. He was succeeded by his son Batu.

Meanwhile the letter of Philip had stirred up the interest in the West, and the missions to the Nestorians opened the way for missions to the court of the Great Khan. This may also have been favoured by the policy of the Venetians, who were anxious to establish a line of communication with the Crimea (Bury's note to Gibbon, vii. 15, n. 42).

Johannes e Plano Carpio was present at the enthronement of the new khan, and states that he was well-acquainted to Christianity and had many Christians in his service. There was a Christian chapel before his tent (Raynaldus, Ann. Eccles., sub anno 1245, xiii. 505).

The mission of Friar Ascelinus (1247).—The hostility of the other leaders is illustrated by the mission of Friar Ascelinus to establish a Christian embassy in the Tangut Empire. He had an audience with the Khan Bajonthe in the Tangut camp. After suffering much ignominy, he returned with letters to Bajonthe to the pope, Innocent IV. (ib. xiii. 642).

The Christian embassy to Louis IX. (1249).—The Christian embassy to Louis IX. at Corinth throws much light on the position of the Great Khan and his relations to Prester John and the Christians of Central Asia. The embassy was sent by a Persian khan named Ercalthe, who had been for many years a Christian, but was not of the royal blood. David, the chief ambassador, had been baptized the year before. The Great Khan of Tartary had been baptized with his eighteen sons and many of his magnates three years before (c. 1245).

The king asked many questions of the ambassadors. He was told that Ercalthe was anxious to join hands with the Christians against the enemies of the Cross, and that Bacho, the khan who had insulted the ambassadors of Innocent IV. in Persia, was now dead and had Saracen councillors. The king also reported that Quiothay, the mother of the present khan, was a daughter of Prester John (G. de Nagaeo, Gestas S. Ludovici, op. A. Duchesne, Hist. Francorum Scriptores, Paris, 1636–49, vol. ii. pp. 311–12).

The mission of Rubruquis (1253).—In the narrative of Rubruquis the title of 'King John' is assigned to Koshuluk, the son of the Naimans, who had married the daughter of the last lineal descendant of the Gur Khans. Koshuluk was son of a powerful king of the Naimans, whose name, Ta-Yang-Khan, is precisely 'Great King John' in Chinese. It is evident that Rubruquis supposed this king of the Naimans to be the original of this widely spread legend (Yule, E. 3ii. xxi. 396).

Bury says that a new edition of Rubruquis is wanted. Gibbon (vii. 6) refers to the first volume of Hakluyt. Yule gives, among the chief points in the narrative of Rubruquis, the relation between the rulers of the Naimans and the Kerite khans, and the statement that the former were more exasperated common among the Nestorian writers.

The journey of Marco Polo (c. 1270).—The travels of Marco Polo brought him from Yarkand past Cherchen and Lob Nor to Tenuct. This is also described by De Sylva, 5, where it is said that the north-east portion of the great bend of the Huangho. To the north and north-west lay the country of the Keritehs with their old capital of Karakorum on the north edge of the desert of Gobi, on the bank of the upper reach of the Oronch river. It is here that he speaks of Prester John, whose kingdom, though still ruled by a...
member of the same family, is tributary to the 
Great Khan of Tartary (Travels, 1. 64, ap. Pagi, 
iv. 49.)
10. The mission of Johannes e Monte Corvino 
(1202-1305).—Kujjuk, the son of Ogotai, died in 
1248. He was succeeded by his cousins Mangu and 
Khubilai, the grandsons of Jenghiz Khan. On the 
death of Mangu in 1257 Kubilieeg became the 
Khan of the Great Empire. The Christian church 
removed the royal residence from Karakorum to 
Peking (Cambaluc). It was there that Marco Polo 
met him, and it was at his court that the Minorite 
Friar Johannes e Monte Corvino established his 
misionary work. He wrote to Clement v. in 1305 is 
valuable testimony to the successors of Prester John 
and to the realm which was still ruled by them as 
tributary to the Great Khan (Raynaldus, sub anno 1305, 
v. no. 19 f.).
12. The evidence from 1145 to 1305.—The 
evidence for Prester John from Asiatic sources is 
continuous for 160 years, and the report of the last 
writer points to the old capital of Karakorum as 
being the seat in the early 14th. cent. of the 
tributary 
imperial 
11. The 
organization of the 
Church among the 
Tatars, with a 
commentary on the 
K根源ians for 
the Mongol 
Empire (ib. sub anno 1307, no. 29).
11. The Tatar mission from 1308 to 1370.— 
(1) The work of Friar Johannes was 
recognized by the 
Council of 
1307 by 
the 
consecration of 
the archiepiscopal see of Cambaluc (Raynaldus, sub 
anno 1307, no. 29).
(2) In 1318 John XXII took a further step in 
the organization of the Church among the 
Tatars by the founding of the 
archepiscopate in 
the Ilkhanate of Persia. Sultania was 
situated south-west of Reash on the 
Caspian Sea, and north-west of Kazvin. Friar 
Francus of Perugia, a Dominican, 
was appointed to the see with six suffragans. 
His jurisdiction was to extend over 
Chagdo and India and Ethiopia (ib. sub anno 1318, 
no. 4). The 
Juxtaposition of 
Ethiopia and 
India under the authority of the 
archbishop of Sultania is of importance in the 
development of the story of Prester John. It is to 
the work of this mission-centre that the transposition 
of the story from India to Ethiopia may be 
traceable.
13. Raynaldus states that it was the policy of the 
West to favour the frequent exchange of letters 
and news between their 
Khan and 
the 
Kshahans of Persia (sub anno 1322, 
no. 41).
(4) In 1326 Andrea de Perugia sends a report 
of his work in the 
Far East to the 
Father 
Guardian of 
the 
missionaries. He was in 
Vaffue, a 
dangerous place, by land and by sea, he reached Cambaluc in 1330, 
and consecrated John as 
archbishop. He stayed 
there for five years. Gerard was appointed bishop 
of Zaitun in Fukuin. He was succeeded by 
Peregrinus. John, who died in 1330, became 
bishop of Zaitun. Four of the brothers were 
martyred in India by the Saracens.

(5) Yule gives a further reference to Prester 
John about the same year (1230):
"Friar Jordanus, who visited this country still ruled by 
the prince whom he calls Prester John; "but," he says, "as 
regards him, not one-hundredth part is true that is told of him." (Eyri, vii. 290.)"

(6) Johannes e Monte Corvino died in 1333.
John XX. appointed as his successor another 
Minorite friar, Nicolaus. He wrote letters not 
only to the Great Khan but also to Seculos Chigita, 
king of Corum, who may be a descendant of 
the Georgius referred to in 1305 (Raynaldus, sub anno 1333, no. 35).

(7) The last mission was in 1370. Urban v. in 
this year appointed the Minorite friar Guillenmus to 
the archiepiscopal see of Cambaluc. There are 
letters to the Great Khan and the people of 
Tartary (ib. sub anno 1370, no. 91).

The curtain then falls. The great conqueror 
Timur ascended the throne of Mogul, and was 
crowned at Balkh in April 1369 (Gibbon viii. 46). 
Bury adds in a note to Gibbon :
"As the Mongol power in China was overthrown about 
the same time (1334), the Mongol conqueror of Asia (ib. vii. 68, n. 74)."

The conquests of Timur meant the overthrow of 
Christianity and the triumph of Islam in Central Asia.

II. AFRICA.—In the 15th. cent. after the 
overthrow of the Christian missions in Asia by the 
conquest of Timur and the consequent difficulties of the 
land-routes to India, it seems as if the 
Indian influence of Prester John filtered 
through Europe and the African coast of the 
Red Sea. India, in the popular imagination, 
lay behind and beyond Egypt and Ethiopia. But there 
is evidence also in the 14th. cent. that the same 
Indo-Christian grouping in the place pointed to by 
many historians (ib. 13 (92)), through the grouping of India 
and Ethiopia under the jurisdiction of the 
archbishop of Sultania.

1. The 14th. cent. evidence.—Yule definitely 
states that the assertion of Ludolf in his History of 
the Ethiopians, that the ascription of the title 
Prester John to the Christian kings of Abyssinia 
was an invention of the Portuguese, is a mistake. 
He brings the following evidence to support his 
statement:

(1) The earliest witness that Yule gives is Friar 
Jordanus.
"Friar Jordanus "Catalani," who returned from the 
East before 1330, writes to the pope in his letter 
(Jan. 1330) that a Christian conference had 
been held at Cambaluc, that the bishop of 
Ethiopia, who was a Lat. nobleman, 
represents himself as 
the 
Dominican (ib. sub anno 1331, nos. 51, 57).

(2) Yule gives two witnesses c. 1350.
John Marignoli, apostolic legate in Asia, speaks of Ethiopia 
where the negroes are, and which is called the land of Prester 
John. And a Spanish work of the same date by an 
amononymous Franciscan states that the emperor 
Abdeselis, which means 

"Servant of God," is the 
patron of Ethiopia and Ethiopia, and is lord of many great 
lands, and many cities of Christians" (Libro del conocimiento de 
India, 1350, p. 297).

(4) A fourth witness is Simone Sigoli. 
He visited Cairo in 1384, and in his Viaggio al Monte 
Sinai and al Monte Gelo describes him as a 
master of the dwelling upon Egypt (Eyri, vii. 290).
(5) It is on this evidence that Yule states that 
the title "Prester John" had been used long before the 
name had ceased to be attached to the descendants
of the kings of the Keraites. The juxtaposition of India and Ethiopia under the archbishop of Rome is an interesting blend of Asiatic tradition through Aden at the close of the 14th cent. appear an adequate explanation of the difficulty.

2. The Ethiopian embassies of 1441.—Eugenius IV. in the previous year had sent the Minoriote Friar Albert on a mission to reconcile the rival claims of the Christians of Ethiopia. In 1441 Andrew, abbot of St. Antony, and Peter the Daco were sent to Italy as ambassadors to the pope on behalf of Constantine, king of the Ethiopians. They were received at the Council of Florence, and a ‘form of union’ was agreed upon. They then went to Rome with a letter of introduction to the canons and chapter of St. Peter’s to allow them to see the Veronica. In this letter the title of Prester John is given to the emperor (Raynaldus, sub anno 1441, no. 2). In the same year another embassy from the Ethiopians was conveyed to Italy by Angelus Maurocenus. On their return Eugenius IV. gave to them a letter of commendation in which he again used the title (ib.).

On the occasion of these missions an oration was made before the council by the abbot Nicodemus, who presided over the Ethiopians residing in Jerusalem. In his address he alludes to the remoteness of the subject, and the utmost belief that the Ethiopians, and distinctly asserts that their separation from Rome is due not only to this, but to the negligence of the popes for 800 years (ib. no. 3).

3. The map of Fra Mauro (1459).—Yale states: ‘From the 11th century onwards Prester John had found his seat in Abyssinia. It is there that Fra Mauro’s great map (1459) presents a fine city with the rubric, “Qui est Prester Janni, is residentia principal” (‘ED’ ii. 306).’

4. The Roman diary of Jacobus Volterranus (sub anno 1488).—Raynaldus refers to a mission to the Roman court under Sixtus IV. in 1481, on the authority of the journal of Volterranus. He speaks of it as a mission from Ethiopia, but says that the writer gives to Prester John the title of ‘King of India’ (Raynaldus, xix., sub anno 1481, no. 401.). Muratori publishes the Diarium from a MS in the library of Ferrara. There is nothing in the MS to indicate the country represented by the mission, no mention either of India or of Ethiopia. There is, however, a lacuna in the MS which may have been filled in by the scribe. The best record shows the interest aroused in Rome by the strange character of the mission (Jacobus Volterranus Diarium Romanae, sub anno 1481, ap. L. A. Muratori, Rev. Ital. Script., Milan, 1723-51, xxiii. 166).

5. The quest of Prester John (1486).—John II. of Portugal made many attempts to get into communication with the Roman court under Sixtus IV. in 1481, on the last reached Aden. There they heard of a Christian king in Ethiopia, but had doubts as to his identity, because they had been instructed that Prester John was a Christian king of India. It is certain that this doubt had induced the tradition of Prester John still maintained its hold among the more educated circles in the West. To solve this doubt they thought it best to separate. Petreus sailed to India and left Paima to await him in Ethiopia. After Petreus was successful, and found among the Nestorians of India the tradition of the Prester John whose power had been once again from the Mongol conquests. But the 15th cent. in Spain and Portugal was an age of romance, and the fabulous of popular imagination triumphed over the facts discovered by the travellers of 1486. In Portuguese writings of the last years of the 15th cent. and the opening years of the 16th cent. the history of Ethiopia and Abyssinia is the story of Prester John. He is synonymous with the emperor of Ethiopia in the 16th cent.

6. Prester John of Ethiopia (c. 1500).—The quest of 1486 proves that in 1486 positive and negative evidence alike pointed to Prester John of Asia. The two travellers asserted that the king of Ethiopia did not correspond with the Prester John of history in dominion, name, or in priestly office, and Petreus in India found the tradition of the Prester John whose power had ended with the Mongol conquests. But the 15th cent. in Spain and Portugal was an age of romance, and the fabulous of popular imagination triumphed over the facts discovered by the travellers of 1486. In Portuguese writings of the last years of the 15th cent. and the opening years of the 16th cent. the history of Ethiopia and Abyssinia is the story of Prester John. He is synonymous with the emperor of Ethiopia in the 16th cent.

7. Christopher Marlowe (1587).—In the earliest English drama when Prester John takes his place in English literature he is Prester John of Africa, not of Asia. In the second part of Marlowe’s Tamburlaine the Great, the character of Prester John, relating his conquests to Tamburlaine, says: ‘And I have marched along the river Nile To Mahdia, where the mighty Christian priest, Called John the Great, sits in a mile-wide robe, Whose triple mitre I did take by force. And made him swear obedience to my crown’ (Tamburlaine, ed. in act i. sc. 3).

The drier facts of history have to stoop at times to the romantic claim of literature. Marlowe has given his authority to the African story, and the Prester John of literature still lives as an African priest-king in John Buchan’s romance of Prester John (London, 1910).


THOMAS BARNES.

PRIDE.—As a self-regarding passion or sentiment of self-love, pride is associated in popular speech with several related qualities of the selfish disposition and pride in the world. Pride is a habit of self-isolation or conscious independence, a quiescence in the self, a character, a self-righteousness of will which is indifferent to the opinions and favours of others. It repudiates all idea of obligation. Cf. the hero of Scott’s Bride of Lammermoor as a typical example.

Pride, unlike vanity, does not involve belief in one’s own superiority, but expresses a momentary assertion of pride may be connected merely with the conception of independence or equality and may be manifested mainly by a refusal to accept favours or to be under an obligation (see DPAP ii. 339, s. v. ‘Pride’).

The distinction between arrogance and pride may be illustrated by the phrases ‘touquet arrognant, jamais fier,’ which has been applied to the demeanour of the Prussian officers in defeat (see Times Literary Supplement, no. 740 [23rd March, 1916], p. 135, quoting G. Lendrè, Prussiens d’Hier et de D’Aujourd’hui, Paris, 1819).

Again, pride as a self-regarding sentiment is to be differentiated (cf. W. McDougall, Introd. to Social Psychology, p. 191 f.) from ‘self-respect’.
by the fact that the latter is susceptible to the pressure of outside opinion or authority. Pride, on the other hand, is without this negative self-feeling, and, as a law unto itself, lives on the deference and admiration of others, while at the same time it is indifferent to moral praise or blame. One of its worst features is indifference to the suffering of others (cf. J. S. Mill, Essay on Liberty, London, 1859, ch. v., who speaks of 'the pride which derives satisfaction from the abasement of others'). It is self-love opposed to due respect for humanity and based on a fixed sentiment of satisfaction in self-esteem, ambitions, views, position, social status, and reputation. It is capable of elation when the verdict of others coincides with its own preconception and of resentment when this is otherwise. But it is of the essence of pride to be moved by scorn or ridicule rather than by moral censure.

1 Pride desires from others an honour it refuses to them and shows, therefore, a spirit which is really abject and mean' (Carlyle, The Critical Philosophy of Kant, ii. 491).

There is a pride of race, a pride of birth, a pride of position; a pride of goodness, a pride of evil; a pride of ignorance, a pride of learning; a pride of eccentricity, a pride of conformity; and so on. The forms of self-satisfaction are innumerable. On the one hand, we have Sir Percivale in Tennyson's Idylls of the King (see The Holy Grail) exhibiting the pride of monastic repression and self-satisfaction which the highest vision is denied; and at the other extreme in R. L. Stevenson's Master of Ballantrae, the hero personifying the pride of wickedness as a man who 'entirely loved all the parts and properties of himself: a sort of imbecility which almost necessarily attends on wickedness' (ch. ix.).

It may be useful to classify chronologically the treatment of pride and to discuss its place in ethical thought.

1. In pre-Christian ethics.—In Aristotle's famous characterization of the high-minded man (μεγαλοπρεπός) in the Nic. Ethics (iv. 3, ed. Grant) we have a species of pride described as inseparable from this type of excellence. The high-minded man is not only worthy of great things, but holds himself to be worthy of them, and his own merits is independent of the verdict of others. If he holds himself to be worthy of great things when actually unworthy of them, he is vain (αμετέχων), while he who underestimates his own worth is full of himself. Hence pride is a mean between vanity and want of spirit. It is, in fact, a lofty type of pride which is its own star. It is without the sense of duty or moral obligation. Its motive is honour (πατρίδε) and it owes nothing to the instinctive sense of right. External honour is the best thing that the world can give to the high-minded man. He is glad to confer a benefit, but ashamed to receive one. If he does receive a benefit, he will wipe it out by doing a greater; he will remember those whom he has benefited, but not those by whom he has been benefited; he will be in want of no one; he will serve any readily; he will be proud (μετέχων) to the great and prosperous, and lenient towards the lowly. He will not aim at the common objects of ambition; only for great honour or deeds will he strive; he will be open in friendship and hatred, disdainfully concealing, contempluously straightforward, really truthful, but reserved and ironical. He estimates the common people. Indifferent to the praise and censure of others, he will bear no malice and be no gossip. On the whole, vanity is better than mean-spiritedness, which is to be condemned for its lack of energy. Aristotle men-
the valuation of earthly possessions which disregards their transience and insufficiency. Jesus is no respecter of persons, condemns the Jewish self-righteousness (cf. the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican) and exclusiveness, has no sympathy with the national pride against Samaritans, and in His conception of the brotherhood of mankind invests the claims and rights of one's neighbour with a new dignity. The soul of the individual has an intrinsic and eternal worth. He pronounces on the laws of mercy and forgiveness, which are the foundation of His ethical teaching. His invocation of utreca, or a gentle reasonableness, His enulogy of 'the poor in spirit' and of the voluntary surrender of power, His proclamations of self-redemption as the condition of moral greatness, His warnings against self-assertion and self-advertisement. Pride is obviously a contradiction of the Christian ideal of unselfishness and stands condemned by the general spirit of the Christian mind as well as by its positive precepts.

So deeply had these aspects of the teaching of Christ and His followers sunk into the consciousness of Christendom that Dante gives pride the first place in his seven sins. Earlier than Dante, Augustine had linked the mortal sin with a state of mind consisting of 'a desperate and inopious obstinacy in sin, with a proud refusal to humble oneself before God' (Epistola ad Romanos Incohta Exposito, § 23, quoted in W. Montgomery, The Early Church, p. 192). Moreover, he had linked superbia with voluptas and curiositas in his analysis of the causes of sin (Conf. x. 36). But Dante derived his 'moral topography' from the Summa Theologiae of Thomas Aquinas (see Summa, II. ii. qu. 162, art. 3-5), who regarded pride as a mortal sin and, further, as the first and most serious of all the sins. It is the first sin because every kind of sin springs from it, and the most serious because it involves non-subjection to God. It is most difficult to avoid because it takes occasion from our very virtues, so that some people are proud of their very humility. In art. 7 he asserts: 'Averso a Deo quae reformulir complet rationem peccavi, perinde et superbia per se, ad alma autem peccavit ex consequent.'

Dante classes pride with envy and anger as sins of the latter and again follows the master in tracing it to that disordered love from which all moral evil flows. In the first terrace (Purg. x.-xii.) Dante meets with those who represent respectively the pride of birth, the pride of intellect, and the pride of dominion. They are depicted as being pressed down by terrible weights and resenting a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer for themselves and those whom they have left behind on earth. Others follow, drawn from mythology and history, sacred and secular. The poet describes them as sick in mind and body, and in a series of backward steps, and, in spite of their sorrowing thoughts, but insects and worms. Celestial voices chant, 'Beati pauperae spiritu,' the sin of pride is expiated, and Dante passes on his upward way.

3. In modern ethics.—Pride in its many phases is naturally a theme for moral reflexion, and it finds a place in the discourses of the essayists from Montaigne onwards. Montaigne himself (see Essays, tr. J. Florio, London, 1603, bk. ii. ch. 7) has discussed superbia; so has Montaigne's predecessor, Francis Bacon, who had divided the affections into the 'calm' (or extensive) and the 'turbulent' (or narrow). The Scottish school of pride was presented by the Essayes of Thomas Brown continued the study. The latter, in his Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, arranged the emotions under the heads of immediate, retrospective, and prospective. The first he subdivided into those passions which do

(Microtomographie, do. 1628, *1633), with the exception of the last-named, are not wholly successful as analysts of human nature.

Overyber, e.g., 'In his chapter on A Proud Man has confused the characteristics of Hawksness and Vanity which could hardly exist in such a union as he depicts' (see preface to Theophrastus,.Chareacterisitic, translated as Descriptive Proportion of Sundry Persons, do. 1614), and John Earle

1See Aquinas, loc. cit. art. 5; 'Superbia semper quidem contraria dilectio creditiva'; and cf. Dante, Purg, xvii. 125-126.

2The English ethos of 'Aversio' was rejected by Shaftesbury, who sought to establish a harmony of interests and affections conducive alike to private and social good. In his Inquiry concerning Virtue or Merit he states: "If there be found in any creature a more than ordinary self-conceit or regard to private good, which is incompatible with the interest of the species or public, this must in every respect be esteemed an ill and vicious appetite, and this is what we commonly call self-love; and sickness and pride are the maladies to which every creature happen to discover it (Characteristics, 2. vol. 2, p. 252). According to Stewart and Pride would naturally fall into his class of 'self-affections' or 'self-passions' which, while aiming at private good, become harmful to society at the point where they are harmful to the individual.

Butler follows Shaftesbury in recognizing the general good as the aim of conduct, but clearly regards 'reasonable self-love and conscience' as the chief regulative principles of human nature. Where self-love and conscience are in conflict, the obligation of duty has to supersede that of self-interest. And the indirect form of self-love, which is a deliberate form of self-love, falls under the condemnation of conscience as being opposed to the happiness of society. But there is no detailed analysis of pride in these writers comparable with the study of it in David Hume's Treatise of Human Nature (ed. be A. Selby-Bigge, Oxford, 1896); see bk. ii., chapter 3, 'Of the Passions,' p. 177 f.). He calls pride an 'indirect' passion—i.e., it proceeds from the same principles as the direct passions (such as desire, imagination, curiosity, fear, etc.) as the direct passion is but another product of other qualities. The indirect passions have the same object, namely self, which is not their cause. For the cause we have to distinguish between quality and subject, the latter being something related to us; e.g., in a beautiful house belongs to the quality and house the subject which must be our property or contrivance. In such passions as pride in country, in friends, in family, in riches, etc., the relations of contiguity and causation are required to be of a pleasing sort, consequently it is derived from the double relation of impressions and ideas. Hume further suggests that the transition from pride to love is not so easy as that from love to pride. He finds in contempt or scorn (see art. Contempt) so strong a mixture of pride that hardly any trace of envy is discernible; whereas in esteem or respect love and humility are the prominent ingredients. Finally, he asserts that nothing invigorates and exalts the mind equally with pride and vanity. It is to be noted that the whole of the Psychological observations had also engaged the attention of Hume's predecessor, Francis Hutcheson, who had divided the affections into the 'calm' (or extensive) and the 'turbulent' (or narrow). The Scottish school of pride was presented by the Essayes of Thomas Brown continued the study. The latter, in his Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, arranged the emotions under the heads of immediate, retrospective, and prospective. The first he subdivided into those passions which do
not involve moral affections, such as wonder, melancholy, etc., and those which are distinctive of virtue and vice, such as love and hate, pride and humility. It is clear from a study of the history of ethical thought that the individual traits and so called affections are collected by the philosopher's ethical standpoint, whether utilitarian or intentional. The hedonistic ethic of Hume, e.g., is in violent contrast with the Kantian theory that the ends at which duty has to aim exclude all consideration of personal happiness—a theory which has powerfully influenced all subsequent schools of thought, Hegelian, neo-Hegelian, and Pragmatist alike. Kant places all inclinations and desires under the single term 'self-regard,' distinguishing between philautia, excessive fondness for oneself, and arroqanta, satisfaction with oneself (see DPPA, s.v. 'Pride'). It remains to add that in most of the great modern dramas of the soul pride has a prominent place as a passion destructive of the moral order. Both the Satan of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and the Mephistopheles of Goethe's 'Faust' are incarnations under different phases of the pride of evil will, the former taking the form of an abysmic hostility to good which will not brook defeat, the latter the attitude of simple pride in evil suggestion which is utterly scornful of the weakness of its instruments. If we pass from dramatic creation to actual history, we shall be reminded of the popular estimate of the character of Napoleon as one who was the embodiment of moral excellence in modern times of Dante's pride of dominion. Nor can it be denied that, as the result of scientific progress and our increasing control of the forces of nature, a pride of efficiency has developed in the civilized nations. Pre-eminent is this the case with Germany, whose consciousness of power, fostered by the philosophies of Nietzsche and Treitschke of the intellectual side and on the material side by an era of unexampled prosperity, is at the root of the militarism which plunged Europe into war in 1914. Scientific efficiency need not be divorced from ethics; but the progress of the war has shown that civilization is no safeguard against a recrudescence of barbarism when pride of power dominates the ideals of a nation. To sum up, pride, whether in an individual or in a nation, is an anti-social passion which disregards the rights of humanity.

arising from the anger of the gods or from witchcraft (instances from the Kaliris, some American Indians, Esikimos).

The principal duty of the priests is to administer, or give advice as to, the worship of the gods. As all gods do not stand in the same relation to men, the assistance of the priests must often be called in to point out the special deities to whom the people should offer their sacrifices. Very generally the gods are believed to bear ill-will to men, and therefore it is also the duty of the priests to give directions as to the proper offerings. It is all the more necessary to know how to please the gods, as they are among certain peoples held to be very particular about the form of prayer and sacrifice (tribes in E. Russia and Siberia, Lapps, natives of Nias).

In short, the need of priests appears in the most various respects: they are required to influence the wind and rain, to cause good growth, to ensure success in hunting and fishing, to cure illness, to foretell the future, to work harm upon enemies, etc.

2. The first types of priests.—The worship of deified men is confined, as a rule, to the kindred group, and is the first place to the separate families. Owing to the exclusive character of ancestral gods in this respect, a regular priesthood, in the sense of universally acknowledged mediators with the gods, hardly occurs on the basis of mere family-worship. The authority of that member of the family who conducts the worship for his nearest relatives does not extend beyond the group worshipping the god to whom he is related, viz. the family itself.

Definition of ancestors, however, is not confined to families. Whole tribes also frequently worship the spirits of departed men, but in such cases the ancestral gods tend, in a way, to amalgamate with other classes of generally worshipped deities.

Whilst ancestor-worship originally tended to centralize the cult within families, or kindred groups, no such tendency is manifested by worship of gods in nature. Depending on the more or less general occurrence of the phenomena which give rise to the belief in gods of nature, such gods are likely to be preferred within certain divisions of mankind, with little or no precedence given to certain kindred groups. Therefore the origin of the priesthood connected with the gods of nature is not influenced by any regard to family ties. These two forms of religion, however, are intermingled to a very great extent among most peoples.

In the earliest history of cult no proper priesthood existed. Although various kinds of priestly practitioners belong to a very early period of religious evolution, all conclusions point to the rule that originally everybody invoked the gods each for himself. Cult therefore existed in some form or other before there were any professional men entrusted with the duty of conducting the different religious observances. Among some peoples every individual still performs his religious or magical rites for himself without the assistance of professional priests (certain Papuans, Melanesians, Australians, and many more).

All the nations who, in the early ages, attempted to interpret the wishes of the gods and practise magical art the more expert who managed to gain the confidence of their fellow-travellers seem, in the course of evolution, to have attained a considerable position. Sooner or later some one or more cunning in their predictions, acquired a local celebrity in the art; such men would soon be consulted by their neighbours, pupils or apprentices would be attached to them, and thus would be gradually formed a special class, which would assume the functions of intermediaries between the people and the gods.

Within the separate families, in which, as has been pointed out, ancestral gods are particularly worshipped, miracles are generally invested with the duty of sacrificing for the whole family. As a rule, the priestly functions are put into the hands of the paterfamilias, and the reason seems to be that he is the oldest and most experienced male member of the family, who is generally believed to stand in closer communication with the ancestors than the other members (tribes in India, Africa, and Polynesia). Sometimes the oldest female member of the family may also officiate as priest (Serers in W. Africa). Among the Barais in India the deities are worshipped only by that member of the family who is under the influence of the special divinity—a fact shown by his getting into a state of ecstasy and uttering oracles. Among some lower Dravidian tribes the family-worship is conducted either by the head of the household or by the son-in-law or the brother-in-law. In the Tarawa and Apanama islands, of the Kingsmill group, every family that has a tutelary divinity has also a priest whose office may be filled by any young man of free birth capable to recite prayers.

As regards the first appearance of priests, we can distinguish among some peoples certain classes of men who, owing to their unmistakable priestly affinities, seem to be forerunners of a regular priesthood.

(1) One group of persons who occasionally exercise priestly functions without being priests are those who, when in a state of ecstasy, are believed to be inspired by the gods. During their possession, these persons are interrogated by the people as to the will of the gods, future events, etc., and the gods are believed to speak through them. These ecstatic individuals thus act as mediators with the supreme powers (peoples in India and Polynesia). From the idea of occasional inspiration it is an easy step to the conviction that certain persons are able to put themselves into communication with the gods whenever they like. On the whole, facts show that in the early ages of priesthood men often retained the office for a specified time or with intermissions. Among some rude tribes, we are told, the priests take up their office and leave it, as they like (Todas, Khotas, Bodos and Dhimsals, Dophlras, Munda Kole).

(2) Another beginning of priesthood may be seen in the observance of ‘sacred places’ or other kinds of sanctuaries which, for some reason or other, are held in high veneration by the peoples in the neighbourhood. As a rule, they are thought to be the abodes of a god, and the men charged with guarding the sacred rooms naturally tend to become mediators between the people and these gods (Gonds in India, natives in Madagascar and Yap, certain Arabs, certain priests in ancient Greece).

(3) We have further to regard as a kind of forerunners to a regular priesthood the ‘holy men’ who, without being real priests, exercise a certain religious authority among some peoples. This class of men make themselves renowned by occasional miracles, in order to acquire the religious veneration of the people by their eccentric habits (Muhammadan peoples).

In early stages of cult the rites are naturally very simple, and consequently almost any one is able to officiate in the sacred observances of the priestly functions. In general a simple cult and a superficially-instructed, mutable priesthood seem to go together. And it is clear that, where every one is qualified to assume the priestly office, priesthood as such is not likely to be held in great generation.
Of many peoples we are told that the priests do not form any distinct class, and that almost any man may become a priest (Maoris, tribes in India and Madagascar, Galla, some American Indians).

As ritual observances and magical practices gradually became too complicated for the average man to master, a professional priesthood became necessary. When the people were uncertain about the proper ceremonies, they applied to the more experienced practitioners, asking them to perform the ceremonies on their behalf. Some of these learned men were called "priests." Kindred customs seem to be one reason for the old men officiating as priests and sorcerers among several tribes (Kisangans in Luzon, tribes in India, Africa, and Australia). Certain facts show how, especially on important occasions, the task of performing religious or magical ceremonies seems to have been put into the hands of priests, or of those possessing most experience in the tribe; at the same time every one was supposed to know how to sacrifice for ordinary private purposes (Kashirs, Ostyaks, Lapps, ancient Teutons, and Finns).

The authority of the first semi-priests and semi-sorcerers evidently varied to a great extent. While some exercised only a local influence, the more fortunate and cunningly gifted gradually extended their fame over wide districts. In this way a class of priests and sorcerers common to whole tribes originated (tribes in Africa and Siberia, certain Eskimos and American Indians). It is known as a mysterious process, especially in the case of the sorcerers of neighbouring races are held in greater awe than those of their own tribe. Whole tribes are in certain regions known as powerful wizards, whose services are frequently sought after by their neighbours.

It is also true that even those who are not priests or sorcerers, but have a suspicion of the magical art, cannot shut their eyes to the fact that it more essentially belongs to races less civilized than themselves. This theory, interesting as it is, does not explain the cases where, e.g., certain tribes attribute to each other reciprocally a superior power of magic.

The superstitious fear in which peoples in many parts of the world hold other tribes seems also to be connected with a universal belief that the secret powers of the fingers are greater than those of well-known people.

3. King-priests.—A remarkable feature in the history of priesthood is the combination of priestly functions with royal authority. Instances of this are known to have appeared through Polynesia, and Melanesia, in India and other Asiatic countries, among many Negro and American Indian tribes, and in ancient Europe. J. G. Frazer² thinks that the priestly king has developed out of the public magician, the latter being a personage of such influence that under favourable circumstances he may easily attain to the rank of chief or king. When once a special class of sorcerers has been segregated from the community and entrusted by it with the discharge of duties, such as establishing and maintaining physical and religious welfare, and belief are required, these men gradually rise to wealth and power, till their leaders blossom out into sacred kings. We may add that ancestor-worship also tends to invest the king or chief with sacerdotal authority. Similarly, as various relatives of the family were put in the priesthood on behalf of the family, so patriarchs of villages and provinces are the persons likely to perform the sacred offices on behalf of their respective clans or tribes. In the opinion of their fellow-men they are the guardians connected with the gods with more than any other individuals, being their nearest living relatives, and therefore all the more naturally can mediate between the gods and men.

Besides the union of a royal title and priestly offices there are instances of kings being worshipped as gods, which indicates the highest potentiality of the sacerdotal character of rulers. Frazer has noted a number of cases in which the divine king or priest is put to death by his worshippers, which he explains in the following way.¹ Primitive people sometimes believe that their own safety and even that of the world is bound up with the performance of these human incarnations of the divinity. They therefore take the utmost care of his life. But no amount of precaution will prevent the divine king from growing old and feeble and at last dying. And, in order to avert the catastrophe which may be expected from the enfeeblement of his powers and their final extinction in death, they kill him as soon as he shows symptoms of weakness, and his soul is transferred to a vigorous successor before it has been seriously impaired by the threatened decay. But some peoples are reported to have preferred to kill the divine king while he is still in the full vigour of life. Accordingly, they have fixed a term beyond which he may not reign, and at the close of which he must die, the term fixed upon being short enough to exclude the possibility of his deterioration in the interval. E. Westermarck² has a somewhat different explanation, according to which the new king is supposed to inherit, not the predecessor's soul, but his divinity or holiness, which is looked upon as a mysterious entity separately seated in the ruling sovereign, but separable from him and transferable to another individual. See, further, art. KING (Introductory).

4. Qualifications for priesthood.—Priesthood is, in general, hereditary; but the rules of inheritance can rarely be strictly followed (Polynesians, Melanesians, Australians, peoples in the Malay Archipelago, India, Siberia, Africa, and America). Among certain peoples who have a hereditary priesthood the sacerdotal dignity is not assumed by the son of a priest; one generation is passed over, and the grandchild are selected (Kafirs, tribes in W. Africa). Of other peoples we learn that priesthood is hereditary, but that the aspirant must in addition be qualified by certain mysterious endowments separately seated in the interval to 'see the spirits' and converse with them in some cases a further condition (Tlingits, Sioux); and the like power is often required of the priests where priesthood is a strictly hereditary institution but not the real king. As the principal duty of the priests is to mediate between mankind and the higher powers, so the chief qualification requisite for entering the priesthood is the faculty of communicating with the gods. This faculty, however, may be proved in different ways. Thus, when certain wonderful things happen to a person—especially when he falls into a state of ecstasy—the people may think that he is under the influence of some spirit; and such a man is competent to assume a priest (Kafirs). Among other peoples the supposed connexion between the priests and the spirit-world appears more particularly in the belief that the priests have one or more tutelary deities of their own, who always give them assistance when required, and to whom special and superstitious observances are offered. This is called the "necessary qualification for priests to have such gods at their disposal" (Eskimos, Algonquian Indians).

As the faculty of conversing with the gods is so very generally confined to the priests (other people being excluded from communication with the spirit-world), it is an easy step to the conclusion that the gods themselves have selected their repre-
sentatives among mankind. In conformity with notions of this kind, many peoples believe that the gods confer divine powers upon certain men and women, and endow them with the faculty in which a person can become a priest is by being chosen by the gods (Eskimos, American Indians, Kafirs, tribes in Siberia, India, Borneo, Australis). Generally the gods communicate the necessary qualifications to the priests in dreams (Australians, Sea Dayaks, Tunguses), but there are various other means by which the gods are believed to choose their favourites for the priestly vocation. Sometimes they intimate their wishes in a more or less peculiar way.

The Moso in Brazil think it necessary that the aspirants to the priestly office should have been attacked and wounded by a jaguar in order to perform their sacrifices by such means as watching a frightened bull which stops before a certain house, or to perform an additional priest, such as the Gold Coast, general meeting of the inhabitants is held, and a number of young men and women are selected to make offerings in the course of a long and arduous service. This is neither new nor peculiar, for such and similar free and spontaneous gifts are given in India by the rich to their favourite of the imaginary gods and spirits. It is true that the gods have chosen the person or persons so affected for his service.

Among the endowments requisite for aspirants to priesthood a very important one is the faculty of becoming invisible. We are told in fact of many peoples that the would-be priests are expected to perform miracles, and that the candidate has to manifest his powers in that respect before he is admitted to the sacerdotal order. A person ambitious to become a priest will, e.g., profess to have been told of future events by some spirit; should any of his predictions relating to something which greatly interests the people happen to come true, he is regarded as a duly inspired priest (Fijians, natives of Pinet, Maiers in Bengal, Siberian tribes, Greenlanders).

Some peoples judge from mere outward signs that certain persons possess mysterious powers and are able to act as sorcerers or priests.

Among the Aborigines in South America there is a reputation for witchcraft without making any pretensions to the art, merely because they are deformed and ill-looking; all esteemed with the most intense respect, is said to be a very wicked, of a ragged appearance and forbidding countenance. The Congo natives are said to number dwarfs and abimo among the priests.

Outward peculiarities in children are in certain cases believed to denote that they are bound to become priests—e.g., being born with the eyes open (Australians), or bleeding at the nose or mouth (Tunguses in Siberia).

The mental disposition which is supposed to qualify a person for the priestly office reveals a very important feature of early priesthood. Among a great number of peoples the priests must display that individuals of special intellectual development; consequently certain qualifications of a pathological and psychological nature generally characterize the priests and sorcerers of uncivilized races. From several parts of the world we are informed that individuals of an extraordinary disposition are considered to be specially apt for the sacerdotal vocation.

The Siberian shamans are recruited from a class of men distinguished by their extraordinary gifts in the way of psychic insight into the mysteries as well as their ardent imagination, and their qualifications for shamanhood are further thought to appear in a certain fixed aspect of the body (knife-holding, arrows sticking, indication of the evil spirit which compels a person to become a shaman makes his body giddy, standing on one leg and turning round, etc.). The inopinet shaman begins to see visions, endures the knife-insertion into the body, and with the aid of knives to hurt himself, after which he declares that the spirits have ordered him to become a shaman. See art. Possession (Introspective, Predictive, Exstatic, Sympathetic).

Instances of similar ideas are furnished by the Polynesian, American Indian, and African tribes.

Among certain peoples the mere faculty of falling into convulsions or into a state of unconsciousness sufficiently long is almost all that is required for becoming a priest.

It is stated, e.g., of the Fijian priests that the power of receiving inspiration and of announcing the will of the deity during a fit, or even of causing a convulsion, is a requisite qualification for the priestly office. Before a Fijian is acknowledged as a priest, he has to undergo a trial and is required to show publicly that the spirit is entering into him. The proof of this is supposed to lie in silveryings, which appear to be involuntary, and in the performance of which none but an expert juggler could succeed.

Statements to the same effect refer to native tribes in Australia, Africa, S. America, India, N. Asia, etc.

The great importance attached to ecstasy as a symptom of divine visitation also appears in the numerous cases when priests before or at their initiation are considered in the state of possession. The act of being inflicted with narcotics to a state of delirium or trance, which is supposed to indicate their sacred calling.

Would-be priests among the Esquimaux, several American Indian tribes, among the Asics, and the Kafirs, withdraw for a longer or shorter period to a solitary place, where they abstain without food until they fall into futurity. Of particular fury drugs Siberian shamans use the 'fly-hane' (Amanta muscaria), while the medicine-men of certain Indian tribes plunge their heads into burning tobacco, and the sorcerers of the Guarani Indians during their period of preparatory retirement live on pepper and roasted maize only.

It is natural to the savage mind to ascribe ecstasy to spiritual agency. The convulsive gestures and incoherent utterances of the inspired seem to show that his own will is absent, and that some strange being has taken possession of his body. A spirit or god is therefore supposed to speak through him, and command his actions. This faculty of falling into an ecstatic condition is all the more necessary for would-be priests, as among savage peoples manifestations of a prophetic or divine delirium do almost universally form the basis of religious ceremonies.

The observation that an ecstatic disposition is universally associated with priesthood draws attention to the fact that in many cases insane persons are looked upon with superstitions awe. The main distinction between insanity and ecstasy seems to be that the former is generally ascribed to a per- manent, the latter to a more casual, possession by a spirit. Some people believe the insane to be under the influence of demons, while others assume that they are inspired by gods and spirits. In conformity with the latter idea, great veneration is paid to the insane, who are also sometimes thought to possess the spirit of prophecy (Arabs, natives of Celebes, Polynesians, Melanesians, certain American Indian and Siberian tribes).

In a great many cases, the rule candidates for the profession of priest or sorcerer have to undergo a preparatory instruction which is imparted by an expert practitioner (African, Siberian, Polynesian, American Indian, and Eskimo tribes). No special education seems to be required, and it seems that those who have been inspired by the gods are less in want of information than those who are self-chosen. Among some tribes people assume the office of fetish-man after swallowing poison, but the priestly order is only in addition to be augmented by persons who can prove that the spirits have suddenly seized upon them (certain tribes in Africa, India, Siberia, Australia, and N. America).1

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The preparation of the novices in many cases begins at an early age. Among the Eskimos and similar peoples the priests are brought up to an almost religious life from infancy. The Ojibwa Indians encourage their youth from the age of ten to manhood to fast, for the diet of their race is altogether of the forest. But here it is destined to be a place among the Panama Indians are taken at the age of ten or twelve to be instructed in the office.

Similar examples come from the Apsarua Indians, and among the Central Breton Indians. It seems to be the rule that, where the priests are subjected to a regular course of instruction, the preparatory period commences early in life, whereas the more impulsive assumption of priesthood, with little or no previous training, is liable to take place at any age.

As a rule we can draw a distinction among most peoples between two different phases of the priestly education. (1) During one period the novice is generally under the care of his predecessor, who imparts to him the necessary religious instruction and initiates him into the practices of the profession. (2) Another phase of the preparation includes a course of self-training, during which the aspirant places himself in proper correspondence with gods.

(1) As regards the knowledge imparted to the candidates, mere theoretical learning is little thought of; according to our scanty reports, most importance is attached to practical knowledge which is of use in the magical and religious performances.

In Greenland the teacher seeks, in the first place, to make the pupil entirely fearless and to direct his mind towards the spirit-world, to the horrors of which he must be rendered insensible. In the Mosquito tribe of Central America the sorcerers, during their preparation for the office, learn various tricks from their predecessors, such as allowing poisonous snakes to bite them, and running fire. The priests of the Indian tribe of the Indians of British Guiana is taught the traditions of the tribe, the medical qualities of plants, and to find where game is to be had. During his training the medicine-man of the Bororos in Brazil has to learn certain ritual songs and the languages of birds, beasts, and trees. The priests of the Kikis in India first of all seem to have been taught the secret language which they have among themselves, while the rest of their knowledge is probably picked up during their practice. The instruction of the priests among some African tribes is said to comprehend a good deal of empirical knowledge and other secrets of the craft.

(2) The self-training of a candidate for the priestly office evidently has for its object the preparation of his mind for intercourse with the gods. During this period he generally lives for a longer or shorter time in solitude, while cases of rigorous asceticism is also prescribed, such as fasting or subsisting on a scanty diet. In certain tribes the novices are required strictly to refrain from connexion with the opposite sex.

With the Eskimos this phase of the priestly education consisted in strict fasting and invocation of the deity while dwelling alone in solitary places, until the soul became independent of the body and of the external world: thus the god appeared and provided the novice with a helping or guardian spirit.

Of a similar description is the self-preparation of the priests among certain American Indians as well as tribes in Africa, Australia, Siberia, and India. In some cases the neophytes use narcotics or stimulants in order to work themselves into a passion of excitement, during which they are supposed to hold converse with the spirits. To this end the novice is subjected to the sacerdotal order through a special initiatory ceremony (Negroes, Warraus Indians, Siberian tribes, Lapplanders). It is also stated that in certain cases the consecration of a priest takes place in a certain part of the ceremony at the point in which he rises from lower to higher degrees of the order (Buriats in Siberia, Moxo Indians).

6. The social position of the priest.—One circumstance which has powerfully tended to distinguish the priest from the other members of the tribe is the large has been the fact that the priests and sorcerers are, as a rule, recruited from the most intelligent elements of their peoples. The scantly learning of savage races is almost exclusively confined to the priests, who generally hold the only written records that they alone possess of the knowledge of certain useful arts, and the whole character of their functions tends to develop their intellectual powers and to give them a superiority over their fellow-tribesmen.

It is frequently represented that the priests distinguish themselves from the rest of the people by a more or less considerable knowledge of certain natural phenomena, by means of which they secure the popular confidence in their powers. They have been studied the methods of witchcraft, the properties of herbs and other plants, the changes of weather, and the habits of animals; and this knowledge materially assists them in the maintenance of their authority (Negroes, Irottentots, Dayaks, Tahitians, Aruanaains, Eskimos).

In order to preserve the faith of the people in their prophetic powers the priests often collect all kinds of information, and whatever they learn in this way they ostentatiously foretell as future events the things that they see in collusion with each other, in keeping the people under their influence (tribes in W. Africa, American Indians, etc.). When the priests exercise the precarious art of prophecy, great significance is attributed to their utterances. It is said that they have a power to persuade certain that their predictions shall prove true, they make them sufficiently ambiguous or uncertain to admit of a variety of interpretations (tribes in Africa, some American Indians). If, in spite of all precautions, they fail to produce the effects promised by them, they generally have recourse to various excuses. The non-success is attributed, e.g., to some defect in the medicine, or the applicant is labouring under the displeasure of the gods, who refuse to be appeased unless renewed and richer offerings are made (certain American Indians, Negroes, Hawaiians). A very general excuse is the counteracting influence of some demon (Dayaks, Oceanians, natives of Victoria, Irottentots). No less frequently priests and sorcerers who fail in performing miracles save their reputation by accusing other persons of having, by secret necromancies, frustrated their endeavours (tribes in N. W. Africa, India, N. America).

The residue of which the priests and sorcerers enjoy is increased by the mystery in which they generally envelop their proceedings. They do their best to inspire the people with fear, if they think such a course necessary for the strengthening of their power. Thus they may threaten to send the spirits or some magic substance into those who disbelieve them (Tiligets, natives of Victoria), or in some other way use the spirits averse even the slightest neglect or disobedience (Tabitians, Fijians). The bizarre external appearance of most priests among savage races also serves to a great extent to impress the popular imagination. By painting their bodies in all colours and dressing themselves in the most fantastical manner they inspire their tribesmen with feelings of mystery and awe. The pretended or pretended possession is expressly sought (Indians of Virginia, Siberian tribes). It is likewise beyond dispute that a strong impression of fear is produced upon the people by the ecstatic orgies which so often form an essential part of the ceremonies of savage priesthood. The gestures and other morbid manifestations of the priests, vivid descriptions of which are given by numerous eye-witnesses, necessarily strike the bystanders with awe and terror. It is in this connexion that the priest bears the responsibility of the spirit of savages very generally take place in the dark, and in some cases darkness is even a pre-re
presented as a necessary condition for success. The Siberian shamans perform their ceremonies in some gloomy corner and generally at night, in order to appear more mysterious and terrible in the darkness; and the same is said regarding the sorcerers of the Eskimos, Warans Indians, Congo natives, etc. Among certain peoples the priests strengthen their authority by attaching themselves to the kings and noble classes in a community, while at the same time they are said in return to support the ruling system (Polyneians, Khonds in India, Kasirs, certain American Indians).

The most important method by which the priests increase their influence is by convincing the people of their supernatural endowments through various miracles. There are reports from many peoples that confidence in the priests and sorcerers depends upon their supposed faculty of performing miracles—one successful instance often causes all previous failures to be forgotten. Priests and sorcerers strengthen their reputation through delusive demonstrations of their invulnerability—e.g., by stabbing themselves with knives in different parts of the body (Ostbyaks), by throwing themselves into the fire or seizing live coals with their hands (certain Tatar tribes), by allowing poisonous snakes to bite them, etc. (Mosquito Indians). How essentially the influence of the priesthood depends on the presumed power of wonder-working is shown by the fact that among several tribes priests who fail in their efforts, or otherwise lose the confidence of their people, at the same time forfeit their office and sometimes are subjected to punishment and are driven from the land (Europe, tropical Africa, Andamanese). They are even liable to be killed by the enraged people; this may be due to the idea that worthless priests are of no use and therefore cannot hold the sacerdotal office, but, as they possess dangerous powers, they must be made away with. There are also grounds for connecting the killing of priests with the killing of the divine king.

The methods by which the priests and sorcerers of savage races acquire confidence and reputation among their countrymen is also the same whether in the western or in the eastern world, where to look upon them as a class of impostors or not. The opinion predominant in theoretical literature is that we cannot suppose that the priests and sorcerers of the uncivilized races are, generally speaking, impostors (Lord Avebury, Frazer, A. Bertrand, de la Grasserie, Julius Lippert). The opinions of travellers, again, are divided, but many of them have considered the question from different points of view. There is no reason to condemn the priests and sorcerers as deceivers because their proceedings seem meaningless to European observers, or because some travellers have ascertained, by experiments, that the savage mystery-men are not endowed with those miraculous powers which they claim to possess. The principal point is the question whether they believe in their own powers or not; this they very generally seem to do, although, on the other hand, impostors are undoubtedly met with among the priests at all stages of early beliefs. Cf. art. Possession (Introductory).

7. Observances, etc., distinguishing priesthood.

Numerous practices and observances are among many peoples obligatory upon the priests and tend to separate them from the rest of the community, as they cannot in general be combined with the circumstances of any man's life.

(1) There are certain ascetic regulations which apply to sexual life. The fact that persons devoted to religion are often obliged to live a single life has been ascribed to the notion that there is something impure and sinful in marriage, as in sexual relations generally. Among many peoples the members of the priesthood are forbidden to marry, and must keep themselves pure (certain American Indian tribes, Kalmucks, Todas, etc.). Shaking and killing, however, by no means universally required of the priests; on the contrary, they seem in some cases to be distinguished from the people as a whole by extraordinary liberties in sexual respects. The inus primus notion accorded to the priests among certain peoples exemplifies the sexual privileges which are sometimes enjoyed by the sacerdotal order. Among certain peoples the priestesses must not marry, for the reason that, belonging to the gods, they cannot become the progenitors of human beings. But this prohibition extends to marriage only, and a priestess is not debarred from sexual commerce (tribes in W. Africa).

(2) Other ascetic regulations concern fasting and prohibited articles of food. Fasting generally seems to be observed when a person wishes to put himself in correspondence with the spirits performing some religious rites (Santals, Siberian tribes, some Melanesians and American Indians), and sometimes for the same purpose the priests themselves are excluded by arbitrary means to a state of mind which is supposed to indicate their close communion with the supernatural world. Food restrictions of various kinds are imposed upon the priests.

(3) Among many peoples the priests are distinguished by a special costume and also by the colour of their dress.

The priests of the Sinhalese and in Siam are clothed in yellow; and in the Malay Peninsula the priestly robe is blue or green and the sash which with the black feather of the birds of paradise on the breast, the yellow, and the blue and red feathers of the eagle, is attached to the garment. The priestesses of the Moluccas and the East Indies are dressed in white; whether they wear the golden costume of the Melanesians (Malay women) is uncertain; that of the Tongans is composed of red and blue. In ancient Mexico a class of priestesses called 'maids of penance' ordinarily wore a habit all white.

(4) It is rather a general custom for priests to distinguish themselves by the length of their hair (certain tribes in N. America, India, and Africa). Frazer explains the custom of sacred persons leaving their hair long by referring to the dangers which, in the primitive view, beset the cutting of the head. Although a few persons have more to fear from them than ordinary people; the simplest way of evading peril is not to cut the hair at all.

(5) A remarkable fact is that the priests almost universally distinguish themselves from the community at large by means of a separate language which they use in the divine service or in intercourse with each other. The angakoks, or priests, of the Greenlanders have a peculiar language, altogether different from the ordinary tongue of the country, and words of the general language they use in an opposite or metaphorical sense. This particular idiom they make use of only at their practices of witchcrafts and when they are consulted by the people.

Similar reports are given of the priests among several tribes in N. and S. America, Africa, India, the Malay Archipelago, and Oceania.

8. Classification of priests.—Of the two classes of supernaturalistic practitioners the priests are those who represent the religion of a people; they exercise the duties incumbent on them by invoking the aid of the supernatural beings, and their power consists in influencing the will of the latter. Magicians, on the other hand, act independently of the supreme rulers, with whom they have no communication in the sense in which the priests act, but they are enabled to bring about the desired results, and the same means of coercion may be applied by them even to the gods.

But, although theoretically separated, the types of priest and sorcerer among uncivilized and semi-
PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Babylonian)

civilized peoples almost inextricably blend into one another. Communication with supernatural beings is in no wise Examined to the 'priests,' nor do the 'sorcerers' monopolize the practice of magic. Very frequently it happens that practitioners in whom the priestly type preponderates have recourse to magic also, and that representatives of the type of sorcerer maintain a religious communication with spirits.

Certain writers associate the difference between priests and sorcerers with the occurrence of a benevolent and a malevolent class of priests among many peoples, the one group of functionaries helping the people, the other exercising a pernicious influence (Eskimos, certain American Indians, Kafirs, Burials). There is on the whole a tendency to identify priests with protectors of the people, whereas magicians or sorcerers are represented as evil-doers who endeavour to inflict distress upon others. Facts go to prove, however, that the distinction between well- and ill-disposed classes of priests is often very arbitrary; sometimes 'priests,' e.g., forfeit their sacerdotal dignity and are transferred to the class of 'sorcerers,' merely because they have lost the popular confidence in their goodwill (American Indians, Eskimos, tribes in Central Africa).

In a few cases distribution of function makes the ordinary priest and sorcerer distinct from each other. Thus weather-doctors, fortune-tellers, exorcists, and physicians, who form special professions of their own among certain peoples, also supply, in some cases, instances of the typical magician. Instances of such cases are best arranged solely by magical means are, however, extremely rare—which can also be said of the occurrence of the unadulterated priestly type.

To a certain extent the numerous functions are peculiarly associated with priesthood. Although the regular priests almost universally also practise divination, yet among many peoples the diviners form a distinct profession within the priesthood, and in a great number of such cases the performance is stated to take place through other means than consulting the gods.

In the Kaffir tribes the amnata, who practise augury by burning certain roots, are distinct from other classes of the priestly order (a fact which is also found in the bushmen). In toto, they are foretold the future from the entrails of fowls, constitute a separate class of diviners. Among the Mahajagas there is a class of men called sanmansa, 'animals', who are diviners and doctors of diseases, and foretell the destiny of their patients. The natives about the Alligator river in the Central African islands, besides the weather-makers, have four separate classes of augers distinguished from each other by different names and different methods of augury.

Instances of a similar kind are given by the Kirghizes and several American Indian tribes.

The priests and physicians are very generally the same men, but cases of priests forming a profession of their own in association with the priesthood are not rare among un civilized races (Polynesians, Melanesians, tribes in India, Negroes, American Indians).

Weather-making is among the lower races unusually associated with priesthood, though it is sometimes difficult to ascertain when this function refers to the regular priests and to what a special class of individuals. Among certain peoples, however, the weather-doctors are clearly identified with the scribes (Greenlanders, some American Indians, Negroes, and Siberians). In other cases the profession of a weather-maker is kept distinct from ordinary priesthood.

Among the natives of the Altai district there is a special class of weathermen who manage the large iron or magic stone. The Kirghizes have a class who not only foretell the weather but also have the power to cause or avert rain, which is known from the fact that among the Yaks, the Tunguses, or rain-makers, form an inferior class under the gangs, or felsh-men. The Okanda Negroes have priests to whom the people apply for producing rain when a bad year is impending, and these have a special name. The rain-doctors of the Maoris of New Zealand are pronounced distinct from other classes of the priesthood. Among the Apache and certain other Indian tribes, weather-making and other priestly functions are distributed among priestly classes; in other cases, few peoples even make a distinction between different branches of weather-making as represented by different groups of priests (Maoris).

To the offices associated with the priesthood belongs the judicial authority with which its members are often invested. As a rule the rights of the priesthood are respected and are closely connected with their religious duties, their supernatural endowments being called into requisition for the administration of justice in the various communities. From the Congo, Loango, and other African countries, such cases. From such occasions the priests are the chief officials at ordeals. Similarly, when a person is accused of practising witchcraft, the priests are the most competent to conduct the case (Greenlanders, E. African and Congo tribes). Thieves and other evil-doers are often detected by the assistance of the well-informed priests (Apache, Tingits, E. African tribes). In a few cases the priests are entrusted with a regular judicatory dignity, as, e.g., in Hawaii, where some appearance of judicial forms was preserved among the last remnants of native courts.

Among the Badagry in Guinea (the fetish-priests are the only judges of the people, and the statutes of their country are recorded in the books of the priests. We are told that the people are said never to murmur against their decisions.

From almost all parts of the world where uncivilized peoples live come reports that women also officiate as priests and sorcerers; in general no very great distinction seems to be made between the sexes as regards their qualification for priesthood. Often, however, men take precedence in the sacerdotal profession. Female priests or sorcerers are, at any rate, among the Greenlanders, American Indians, Negroes, some Siberian tribes, Fijians, Dayaks, etc. From some peoples we learn that all the great ceremonies must be conducted by men, or that the women are not admitted to the priesthood at all (certain Siberian tribes, Chipewas Indians, Andamanese, Australians).

The priestly offices to which women seem practically to devote themselves are foretelling the future (certain American Indians, Kamehamehas) and healing diseases among Negroes (New Guinea, Papuas). It is a widely-spread notion that women are endowed with mysterious powers in a much higher degree than men (Arabs, Negroes, tribes in India, Australians). Such ideas of the spiritual powers of women are doubtless due to the inclination displayed by many peoples to attribute witchcraft particularly to the female sex (Eskimos, certain American Indians, Hotentots, Siberian tribes, Arabs). In a few instances some peoples who have both male and female priests confine special classes of priestly functions to one or other of the two sexes exclusively.


GUNNAR LANDTMAN.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Babylonian).—In view of the great antiquity of their religion, going back, as it does, to over 4000 years before Christ, there is no doubt that the priesthood of the Babylonians, in most if not all of its numerous orders, was very ancient. It is impossible, however, to

E. Landi, Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa, London, 1830, i. 261.
estimate the dates of the institution of these orders, the more especially as they must have grown up rather than come into such sudden existence as may be accounted for by any prevision on the part of the people would imply. There seems to be no doubt that the remote antiquity of the Babylonian priesthood had brought to its members great influence and wealth, as well as the veneration of the people.

The number and the nature of the priestly offices and orders in Babylonia were determined by the requirements of their religion. Theology, mythology, legends of the gods and heroes illustrated faith, and temporal history was probably taught by the scribes (tashkarrum), or by such of them as had been educated at, and received orders through the temple schools. But the superstitions contained in their creed necessitated not only a full staff of sacrificial priests, conductors of special ceremonies, etc., but also numerous conjurers, soothsayers, magicians, etc., each with his special domain, which, however, in case of need, overlapped the others. The sacrificer, therefore, might perform incantations, and the spell-maker might interpret a dream.

1. Priests in general.—In all probability the most usual term for 'priest' in Babylonia was sangū, possibly a nasalized form of the Sumerian (vernacular) šanul. The second plural sangū, though the plural for professions of men, sangatū, was probably not excluded. The last would coincide in form with the abstract sangitū, 'priesthood' in general—i.e. a man's priestly character, as in the case of a Babylonian or an Assyrian king, or a priestly body to which a man might belong. The Sem. form, sangā, seems to have been borrowed by the Sumerians, who attached it to the character men, 'hero,' 'man of worth.' It is this root that is found in the Sem. rendering of the Sum. gis-ta, namely, ishakkū, from the Sum. ig-sag, 'he who is at the head,' a word often rendered by 'priest-king.' Though probably often a priest, the ishakkū was generally a kind of viceroy, under a royal ruler (lugal-barru, 'king'), and took his title from the place which he governed, as Gudea patess Lagaš, 'Gudea, viceroy of Lagaš.'

2. The high-priest.—Several words which may be thus rendered are known. A sangū râdû (so L. 192 LUGAL-BA RIMA) 'great priest, or priest on a cylinder-seal published in his 'Cylindres orientaux' (AMO xxxiii. [1909]. This object, which is a talisman rather than a seal, shows Assur-nimel, the personage in question, standing before Istar. His costume is that of an Assyrian of the higher class, and he wears wig and beard.

In what way the sangū râdû differed from the sangū damma, 'mighty priest,' and from the sangū-makhû, 'supreme priest,' is uncertain. In the Sumeru-series of inscriptions 1 (v. vi. 173) the last-named is spoken of as kindling the fire and the brazier, and throwing therein the means of loosing the spell. He is also spoken of as the holy libation-priest (ranmu ēlu) of Ea, and the messenger of Merodach. As a result of this; and similar acts, the slain on whose behalf the ceremony was performed would be saved and freed from his sin that very day. Evidently these high-priests had not the power of releasing a man from the effects of his sin, and uttering words of pardon, without the king's permission.

During the period of the Sumerian dynasty of Ur the high-priest, or a similar temple magistrate, was called eni, 'the lord,' and was seemingly appointed by the oracle and invested by the king. Thus in the 11th century B.C. State oracles authorized the proclamation of the lord true prince (en nis-zu) of Anu and the lord (en) of Nannar (the moon-god). These two temple officials were invested two years later (The Amherst Tablets, London, 1918, vol. i. p. xiv). Other examples of similar investitures are Dungi's 31st and 46th dates, as calculated by H. Radau, and Bûr-Sîn's 4th, 5th, 8th, and 11th, etc. En was apparently Semiticized as ēnu, fem. ēntu, written in Sum. nin-dingir, 'lady of the god.'

3. The subordinate orders.—Unfortunately no trustworthy list of these exists, so that their rank and consequently their order of precedence are difficult to determine. Certain priests were attached to the palace of the Assyrian king, but, as their order does not coincide with what is given elsewhere, this list is of doubtful authority. We find in it seers, incantation-priests, magians (?), and, apparently, 'inquiners.' Another short list in English Babyloniaca (B. S. i. 55) mentions the āba, probably 'temple scribe,' and then 'secretary' in general; the seers; the incantation-priests; the āši, or 'physicians'; and the dagil isquēr, or 'bird-prognosticators.' Here the order of their importance seems to be reversed.

4. The priests' clothing, and the perfection of their persons.—Though the priests shown in the early cylinder-seals wear dresses practically identical—a fringed cloak reaching to the feet, leaving the right arm uncovered and therefore free, with bare feet and (generally) shaven head—there seems to be no doubt that distinctive clothing was worn. Thus the British Museum letter K. 626 (R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, Chicago, 1910, no. 24) describes the muškudu as wearing a red robe and a mitre of the same colour (Behrens, Assyrische-babylonische Briefe kultischer Inhalte). Details as to priestly clothing are meagre, but apparently the right garments had to be used, or the ceremony would be a failure. A list (WA T v. 28) given on a clay tablet (chief priest, Sem. for en, above, šubat nišitu, 'dress of the sacrifice,' etc.

To appropriateness of dress was added, at least in the case of the higher orders, the highest perfection, as is shown on some of the cylinders which were found on the office of seer (bātu) and who was of the everlasting seed of Enweduranki (Euedeshus, EKE vi. 642), 'the king with the woolen garment of Samas,' should be the offspring of a parent whose forbear was holy, and he himself should likewise be perfect in form and feature. Such a one only might approach the presence of Samas and Adad (the sun-god and the wind-god), the place of the vision and the oracle. One not being thus holy and perfect, defaced as to eyes (? square-eyed), wanting teeth, mutilated of finger, with earth-grey flesh, filled with leprosy, etc., could not be keeper of the decrees of Samas and Adad, approach the place of Ea, Samas, Merodach, or Nin-ādinna, or join the brethren at the decision of the seers. They sungu 'rātādû was one who stood before the oracle, and he could not hold in his hand 'the cedar blessed of the great gods.'

5. Consecration and tonsure.—There are many references to priestly consecration, but nothing is known of the distinctive mark of the religious order. The seal-impressions show that they were often clean shaven, and it seems certain that this was part of the rite of consecration, which was performed by the priestly tonsure-cutter, šum-Siru, or goellū (Som.). His work was probably performed before the statue of the deity to whom the

1 Priest also seems to be expressed by the simple word dišu, 'man'; cf. Assurbanipal's Cylinder A (col. vi. 45), where Nabû-šaš-šāni is called dišu sin, 'man (priest) of the moon-god.' Avel-Nisînaš (Ešî-Merodach) and many similar names may express the same idea.

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neophyte was to be dedicated (PSBA, 1893, pp. 417–420). The importance of the ceremony is indicated by the fact that even the king might perform the

1 At the beginning of the tonsuring,1 according to what was their command, (as for) the priest of the house of the junior family who had been tonsured him (ugdaddî-bî-sîy) (Letter K. 125, Harper, no. 43).

This was apparently followed by the giving of the priestly tiara. In another inscription Assûr-bani-apil, after referring to the appointment of his elder brother Assûr-mukhn-palê (Saoduchiris), to the kingdom of Babylon, states that his younger brother, Assûr-mukhn-palê, was consecrated to be uru-gallu before Assûr, and his third brother, Assûr-šûl-šûr-šûl-bâšî-sî, to the same office before the god Sin. The word used is ugûdûlu, ‘I (or he) tonsured.

6. The priesthood and the king.—All the higher priests were naturally in close communication with the court, as many documents, especially the Babylonian and Assyrian letters, show. As has been foreshadowed in § 1, the king himself was (perhaps always) the great high-priest. His position as head of the State, however, must have prevented him from fulfilling many of his priestly functions, except those which had to do with his royal capacity as the intermediary between the higher orders of priests had naturally to instruct him with regard to the things which he could not go into thoroughly—lucky and unlucky days, celestial and terrestrial omens, the tablets to be used at the various ceremonies, and the time required for the performance of the rites, which sometimes extended over many days. The tall tiara which the king wore, and the cord behind, which, arising from its highest point, descended, in the case of the Babylonian rulers, to the hem of his robe, was also, probably, priestly signs or necessary portions of their dress. The cord probably has some analogy to that worn by the Parsis under their clothing.

7. The priesthood and the people.—Not less important was the connection of the priesthood with the people, who were not only its justification, but also its main support. As intermediaries between the gods and the people, in sacrifice, propitiation, penitence, prayer, and oracle, they were the interpreters of all the religious texts, expositions of the sacred books, and interpreters of events on lucky and unlucky days and seasons. It is uncertain whether the judges were of priestly rank or not, but the priesthood had also much to do not only with the interpretation of moral and religious law, but also with many of the civil enactments.

That laymen, and even slaves, could take part in the temple services is shown by Harper’s Letter no. 368, where we read that Ninqaya, the handmaid of the king’s mother, is not suitable for the service (worship):

1 She shall not enter (therein). As the mother of the king, my lord says, let her open the (money) chest, let her perform the service.

In other words, she had money, and could make a gift; let her do so, and then take part in the worship. Another letter asks the king whether certain women might enter the temple and take part in the worship, and, if so, would the king’s instructions apply to a slave-woman who was with them. It seems probable that the ordinary citizen was merely a tithe-payer, and that the very poor and the landless gave labour. It is not impossible that certain of the more intelligent of the huts were initiated into the mysteries which the tablets show to have been common in the higher orders of the priesthood.

Besides offering sacrifices, the priests conducted

1 Gilûma; but perhaps this word here means the whole ceremony, in which case the rendering would be ‘consecration.’

the services, and arranged the lectisternia, or tables of offerings to the gods. It also had the duty of some of them to receive the tithes, and to certify that they had been paid (the tablets referring to these are very numerous during the early period). Some of them looked after the temple itself, while others arranged for the services and the processions.

What proportion of the offerings the priesthood took for itself is uncertain, but, as the temples became enormously rich, there is no doubt that the priests who served them lived on the fat of the land, and even grew very wealthy. In their position, however, the possession of private means must have been an indication of importance. The most avocarous, but many passed on what they could not use themselves to their family, relatives, or friends (cf. Bel and the Dragon, 196).

8. The mâšu and mâšmâšu.—That these two classes of priests were closely allied is proved by the fact that the Sum. mâšu and mâšmâšu were both reproduced by the Sem. simple form mâšî.

The mâšmâšu was the priest who had especially to do with ceremonies and ritual. He anointed the king’s head, consecrated his country, projected the evil spirit out of his house in the royal abode. After this ceremony a procession was formed, in which torches and a lamb for sacrifice were carried, and it was the custom on these occasions to offer likewise many natural products. After the ceremony the priest was received into the highest palace. It was also the duty of the mâšmâšu to pronounce numerous incantations on these ceremonial occasions. The order seems to have been classed with that of the bârê, ‘seers,’ and the ášê, physicians.

In Letter no. 23 of Harper a mâšmâšu is referred to as not having taken the tablets of the series ‘the unpropitious days, the day not good; hand-raising;’ i.e. acṣ(τ)s of prayer. These were apparently documents which he should have used in certain ceremonies. In Letter no. 118 mâšmâšu seem to be spoken of in connexion with the instruction of certain persons in the ceremonies. The writer, Arad-Gula, may have been a member of this order.

9. The ášipu.—Like the mâšu and the mâšmâšu, the ášipu was also one of the most important priests of the Babylonian hierarchy. The duty of the order was to make incantations, either for imposing spells or for releasing those from them. The latter is referred to in the book of the Babylonian Job, ‘Lilul the Sage,’ and from the same work it seems that he was able to diagnose in cases of illness (Jastrow, Die Rel. Babylon. and Assyriken, ii. 129, §)—an indication that he belonged to the physician class. Another form of his name, apparently, is išippu, from the Sum. isib, and under that title the tablets refer to the išippu šu asšâmar, ‘grain- (or wheat-) magician.’

The incantation-series Surpu seems to indicate that there were priestesses of this class (and tāmû = ášipu, viii. 55). The lists indicate that the ášipu was also a pašû, ‘anointer,’ as well as a bârê, ‘seer.’ Äšipu is represented in Heb. by râs, ašûph, from the same root (Du 11, 20). See HID ii. 230.

10. The uru-gallu.—As this word translates the Sum. mûšmûš, which is also rendered mâšu, the priest indicated seems to have been one of the same class. The meaning of the word is ‘great protector,’ and seems to indicate several groups. A portion of his duties (those connected with the New Year festivities) had to be performed during the night:

In Nisîrī, day 2d, on an hour (double hours of the night), the uru-gallu shall rise up, and shall pour out the water from the river (the Euphrates). He shall enter before Bel (Merodach). He shall let down the curtain (gudâlu)—he shall utter this prayer before Bel.

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14. The *sukkal*—Semiticized as *kisal*-*talḫu*, this may be classed among the minor orders. The etymology of the word is *kisal*, ‘oil-place,’ and the above-mentioned *talḫu*, ‘to cleanse.’ His duties must therefore have been similar to those of the *pašku* and the *sukkal*, and he may have assisted the king on the occasion of his official building-consecrations.

15. The *sura*—Priests bearing this title apparently belonged to one of the most important of the Babylonian sacerdotal classes, and might even aspire to the high-priesthood, as is indicated by the fact that the *sura*-class is once referred to in Bab. as *sangamahhu*, ‘high-priest’ (see §2). The lists give also the word *surugt* (Sum.), ‘great suru’ (WAl ii. 21, 41, 46, 47c). The *surr* probably belonged to the highest class of the musician priests, as represented by the *kotā* (see §16). Though read *sangamahhū*, it is really the *suramahu* who is spoken of as kindling the fire and the brazier (§2). In the list of priests, WAl i. 32, 9, either as *suramahu* or as *sangamahu*, he is mentioned between the ‘libatorian’ (*ramku*) and the *nadiru* (see §3).

16. The *kali*—A Semiticized form of the Sum. *gal*, dialectic *mahlu*, this, like *surr*, stood for a variety of offices. From the inscriptions and the texts, it appears that the *kali*, like the *surr*, a singer, a worker (‘of ceremonies, *ga-ga*, dialectic *maha*-), an utterer of lamentation (ur.), Anu’s (or god’s) fortress (bad *ana* or bad *dingir*), and the invoker of the oracle (*zanaz-patam* *piri*). Kotachi *explains* that this office was a separate group and that the term *sura* and *suru*, ‘great suru’ (see §15).

Besides being the temple singer, the *kali* wrote astrological reports, with, probably, the forecasts derived therefrom; and the ceremony of making offerings was also part of his duty. In connexion with his musical duties, it is noteworthy that the god Ea, as patron of their order, bore the name of *Lamḫu*, the ideogram expressing which is regarded as a wedge-formed picture of a musical instrument, the lyre.

17. The *nāru*—This was apparently the musician-priest par excellence. The god Ea is said to have had a special *nāru* of his own named *Ḫuṣu-ḫu*, ‘the wise one,’ and as the god of the *nāru* he bore the name of Dunga. They seem to have had their own inscriptions, and thus were classed with the mourners.

For representations of priests of this class (they were shaven), see E. Currid, *Catalogue of Babyloniun*, London, 1906, p. 132, and L. de Clercq, *Catalogue*, Paris, 1887 ff., p. 101. The *nāru* and *māru* of the historical inscriptions, like those sent to Samuqerhu by Hekzekiah, were evidently not connected with the temple services. See Music (babylonian).

18. The *gallū*—For the work of this priest see §5, from which it would appear that the rite performed by him, which formed an essential part of priestly consecration, was sometimes, either wholly or in part, undertaken by the king. The *gallū* and the *dā* carried the implements of priestly consecration in cases of skin or leather (WAI v. 1. 2 ff.).

19. The *bārtu*—This was the most important or one of the most important of the orders of seers. Their duties are indicated shortly by *Lil'di the Sage.*

The *bārtu* forecast not the future by soothsaying. The *bārtu* has taken my forecasts away*. (Jastrow, f. 125, 160, 311). The God Ea of *Uruk* and *Akkabu*. The *bārtu* was a *sages* and *prophets*. They largely composed and explained both religious and secular music, and were as experts in soothsaying as in the art of inspiring and amulets. They were frequently referred to in the list of the groups and as ‘fortunetellers,’ ‘diviners,’ ‘healers,’ ‘wise men,’ ‘astrologers,’ and ‘sages.’ They were classed with the *kali* and the *surumah*, and were *esteemed* as *wise men* and *seers*.

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mean's he who explains an oracle (or vision). As indicated by Lidul, his duty was to direct men by visions—bārī inc bārī ul nūtū-ī-du, the seer had not directed him (the troubled one) by a vision (WAI iv. 22, 42b). To all appearance the bārī corresponds with the ‘seer’ of the Hebrews (hozeh, roch).

The above descriptions of his duties corresponded with those of the cērī, hartšeminī, of the OT (Gn 41, etc.), but he had other duties of greater importance and dignity. Thus Martin's Textes religieux pictures him to us in the assembly of the other members of the order, while raising a branch, he intoned the incantation beginning 2Samash and Adad, arise. In my supplication, the raising of my hands, whatever I do, let the invocation which I offer be the truth.

When the presages were not satisfactory, and the god did not answer, he had to perform the ceremony of washing the mouth, pronouncing afterwards the following prayer:

"Samash, lord of judgment, Adad, lord of the oracle, I bring you, I offer you, a pure face, the young of the gazelle, whose eyes are bright, face perfect, boots without defect." (Here follows a list of the various good things that he has already enjoyed.) 1 He does not yet know the stag's desire, and I offer him to you.

Samash, Adad, arise, and in my supplication, the raising of my hands, whatever I do, let the invocation which I offer be the truth.

Priestly supplication was generally accompanied by the lifting of the hands. They seem not to have been raised on high, but simply to the level of the face, with the finger-tips approaching. The rites accompanying the duties of the bārī were very numerous, as might be expected from priests of such ancient origin and important functions.

20. The abarakku. — Closely connected with the functions of the bārī were those of the abarakku, of whom, however, very little can be said. The word is written with the same character as is used for ītu, 'sign,' onem, and the like, and was pronounced in Sum. isikim. A mutilated explanation impleads also that it was rendered by bārī, 'seer.'

Abarakku is probably the 3778, abrek, of Gn 413, and, if so, the proclamation made by the Egyptian Pharaoh was to him 'bow, the great (seer), or the like. The existence of the word in Hebrew is due to Babylonian influence. It is doubtful whether the similar word abriquu, from the Sum. abrig, has anything to do with this, but it may be noted that the last is expressed by the characters mun-ne-du, 'prince (divine), command bringing,' or the like.

21. The āsā. — There may be some doubt as to this being a priestly order, but the leech in ancient times was so important that the Babylonian priesthood can hardly have failed to include the professors of the healing art among them. Nevertheless, in Hammurabi's Code, they came under the severest clauses of the lex talionis—a fact which may have come to have such that priests in general were not a privileged class before the law.

The etymology of āsā is interesting, as it comes from the Sum. āsu, meaning, probably, 'water-knowing,' either from the idea of being able to use or know of the springs that he was supposed to have of the fluids of the body. Other Semitic words translated by āsū were nizzu or sənzā, 'oil-knowing,' and mezu or isikim, 'voice-knowing' or 'incantation-knowing' (see § 29). As āsu also stands for bārī, 'seer' (§ 19), it is clear that he was attached to the sanctuary of temple-officials.

The sects of the lex talionis compound which they practised proves that a knowledge of surgery was expected of them (see ERE iv. 259 ff.). Herodotus (i. 197) says that the Babylonians made no use of physicians, as the people trusted to the advice of those who knew the lex talionis. In fact, we are told of the disorder which afflicted them. The inhabitants of the capital at least therefore seem to have had unsatisfactory experience of their healing powers.

The Assyrians, however, had not come to this conclusion, as many tablets (some of them letters) show. Aššur had thus turned into Heb.-Aramaic as wēs, ādu, with derivatives.

It is possible that the nuugu was also a physician (Harper, no. 168, rev. 3). The rab-mugi is probably the rab-mag of Jer 39 (Gr. 46).

22. Other priestly classes. — Whether the aba, which is similar to a form of asū = āsū, was a priestly class or not is uncertain. It might be translated 'water- [i.e. medicine-] giver.' As a rule, he was a scribe or secretary (in Harper's 53rd Letter, the abarakku is a short list of priests). It is probably on account of his apparently secretarial duties that he has been regarded as one of the classes of scribes, tuyārurru, the tispar of Jer 5132 and Nah 33. Notwithstanding their various secular occupations, the scribes were often priests. Considerations of space prevent notice of various other priestly titles, but it is necessary to add to the list the temple-officials designated by the Sum. tu-ši, 'temple visitor,' or the like (as, 'to enter + house or temple'). They had apparently considerable power, but it is not known in what their great influence originated. One of these, Nabū-sum-kin, attached to the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa, married Gītītu, daughter of Neriglissar (see KP ii. iv. (1650) i. 8 f.).

23. The Babylonian hierarchy. — Though the priestly titles of the gods of the Babylonian pantheon were imitated from those of their earthly priesthood, it is probable that the Babylonians regarded the reverse as being the case. Thus Engur, mother of Ea, was the true abrakkatu (§ 20) of the heavenly (and the earthly) ē-kuru, or temple; Nin-šāh was the supreme messenger or minister (subkall-mah) of Anu, the god of the heavens; Enīmā-ni-zi was the sukklekku of En-Urtu ('Nīnī'), one of the gods of healing; Asallu-īn was the suwra (§ 15) of Enilu, etc. All, or nearly all, of the great deities had their sukkalē, and Samas, the sun-god, had several—he of the right, he of the left, the one who was supreme (mah), and two sukkal sa-ku-īn, 'heart-resting.' He had also a gallābu (§ 18), one who shore him (of his raya), either when he set or when he was eclipsed. The name of this deity was Engnā, 'lord of reserve,' or the like.

The greater number of the various orders of priests seems to have been Ea, who was patron of the kalē, 'chanters,' naš, 'musicians,' āşāpi, 'incantation-makers,' bārī, 'seers,' tuyārurru, 'scribes,' āsū, 'priests, physicians, and gallābu, priestly tinsmiths.

The abode of Eres-ki-gal or Allatū, goddess of the underworld, was regarded as similarly organized. Namtar, or 'Fate,' was the goddess's sukkalē, and she had, as well, a divine (i.e. priestly) food-distributor (nu or nū-ki-tūnum). The lists of gods also give certain divine titles, which may be priestly, but are not represented on earth.

LITERATURE.—Morris Jensen, Die Religionen der Babylonier und Assyrier, Giessen, 1906-12; E. Behrens, Assyrisch-babylonische Phänotypen, Leipzig, 1895; and the special lexicon articles in F. Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, Leipzig, 1890; and W. Mass-Arnold, Concise Diet. of the Bible, vol. vi. (an English exposition of the Semitic names), which is a very extensive one, notes on priestly titles are scattered throughout recent Assyriological literature; the most noteworthy being F. Martin, Textes religieux assyro-babyloniens, 1st ser., Paris, 1893.

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history is familiar, Buddhism knows nothing. The monk or priest, in so far as he has obligations and duties, is but the agent of the law of cause and effect, and his edification and conversion. His relation to them is that of a minister to their religious necessities, and a confidant and guide on all the critical occasions of life, as they on their side serve his temporal needs and provide him with the requisites for a minimum of food and clothing. In neither of the great schools of the North and the South is there any suggestion of the thought that through a human intermediary man may or must approach unto God. Buddhism has no order of rituals or of sacrifice to require the services of an officiating priest with expert knowledge of the modes and significance of the rites. Whether, as in the Hinayana, in theory at least a man must rely solely upon his own endeavours and virtues to achieve salvation, or, as in the Mahayana, upon the merits and assistance of powerful bodhisattvas to sustain his faltering and wayward steps and to bring him to his goal, in neither case is deliverance through or by a human priest.

This was the view consistently adopted and enforced by Gautama Buddha himself, if the Pali books rightly interpret the tenor of his directions and teaching. After his death the Law which he had given to his disciples was interpreted by his own words and by his precept. Each monk might gain a knowledge of the truth by his own insight and exertions, as the Buddha himself had done; and there was no other road to emancipation and rest. If, however, the Mahayanaist teachers are right in maintaining the fundamentally mystical and easterly character of his later instructions, he himself made provision for effectual external aid to be at the disposal of all who sought deliverance from suffering and wrong; but that deliverance was from a superior divinity to which men were to be mediately devoted.

The offices, therefore, which the Buddhist priests undertake for the laity are chiefly those of reading and exposition of the Scriptures. In most of the monasteries also, especially in Burma, instruction is given by the higher monks or those appointed for the purpose in the elements of secular learning and the simpler doctrines of the faith together with narrative of the life or lives of the Buddha. In this service the Buddhist priests have been for many centuries the bearers of the Gospel; and in most Buddhist countries, except as undertaken and forwarded by European Government authority or missionary enterprise, no other teaching has been available. On all important occasions, moreover, in the private life of the people, at marriages and births and especially in cases of sickness, the priest is summoned to perform ceremonies and propylactic rites, to pronounce incantations, and by recitation of sacred texts to expel and keep at a distance evil influences. In some instances simple remedies may be applied. Recitation is found only in Vassa that formal exorcisms or orations are made. The practice varies, however, in the different lands in which Buddhism prevails. Usually also the sermons or discourses are delivered in the form of short, intelligible, often well-read and interested in the history and doctrines of their sect, and punctiliously observant of the duties that are incumbent upon them. In some sects they address to their other services that of an active missionary propaganda on definite and urgent missions. Between the Shinto and Buddhist priests there is no interchange of ministry or office place at the present time, and the demarcation in manners and appearance, as in duty and ceremonial, is complete. The relations of the two religions and sects between the laity and the clergy is intelligent, friendly, and Buddhism has taken over from the national faith functions which would seem to be entirely incompatible with its principles and creed. At funerals especially Buddhist priests are summoned to be in his memory and might, on the occasion of the marriage or marriage, the monks and dress of the monks is similar to that found in China, and the same practice of branding at initiation into the order prevails. Whereas,
However, in China the branding is upon the shaven head, in Japan the mark is made upon the arm of the candidate.

It is in Korea that the priesthood holds a position of least prominence, having maintained little authority or dignity. It was otherwise in the earlier centuries of the history of the country, when Buddhist priests took a leading part in all the political as well as in the religious control of the people. More recently their influence diminished, and for a long time they had little interest or concern in the national life. Their numbers do not differ greatly apart from the people, and are little honoured or consulted.

The service of the priest or monk therefore in Buddhism has been closely determined by the origin and early history of the faith, and, except where other conditions have been imposed by its environment, has not travelled beyond those limits.

The absence of a doctrine of sacrifice, or of any recognized belief in a future life beyond this world, has necessarily placed a hindrance in the way of the development of a priestly office, and has retarded or altogether checked the growth of any felt need for the ministry of the priest. Withstanding, the Buddhist priest, although to a less extent than in Christianity or Hinduism or some other religions, had a real place among his people, and his office carries with it a prerogative or religious influence that are of much importance. It is true that the honour paid to his office has not always, any more than in other countries, been transferred to his person; and the order is sometimes recruited, as in China, from the literate classes of the population. There can be little doubt, however, that the ascendency of the priest or monk has been a real and perhaps decisive factor in the history and development of the Buddhist religion.


A. S. Genen.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Chinese).—The statement, which is so commonly made, that there are three religions in China is apt to convey a very misleading idea of the religious state of that country. Setting aside the members of the various Christian churches, and the adherents of Judaism and Islam, and perhaps the Buddhist monks and nuns, it would be hard to describe the average Chinaman as being an exclusive adherent of any of the three systems which are usually called the three religions of China—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. It would scarcely be too much to say that the basis of his religion is practically the same as that of his ancestors in the days before any of the three teachers from whom these systems professedly derive their origins had been born. As a clearly defined physical type of man has been in occupation of Eastern Asia since pre-historic times, so certain elements in the religious stratification of that are area appear to have remained unchanged for an immense period. These elements are those of naturalism, animism, and ancestor worship (secret: Communion with the Dead [Chinese]).

When we first meet with the Chinese, we find them practising shamanistic rites and paying honour to their ancestors, though in addition there appears to be a sort of veneration in a supernatural being. Under the Chou dynasty (1122-249 B.C.) and later, beginning to touch firmer ground, there appeared two remarkable ethical teachers, Confucius (551-478 B.C.) and Lao-tse, his elder contemporary, and a somewhat more shadowy personality, whose teaching exercised a great influence on the subsequent development of Chinese religion, which can be separated into two currents: Confucianism, which is more correctly described as a moral than as a religious system, becomes the basis of the state cultus (for the sacerdotal functions performed by the emperor and the nobles), and the older form of Buddhism (in 1912 see art. Confucian Religion); and Taoism, the more popular current, becomes to a large extent identified with the shamanistic substratum of Chinese religion, which de Groot terms 'universal.' 1 The prevailing cultus of the Shang, or the worship of the sky, departments and spirits animating the various parts of the universe. In the 1st cent. of the Christian era Chinese religion became profoundly modified by the advent of Buddhism, which now became influential in its northern form, the Mahayana, or 'Great Vehicle,' during the reign of the emperor Ming-ti (A.D. 58-76), though the first missionaries of the Indian faith may have reached China as early as 217 B.C. From Buddhism the national religion of Taoism borrowed the conception of monasticism, which now became acclimatized on Chinese soil by the votaries of the two faiths. 2

1. Primitive shamanistic priesthood.—From the earliest times there appear to have existed in China persons of both sexes credited with the possession of or control over the spirit. 3-551-478 (Chinese), of a kind found all over the world, which enabled them to wield extraordinary powers in the spirit-world. These shamans are for the most part to be identified with the sv, exorcists, mentioned in very early literary records. From the Shu King, or 'Canon of History,' it appears that they were entirely possessed by spirits of yang material, which represents the principle of light and warmth, according to the primitive dualist philosophy of the Chinese (see art. Cosmology and Cosmology [Chinese]). Their functions appear to have been threefold: (a) invocation of the spirits of the dead for the purpose of inducing them to partake of offerings; (b) prophecy by means of knowledge obtained from the possessing spirits; (c) exorcism of all evil; this they accomplished in virtue of the yang power which resided in them and enabled them to neutralize the yin element, or element of darkness. In this capacity they were very potent factors in the government, a house of death. Chii. xii. leaf 46, of the Li li, or 'Treatises on Ceremonial Usages,' says: 'When a ruler pays a visit of condolence, the invoker for the funeral rites marches in front of him, in company of the serpents, and they exhume the place on the same occasion walks ahead of him with the invoker.'

In the time of the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) these are to appear to have been a kind of order of singing and dancing divines. They danced at sacrifices.

1 At the altars raised to pray and sacrifice for rain, says de Groot, 'the priestesses, representing the Yin or female part of the Universe, were accompanied by toiner, holding a procession of peachwood and reeds.' (The peach-tree was believed to be a source of terror to ghosts, and the bundle of reeds has a magical significance, being employed for the purpose of sweeping away evil.)

The Chav li, or 'Book of Institutions of the Cheu Dynasty,' ch. xiv. 30 and 39, says: 'When the sovereign pays a visit of condolence, the invoker for the funeral rites marches in front of him, in company of the serpents;' and the two on the same occasion walks ahead of him with the invoker.'

1 The Religious System of China, vi. 1188. 2 v. 1190.
exorcizing spectres. Some ancient texts refer to the male *wu as hih*. They also mention a class of professional exorcists. It is possible, however, that the exorcists of the texts of the Han dynasty (c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 200) the expression *wu-chih* occurs, thus indicating that the functions of the two classes had become assimilated. The *wu* were frequently employed by the Taoists to drive away demons. Their etiquette was popularly ascribed to demoniacal possession, the *wu*, being exorcists, were much sought after as physicians. In this capacity they were employed in the 4th cent. A.D. to chase away foxes and lizards which were believed to bring disease. What gave the *wu* their greatest influence, however, appears to have been the fact that in their mediumistic capacity they claimed to reveal to their clients the wishes of their departed ancestors. The southern provinces have always been the great stronghold of *wu-ism*. Its influence with women was enormous, and probably in early times there were more female than male *wu*. Any woman, married or unmarried, who felt herself capable of becoming a medium could do so. A state of ecstasy was induced by dancing, and perpetuated by monotonous music and the beating of drums. At certain periods *wu-ism* constituted a grave political danger, and, under the influence of its representatives, mandarins were induced to plot against the dynasty. The social influence was, moreover, so great that it led to the complete transgression of the canons of Confucian morality, by which women were forbidden to appear in public in the presence of men. Repressive edicts against *wu-ism* were therefore always infrequent. The *wu* were often employed as exorcists by the Tatar dynasty of Liao, but under the Ming dynasty which succeeded it (1368-1443) vigorous measures were adopted against them. Texts of the Ming period make it clear that the *wu* attended temples and used images of their own gods, to whom they offered sacrifice. They were no doubt the same as the thousands of village-temples existing in China at the present day. In all ages the *wu* appear to have been paid for their services in employing spells, and also for the crime of *'life-plucking, '* i.e. dismembering a living body for the purpose of sorcery. At the present time their functions fall into three classes: (i) exorcism and soothsaying, on which they are very proficient; (2) the performance of spells and incantations, and (3) the employment of amulets. They are believed to possess *shen*. They usually acquire it of a ritual ceremony in a temple, or by which they suddenly begin to leap and dance, making strange gestures. When a youth behaves in this way, the bystanders realize that he has become *possessed*. The case is investigated by a *si-tong*, and the possession may be of such severity that it is necessary to employ him as a medium. The *ki-tong* are employed as exorcists. When an epidemic prevails, they are organized into processions, in which, stripped to the waist, and covered with blood flowing from self-inflicted wounds, they indulge in frantic dancing. They have even been seen carrying heavy pewter lamps, fastened to hooks thrust through their arms. Female *wu* are frequently mentioned in Chinese texts subsequent to the Han dynasty. De Groot, the knowns of no female *wu* in the Amoy district. Women, however, participate in other kinds of *wu*-ist work.

2. The priesthood in the State religion.—We learn from the *Cheu Li* that at the time of its composition the *wu* were not the only priesthood in China; there was also a body of officials charged with the performance of rites and ceremonies, among which those connected with the State religion were the most important.

Under the direction of a Minister, entitled Ta-tung poh or Superintendent of the Sacrifices, the officers had to direct the erection and conservation of the temples and altars of the State and the sacrifices and tombs of the reigning House; furthermore, the celebration of sacrifices with music and dances, victims and implements, besides the funeral rites in the royal family. Those engaged in these offices were divided into three sections, of which the latter two were more important: the first section was composed of the Priest of the Household, the second of Priest of the Ancestors, the third of Priest of the Temple. The last of these was undeniably a priesthood of Universal Animism, the gods whose worship they had to maintain. Among the many sects and their constituents, in the 1st century the Heaven and Earth and their constituent parts and phenomena, as also the spirits of the dead.

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\[1\] Vol. 1254.
\[2\] De Groot, vi. 1185.
This priesthood was in its inception an official creation, not a spontaneous development of the animistic shrines and Chinese religion. It was probably the prototype of the li-pu, 'board of rites,' which in later ages supervised the ceremonial aspects of the State religion. The board of rites was the fifth in order of precedence among the eighteen boards to which the administration of the empire was entrusted prior to the Revolution of 1191, when it was suppressed, its functions being absorbed into those of the ministry of the interior. The Chen li (xvii.-xviii.) gives a list of the officials who served under the ministry of rites, with a description of their functions. They include the superior of the sacred ceremonies and his assistant, a master of the sacrifices, an officer in charge of the vessels containing the libations and of the preparation of the sweet-smelling wine, an officer charged with providing the sacrificial coals, an official who sets in their places the cups containing the libations at sacrifices, one to set in order the mats, a keeper of the ancestral hall of the imperial family, a keeper of the seals, a keeper of the imperial wardrobe, annalists and imperial secretaries, musicians, a grand anguier, invoeret, and sorcerers. The last were the we, who were already at that period incorporated into the State religion. The board of rites cannot, however, be regarded as a permanent office, but retained only for the suppression of the State sacrifices merely, and was not a body charged with the task of mediating between God and man.

3. The Buddhist priesthood. - There is not in Buddhist China a clearly defined distinction between the priest and the monk as in Catholic Christianity. In the latter religion the priest is one whose duty it is to officiate at the holy mysteries, while the monk is one who seeks to sanctify his soul by a life of retirement from the world, it being unusual during the earlier period of Christian monasticism for monks to be priests. In Buddhism, however, there is only one type of religious official whom we may call priests or monks, some of whom live in communities and some of whom do not. In the earliest form of Buddhism, which was agnostic, the idea of mediation was of necessity completely absent. In the first two and a half centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into China Buddhist monks were all foreigners, as it was not till the third century of our era that Chinese were permitted to adopt the monastic life. At the present time Buddhist monasteries in China are usually situated outside the cities in the open country, the ideal situation being a wooded height. Their inmates are for the most part recruited from the ranks of children, who are frequently sold to them by a necessitous mother after the father's death. Hackmann mentions a case in which twenty-five Mexican dollars (40s.) were paid for a child. Only a few monasteries receive any appreciable number of adult novices. When in their seventh year, these children begin to be initiated into their religious duties. Their heads are completely shaved, and a special teacher is appointed to each. When the final consecration takes place, the novice is branded on the head as a sign of his willingness to endure hardship. Sometimes this branding is voluntarily repeated in later life. Nine vows are usually taken—to abstain from taking life, stealing, lying, slander, sexual immorality, lying, and feelings of jealousy, hatred, or folly. Sometimes others are added. Devotional exercises, which consist of invocations, praises, and the reading of extracts from the scriptures, usually take place three times a day. They are frequently accompanied by the recitation of mantras and by the chanting of the mantra; and usually consists of about thirty to forty members. There is a well-organized domestic economy. All owe obedience to the abbot (fong-chang). The community is divided into an eastern and a western half. The eastern half is mostly occupied by Chinese, and the western half by Barmars. It includes a book-keeper, guest-master, commissioner of stores, superintendent of field labour, superintendent of water-supply, overseer of the kitchen, manager of the clothing department, another to supervise the gardens, one for the repairs, and others. The western division deals with the religious side of life, and includes sacristans, chanters, lectors, and monks, who expound the sacred science to laymen. Chinese monks wear trousers, stockings, and shoes, besides an undergarment extending from the waist to the knees, and a garment covering the whole body. A wide garment is worn over this for full equipment. Poverty has ceased to be enforced, and monks freely accept gifts. The average monk has no real knowledge of the Buddha's teaching. Penalties are imposed on those monks who commit ritual offences, but moral offences often go unpunished. Punishment is generally administered by logging on the naked back by lay-brothers. This is the only discipline for the monastic order in the stage of intellectual culture, though a thousand years ago, when Europe was in the Dark Ages, the monasteries of China were filled with philosophers and scholars. A person of good family rarely enters a monastic order. When he does so, however, he speedily attains to abbatial rank. Immorality is wide-spread, and this led to the suppression of all the monasteries in Fuchow in the years 1830-40. It is, however, unwise to generalize on this point, as the reputations of individual monasteries vary very greatly; that of the celebrated monasteries of Chi-hua and Puto stands high. The use of opium is also prevalent among the monks. Individual monks of ascetic life are found, and even in recent times a monk has sometimes been voluntarily burnt alive on a funeral pyre. Monks are usually cremated at death. Besides the monastic communities, Buddhist hermits are found in China. They dwell in poor huts or in holes in the mountains, and are usually known as lamas or lay-brothers. They lead a semihospitalitary life. The hermits do not shave their heads, but wear their hair long. Some who are more ascetic than their fellows live in small mountain caves, into which the sunlight never penetrates. When such a one dies, his body is embalmed in a special manner, and, after being painted and gilded, is set up in a temple as an object of veneration. There is no supreme authority over all the monks in China, each monastery being self-contained. The government has, however, bestowed an official status on some of the abbots, who act as intermediaries between it and the monasteries. These abbots are responsible to the government for the conduct of the monks. Any ordained monk may move at will from one monastery to another, on showing a pass issued by his abbot, or he may adopt an itinerant mode of life. Buddhist monks are usually known as bonzes, a Japanese term introduced into China by Roman Catholic missionaries.

4. The Taoist priesthood. - The indigenous religion of Taoism, which, though it professes to be founded on the ethical teaching of Lao-tse, nevertheless in some of its manifestations appears to have merged imperceptibly into the main Chinese cult, is kept up on a small scale under the influence of Buddhism to evolve an organized priesthood and ritual soon after the opening of the Christian era. At
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present there are two orders of Taoist priests, one male and one female, the latter, however, being composed of priests married before ordination. They reside in their own dwellings and wear the ordinary dress of the country. The Taoist priests do not shave the head like the Buddhist order, but bind the hair on the top of the head. Many lead an itinerant life and derive a livelihood from the sale of charms. They are for the most part ignorant of the teaching of Lao-tse as are the Buddhists of the teaching of Sakyamuni. They study instead the pseudo-sciences of astrology and the like. Candidates for the Taoist priesthood study for five years. Before initiation they fast for three days, and bathe in water scented with orange-leaves; then, going into the presence of an image of Lao-tse, they seek his blessing. A licence then has to be obtained from a mandarin. The abbots of Taoist monasteries are called sce-sce. At the head of the Taoist Church is a patriarch who lives in the temple known as Shang-ching-kung, on the Dragon and Tiger mountains in Kiang-si. He is descended from Chang-ling, a noted healer, who flourished in the province of Sze-ch’iwen under the Han dynasty. His cures obtained for him a great reputation, and he healed a number of sick persons by inducing them to write down a confession of their sins on pure consecrated paper and then burned the papers. When this had been done, he threw the confessions into the water. Chang-ling’s cures attracted a great number of followers to him, and he instituted a semi-clerical caste, which appears to have derived some of its rules and regulations from the Taoist priesthood. His work was continued by his son Heng and his grandson Lu. It is said that the patriarch is chosen in the following manner. When one dies, all the male members of the clan assemble, and the names of each are engraved on pieces of lead, which are deposited in an earthenware vessel full of water. Priests then invoke the deities of the Taoist triad, to cause the piece on which the name of him whom the gods have chosen is inscribed to float to the top. The services of the Taoist and Buddhist clergy are for the most part made use of quite indiscriminately by the population. The late empress-dowager once employed Buddhist priests to pray for rain at one altar and Taoist priests at another. At the funeral of Li Hung Chang priests of both religious offices were present. However, to the elaborate eschatology evolved by Buddhist theologians, the priests of this religion rather than the Taoists are generally employed for the purpose of offering sacrifices to alleviate the sufferings of the departed.

5. The clergy and the State.—The monastic ideal was naturally alien to the Chinese temperament, with its deep inbred respect for the ties of family life, and this antipathy showed itself in the hostility of official Confucianism towards Buddhism on its arrival in the country. In A.D. 714 a fierce persecution broke out, during which 12,000 religious of both sexes were compelled to return to the secular state, while in a still more bitter persecution in the following century 4600 religious houses were closed and 20,000 monks and nuns were secularized. Buddhism, however, survived these persecutions and was very powerful in the 10th and 12th centuries. The Taoist church also fell into disrepute and the State began being enforced upon its clergy by the first emperor of the Sung dynasty. The legislation affecting the convents and clergy is embodied in the Ta Ting luh li, 1 Fundamental and Supplementary Laws of the present reign, 2 a codification of the laws contained in this work are also found in the Ming code. It provided that, if any Buddhist or Taoist priest is suspected of being disloyal, he shall receive eighty stripes with a long stick. No one may administer the rite of ordination without governmental permission. Since this has been frequently refused, there has grown up a large body of unordained clergy, who wear clerical dress. A Buddhist or Taoist priest, is permitted to adopt one pupil on attaining the age of forty.

Hung-Wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, who ascended the throne in 1368, ordained that all the clergy demanding State recognition should pass a competitive examination in the foundation of the Ming dynasty. This thus creating an intellectual link between them and the national culture. Various edicts were issued by the Manchu emperors, restricting the growth of the clergy, though their services were often made use of during the rule of that dynasty. In the southern provinces Buddhist priests have frequently been employed by mandarins in rain-making ceremonies and in exorcising swarms of locusts. Of late years, however, monasticism has declined rapidly, and the clerical profession is universally despised. A census taken by the Peking police in 1908 revealed the fact that there were in the capital only 1553 Buddhist and 133 Taoist priests. It seems most probable that one of the causes of the decline of the monastic order in China is the growth of a powerful sacerdotal caste in China has been the system of making admission to public offices dependent on the results of competitive examinations.

1 Gray, China, i. 103.
2 The Manchu dynasty, which gained possession of the throne in 1644.
current beliefs about the divine nature of the king, factored his assumption of all the high-priesthoods. He was not merely looked upon as the earthly representative of the god Horus, who, originally the local god of Buto, was early identified with the sun-god Re of Heliopolis, but he was actually regarded as the very son of the sun-god and the god himself. The king was therefore a god, and indeed was commonly spoken of as the 'good god.'

Moreover, by the time of the Vth dynasty the king was believed to be the physical son of the sun-god, the State god of Egypt. This has been natural and even is spoken of between the gods and mankind—he was in fact the high-priest par excellence. In this capacity he built the temples; and in the beliefs which adorn their walls he alone is depicted as worshippers the gods and making offerings to them. But it was impossible for the Egyptian king, who was the responsible head of a highly complex system of government, to exercise his high-priestly functions except on rare occasions; he accordingly was obliged to depute them to his the local priesthoods 14, who were conceived of as the Pharaoh's representatives, or else to special emis-

aries. 15

(5) The foregoing statement explains why a priest of Harabel or of the god Heraclopolis was called a king's representative. In this case the god and the king were the same person. One of the formulas used in the daily service in the temple distinctly states that the officiating priest represents the king: I am a prophet (psar-ot), the king has sent me to behold the god. 16

(6) The king always appears to have retained the right to appoint the high-priest of the temple, who was in his special capacity (see § 124). 17

2. The king as son of the divinity.—The king, as we have seen, was Horus, and also the son of Re, the State god. Many of the local gods, in order to enhance their prestige, were identified with Re. 18 Hence the king would not only be the high-priest of these local gods but also be regarded as their son. This idea of the sonship of the king would soon affect the relationship of the king with all divinities, male or female. 19 The king, according to the characteristic theological conception of him, was Horus. But Horus was son of Osiris (= the dead king). Under the influence of the Osiris myth the relationship of the king with and in Osiris was very close. The king was connected with Horus with Osiris; accordingly every divinity was an Osiris for cult purposes. 20 The high-priests, or leading members of the local priesthoods, were, as we have seen, the king's deputies, and as such impersonated the king in the temple services. Occasionally, therefore, as will be seen in the two following sections, the priest appeared in the role of the son of the god whom he served, or he displayed some of the characteristics of sonship. 21

III. THE PRIEST AS SON OF HIS GOD.—1. The 'son whom he loves.'—A priest with the title

3 J. De G. Davids and A. H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhat III, Gizeh, 1903, pl. 67 f.
6 H. Brugsch, Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache, Berlin, 1845, p. 154. For the use of the words 'Hierophant' and 'Hieraclopolis' which looks as though it might be, 'King of Lower Egypt,' is probably, in view of W. M. F. Petrie, Koptos, London, 1925, 55, a word generally determined with the seal-sign подоб and translated 'treasurer' or 'chancellor.'
10 Erman, p. 57.
11 Jb. p. 37 f.
12 E.g., J. De G. Davids and A. H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhat III, Gizeh, 1903, pl. 67 f.
14 J. De G. Davids and A. H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhat III, Gizeh, 1903, pl. 67 f.
15 Erman, p. 67.
16 Jb. p. 52.
17 See also art. Purification (Egyptian), § V. 4.
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account for the titles of the high-priest (a) of Ptah of Memphis, (b) of Re-Atum of Heliopolis.

1. The high-priest of Ptah.—Ptah was the craftsman of the gods and the patron of craftsmen. His high-priest was entitled 'he who is oldest among the craftsmen,' *wr hry mwkt;* one of his duties was to supervise the work of the royal craftsmen, who were closely associated with the Ptah temple.

2. The high-priest of Re.—The chief title of the high-priest of Re was 'he who is great at seeing,' *wr mj.* He was also described as being 'over the mysteries of heaven,' or as 'he who sees the mysteries of heaven.' A. H. Gardiner has suggested to the writer that the sun-god's high-priest bore these titles not because he was permitted to gaze upon the god, but because the god's function of unrestricted vision was transmitted to him as deputy of the king, to whom, as 'son of Re,' this and other functions and qualities of Re were freely assigned.

V. HONORIFIC PRIESTHOODS.—A somewhat similar conception to that discussed in § IV. lies, perhaps, at the back of the honorific priesthoods of the Old Kingdom, the holders of these prestige titles are not found in their true character of the deity whom they served. Thus the 'prophet of the great morning-god,' *hm-ntr diw-wr,* seems to have been the king's barber, as he is in question being the royal beard personified. The 'prophet of M't, the god of righteousness, on a judge's bench,' the 'prophet of Hie,' magic personified, a magician; the 'prophet of Hathor,' the goddess of music and dancing, a dancer.

VI. IMPERSONATION OF DIVINITIES BY PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES.—Egyptian priests and priestesses not merely exercised the functions of divinities; they sometimes actually impersonated them.

The classic example of this is of course the Pharaoh himself. The primitive kings of Buto and Omot were originally so high-priests of their respective local gods, Horus and Seth. The historic Pharaoh actually used Horus and Seth (see above, § I.), and his queen is called 'she who sees Horus and Seth.' Similarly the king is the 'son of Ptah, the Son of Allah, Keb, and of the snake-goddess of Buto, and as such is called nbty, 'the two mistresses.'

1. Lun-mutef, 'pillar of his mother,' as is clearly shown by a number of inscriptions, is the name for the living god Hor. Most of the representations of Lun-mutef, however, depict not the god, but a priest impersonating him, Lun-mutef is 1 E.g., Naville, Das ägypt. Todtenbuch, Berlin, 1885, i. ch. chxliv. line 32; Stolk, p. 13.
8. See art. PRECIOUS METALS (Egyptian), (q) 4.
11. Erman, Life, p. 206; Davies-Gardiner, p. 94 ff.; see also § VI. 4.
27. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
29. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
30. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
32. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
33. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
34. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
35. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
37. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
38. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
40. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
41. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
42. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
43. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
44. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
45. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
46. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
47. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
49. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
50. Sethe, op. cit., p. 256.
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(b) Atum and Month, or Re-Harakhte and Amun, may have been similarly impersonated by priests at the purification of the infant heir to the throne.

5. Two probably also was the god Yash, who officiated at the coronation.4

4. The priestesses of Hathor, who danced in her honour, consciously impersonated her. They partook in consequence of the nature of the godesses were able to impart her qualities to her devotees.5

5. Two female mourners, called the 'great kie' and the 'little kie', impersonated Isis and Nepthys in the funerary ceremonies.6

In two passages in the Pyramid Texts Isis and Nephtys are spoken of as birds—the form which they assumed when they set out to seek for the missing corpse of the murdered Osiris.

VII. FURTHER RELATIONSHIPS OF PRIESTS AND PRIESTHOODS WITH DIVINITIES.—1. Father of the god.7—The relationship of the priest with the god could be other than that of son. A very common priestly title in the New Kingdom and subsequently is father of the god.8; the holders of this title, in the enumerations of priests of those periods, come between the prophets and wct priests.9

The appellation 'father of the god' primarily belonged to the king, the last to be followed by the father of the god.5 It probably meant that the holder had one or more daughters in the god's horion.6

2. The god's concubines.—Human concubines were assigned to certain gods—e.g., Amun of Thebes,10 Ouiris,11 Iun-mutef; the possibly to Asyut and Khnum of Hermopolis.12

These concubines are in a special degree a feature of the cult of Amun, probably owing to his markedly sexual character; they are frequently referred to in the texts of the New Kingdom and subsequent periods.

It should be noted that the name of the great temple at Luxor is 'southern harim of Amun',13 and that the inscription on the statue of Re14 mentions Amun's harion of concubines (Pct n Enurct).15

At the head of Amun's concubines was the wife of his high-priest, her title being 'chief concubine of Amun.'16 The concubines were doubtless the female musicians (Isawet')17 who were attached to him, and, with the daughter of the god's temple (see below, § 6), and VIII. § 5 (d)).18 The view that the female musicians of Amun formed his harion is further supported by the fact that in one instance the wife of a high-priest of Amun, instead of the regular title 'chief concubine,' bears that of 'singer (bnt) of Amun.'19

3. The god's wife.—(a) From the Vth dynasty onwards the king was regarded as the physical offspring of the god (et Re, 'son of the body').20 According to the scenes and inscriptions in the XVIIth dynasty temples of Deir el Bahri and Luxor,4 Amun, then identified with the sun-god, assumed the form of the reigning Pharaoh and intercourses with the queen, and so begot the heir to the throne. The queen was therefore called 'the god's wife,' with the additional title of 'votaress of the god.'21

Possibly the union of Amun and the queen was supposed to take place in Luxor temple, 'the southern harion of Amun' (see above, a);22 that would explain the presence in this temple of the scenes depicting the birth of Amunris s., by whom the queen gave birth.23 In performing this service she would be accompanied by the concubines,24 over whom she presided in her capacity of Amun's legitimate consort.25

The concubines, as we have seen, were probably the female musicians of Amun (Bnt n Lon), who are specifically stated to have been attached to the house of 'the god's votaress.'

Perhaps the statement in Herodotus, i. 182, about the woman who 'lies in the temple of Theban Zeus,' refers to 'the god's wife' or to the chief concubine of Amun.26

(c) The god's wife' is first mentioned in inscriptions of the early XVIIIth dynasty.27

After the battle of Amal protected the New Kingdom the god's wife was the high-priestess of Amun, Amun of the kingdom, and the female dancers were governed, not by the high-priest of Amun, but by a succession of five 'god's wives.'28 'The god's wife' was no longer the queen, but a daughter of the ruling house, and she had to adopt a daughter to succeed her.29

(d) While Thebes was governed by these sacerdotal princes, the high-priest of Amun was merely a religious figure-head, all power being vested in the hands of individuals of minor sacerdotal importance, such as Menhemthet,30 who was only one of the concubines of the high-priestess, and who by her adoption by 'the god's wife' Nitokris II., the first prophetess (high-priestess) of Amun was bestowed upon Psamitik III.'s daughter, 'Enkhe-neferibre.'31

4. Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, i. 29f.
9. Id. p. 266 f.
11. J. Cartailhac, ZA xii. 28.
17. Annalen des Service, v. 96; Berestaedt, Anc. Records, iv. 95t.
20. Gardiner, ZA, xiv. 469; see Gardiner, ZA xvi. 127, note 2.
4. 'The god's hand.'—Below 'the god's wife' in rank, but above the chief concubine, was the priestess called 'the god's hand,' *dir nfr.*

The fact that 'the god's hand' was also called 'the daughter of the god' to whom he could consecrate his love, 2 suggests that this title was perhaps originally assigned to a daughter of the queen. 2 Both titles were borne by *Enkinesisoterh,* 'a god's wife' in the lower class of the 'hand of the god.' We find the latter title, 3 it was possibly the title which she bore as the adopted daughter of Ni-otrikhor-2, i.e. before she became 'god's wife' and not the daughter of a god. 3

VIII. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PRIESTHOOD.—1. The general term for 'priest.'—In ancient Egypt purgity was considered to be essential in all persons and things associated in any way with the service of the gods (see art. PURIFICATION [Egyptian], § V, I, 5-8). Accordingly the general term for 'priest' is *w3b,* 'pure person.' The word was retained in Coptic to denote the Christian priest, and is written *γυμνος*; hence *w3b* is to be vocalized *w3eb.* The vernacular, *collocate as *w3eb,* is also used to denote the service of the highest grades in the hierarchy. 4

2. The two main classes of the priesthood.—The priesthood consisted of two main classes—the prophets, *hiry,* to be higher and the *w3eb-prtis,* "the lower." (a) The word *wm-nfr* (Coptic *z3nty,* which, after the Greek custom, is usually rendered 'prophet,' literally means 'servant of the god;') (b) *w3eb,* besides being the name for a member of the lower class of the hierarchy, was, as already stated, a general term for 'priest,' which the Greeks also employed. (c) D'Amman (above, 59) asserts that he is the son of a *w3eb* like each one of them, though D'Amman's father and the fathers of some of the members of the *k3mm* priesthood must have belonged to the higher order of priests. 6

3. From the time of the New Kingdom onwards the members of the priesthood were roughly classified as 'prophets, fathers of the god, and *w3eb-prtis.' 12 The 'fathers of the god' are to be regarded as belonging to the same class as the 'prophets,' the title 'prophet' being reserved for the higher members of that class. As Gardiner 13 points out, the rare titles, 'first father of the god' and 'second father of the god,' are synonymous with 'first prophet' and 'second prophet.'

4. Egyptian Deity (Greek or Latin text, line 2, =. Sethe, Urkunden, ii, 125) gives the following correspondences between the Egyptian and Greek titles of priests: 1 'the superintendent of the temple,' *ekeb.* 'highpriest,' 14 'the servants of the god,' *wm-nfr* = *prophet;* 15 'those who are over the mysteries,' *hrym-w3b,* = *prophet,* 16 'the learned scribes of the sanctuary,' *hrym-w3b,* = *scribe.* 17 Each of these classes of priest was divided into grades, *mry,* *h3sn,* and *r3r,* the last two being subdivided into grades. 18 Also with the higher and the *wm-nfr,* the priests of the god's temple. 19 The *hrym-w3b* or 'shrine-bearers' 20 were the *wm-nfr,* the *wm-nfr,* who were the members of the class of *wm-nfr.*

6. A priest had to begin his career as a *wm-nfr,* becoming a

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1 See G. Legrain and E. Naville, *L'Antre nord du Pyl6on d'Amonophis III. à Karnak,* Paris, 1902, pl. xii, b.
3 But the title ‘god’s wife,’ not ‘god’s hand,’ was borne by Nefertari, daughter of Hatshepsut, herself a ‘god’s wife’ (Sethe, *Urkunden,* iv, 490).
6 E.g., *Legrain, Statutes et statuettes,* ii, no. 42155, e, line 2.
7 E.g., Sethe, Urkunden, i, 231 f.; probably also Hieroglyphic Papyri, pp. 203 f., i.e., to the Draconian Laws, 11, 1975-1911, 1, pl. 84; cf. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir-el-Gebraw,* London, 1928, pl. vii; Davies-Gardiner, p. 56.
10 ib.
13 ib.
14 See also Sethe, *Urkunden,* iv, 453, 527.
15 ib. ib. 155.
17 ib. ib. 33; the *crochotah* could act as prophets, and they clearly did so in the case of the monarch. (For a similar use of the word, see *ib. ib. 33*; cf. Gardiner, *Greek and Egyptian Grammar,* p. 165.)
18 ib. ib. 33; cf. *ib.* ib. 33; cf. Griftith, *Demotic Papyr. iii. 2, 2*; cf. also ib. ib. 33.
19 Gardiner, *ZL xiv,* 105.
The subscription of the temple apparently often was iden-
tical with the high-priest (cf. e.Paraua aP a.Paraoua), who also
acted as the high-priest and to the chief lector orector. 4
Minor officials, such as the door-keepers and the
temple-sweeper (k,pst), 5 were also permanent. 6
(c) The governing body.—(I.) During the Middle
Kingdom no specific structure of the Egyptian temple at this
time seems to have been in the hands of a small committee.
The temple of Up-
vawet at Asy'ût, e.g., was administered by a body of ten priests called the k.nbt n h, a't, 'governing body of ten priests,' 7 at whose head was the best man in his
capacity of high-priest or 'superintendent of the prophets.' 8
(I.) The members of this governing body are given their
administration, not as their titles, so that we do not know whether they were priests, or whether included among
them were priests of the rank of sekh only. But they were
certainly members of the priesthood. Compare the list of
members of an incoming phyle, 9 in which each individual is
denoted not by his priestly rank, but by his special priestly
function.

The governing body of the XIIIth dynasty might be com-
pared with the P.B. committee of councilor priests (bdw.m r m)-
ners, 20 of the Ptolemaic period, 21 who assisted the superinten-
dent of the temple or high-priest (e Паропаоа и.в.Паропаоа) in the
administration of the temple. The priests who changed every
year, belonged to the phyle of priests, by whom they were
allocated in the reign, and who probably had no information as to how the governing body of the temple was
chosen in the Middle Kingdom.

(ii.) The New Kingdom.—During the New King-
dom the high-priest had supreme control of the whole great
wealth of the temple, and was responsible for the administration of its estates, for the care of its buildings, and for the erection of new ones. He had a great host of officials of all grades
serving under his almost autocratic rule. 22
(iii.) In the Roman period.—Though there were still
superintendents of the temples (e Паропаоа в), the temple administration generally was in the hands of
the lepeus, 23 or, like the e.Paraua aP a.Параoua, changed
every year. After A.D. 202 the temples lost all that still remained of their once specially
privileged position and were placed under the administration of the municipal senates. 24
(d) Priestesses and the position of women in the
temple.—Women played a by no means unimportant part in the Egyptian divinities, and the assertion of Herodotus 25 that
no woman could serve as a priestess is incorrect, and indeed, many believe that he does not agree with his own statements
elsewhere. 26

(1) Musician priestesses.—All temples, apparently, had a number of priestesses mentioned, but it is possible that these were a chief priestess with a special title, 27 followed by the at-
tribute 'playing with the sistrum in front of him (her),' i.e. the

1 Otto, i. 38 ff.; Sethe, Urkunden, ii. 126, 135; Erman, Life, p. 222. See, on the other hand, Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, ii. 32, pi. xxv. 2 Otto, i. 38 ff.; Sethe, Urkunden, i. 73, 120; Bredeson, Aus. Records, iii. 615. 3 J. Csapar, Bulletin critique des religions de l'Egypte, 1904, 1919. 4 E.g., Griffith, Siut and Dir Rfth, pl. 6, line 268, pl. 16, line 12; Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, i. 18, ii. 3, iii. 2; Sethe, Urkunden, i. 78, 120; Bredeson, Aus. Records, iii. 615. 5 J. C. Bruce, Some Notable Tean Mni, p. 509. 6 E.g., Griffith, Siut and Dir Rfth, pl. 6, line 268, pl. 16, line 12; Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, i. 18, ii. 3, iii. 2; Sethe, Urkunden, i. 78, 120; Bredeson, Aus. Records, iii. 615. 7 Otto, i. 37 ff. 8 See Griffith, Siut and Dir Rfth, pl. 7, line 238. 9 E.g., Griffith, Siut and Dir Rfth, pl. 6, line 268, pl. 16, line 12; Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, i. 18, ii. 3, iii. 2; Sethe, Urkunden, i. 78, 120; Bredeson, Aus. Records, iii. 615. 10 Otto, i. 37 ff. 11 Erman, Life, pp. 104, 294; ZA xiiv. [1908] 31, 33; Bredeson, Some Notable Tean Mni, p. 509. 12 See Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 300. 13 See Griffith-Wilcken, ZA xiv. 119 and ZA xiv. 122. 14 See C. W. Blackman, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, London, 1916-1917, i. 29 ff.; esp. p. 29, note on lines 1-3 of papyrus no. 1148. See also p. 34. Adv. Liturg., ii. 35. 15 II. fii. 54, 56, 171, 182; cf. i. 182. 16 The antiquity of these titles is attested by the fact that the title of the chief priestess of Hathor of Cusa was the same
in

divinity. 17 The chief priestess was doubtless in most cases the wife of the high-priest. 18 Evidently the principal duty of these priestesses was to sing and to sing in honour of the deity whom they served. 19 The musician priestesses in the Middle Kingdom were called lepeus, var. hiru, but from the New Kingdom onwards gener-
In Roman times the temple estates became Crown property, which the priests could hold on lease from the state. The temples were also supported by taxes and voluntary contributions.

2. The offerings.—The offerings, or, as in the temple of Amun at Iltihû (see below), a portion of them, seem to have been divided every day among the priests proportionately according to their status. On this principle the chief prophet of the temple of Ḥatsjof of Reônet (Telneh) received as his share a tenth of ‘all that enters the temple.’

The temple’s daily rations consisted of bread, beer, and meat.

According to Herodotus, they included ‘a great quantity of beef and geese’ and also wine. With this agrees a document of the saite period. In the above-mentioned temple of Amun at Iltihû the greater part of the daily offerings of bread and beer, ‘after the gods were satisfied with them,’ was handed over to the ka-servants (see § XIV. c)—of course in return for adequate remuneration— for presentation to the dead, the priests getting what remained over.

3. Other sources of income.—The priests could increase their incomes by performing periodical or daily services for the dead.

4. Special perquisites of the high-priest.—In addition to receiving the largest annual stipend and daily rations, the high-priest of a temple evidently had special perquisites.

At Assyût, e.g., the superintendent of the prophets of Upawet was entitled to a roast of meat for every bull slaughtered in the temple. Also a cask of beer for every de-vessed of beer offered on a day of procession.

5. Stipends of the wives and daughters of priests.—According to the Decree of Canopus (line 35 = Sethe, Urkunden, i. 192 1.), an allotment from the temple revenue was due to the daughters of priests from the day of their birth. The same authority also informs us that the wives of priests received an allowance of bread.

Priestly Privileges.—1. Immunity from taxation and from military service. — In the Old Kingdom the temples were liable for imposts, such as the furnishing of governmental officials, soldiers, masons, and farmers. In contrast, the priests were exempt from taxes and military service. This immunity was extended to the daughters of priests, who were considered part of the temple hierarchy.

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3. Immunity from tax and from military service. — In the Old Kingdom the temples were liable for imposts, such as the furnishing of governmental officials, soldiers, masons, and farmers. In contrast, the priests were exempt from taxes and military service. This immunity was extended to the daughters of priests, who were considered part of the temple hierarchy.

4. Right of asylum. — All temples possessed the right of asylum in the later Ptolemaic period. Under Roman rule this right was severely curtailed.

V. ADMISSION TO THE PRIESTHOOD.—I. Tendency of the priesthood to become hereditary. — The priestly status, i.e., that of wếb, seems in some cases to have been hereditary as early as the XIIth dynasty. But there are no grounds for supposing that, as in Roman times, the priestly wealth was concentrated in the hands of priestly descent.

(a) In the Middle Kingdom numbers of wėeb-priests appear to have been the sons of non-priestly parents. As late as the XXth dynasty we find that out of six sons two are priests and the rest officials or servants.

(b) It is not till after the XXth dynasty that the purely priestly families seem to have begun to come into being.

(c) By the time of the early Ptolemaic admittance to the priesthood seems to have been restricted to persons of priestly descent. Possibly this restriction was already in force in the Saite period.

2. Tests for admittance to the priesthood. — In Roman times these were very strict. In the New Kingdom a man could be admitted unless he was satisfactorily demonstrated to the applicant belonged to a priestly family; he had to show that both his father and grandfather were priests. It may be here noted that a priest the purity of whose birth had been challenged was considered to have satisfactorily proved his claim by being able to read a hieratic book produced by the scribes.

(ii.) An aspirant to the priesthood had to be free from all bodily and mental disabilities. The object of such testing was to prevent the admittance of individuals of the priest class who were unable to perform the necessary duties of the office in order to obtain permission to circumcise, get married, and perform the duties of a priest.

(iii.) By law of Hadrân only priests might be circumcised. If a candidate proved his priestly descent and his freedom from all disabilities he was granted to circumcision. Until he had been circumcised, no person could exercise the priestly office. The precise regulations of the procedure to be followed in order to obtain permission to circumcise are given in Griffith, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 292, p. 581. See also art. Circumcision (Egypt).

(iv.) It is probable that admission to the priesthood entailed circumcision as far back as the Old Kingdom, for even ka-servants, who probably were not as a rule wėeb-priests (see

1 Sethe, Urkunden, i. 121, 56 ff.; cf. Griffith, Demotic Papyri, i. 109.
2 Griffith, Demotic Papyri, iii. 59, 108 ff.
3 Wicken, p. 95 with note 58; cf. Davies-Gardiner, p. 57, 6, on the question of temple land-tenure in dynastic times.
4 Wicken, p. 94.
5 Griffith, Sethe and Dörpfel, pl. 7, line 228; cf. Petrie and Gardiner, p. viii, lines 6, 11.
6 Griffith, Demotic Papyri, iii. 45.
8 See Griffith, Sethe and Dörpfel, pl. 7, line 286.
9 Borchardt, Za XL, xi. 114.
10 Sethe, Urkunden, i. 293.
11 Borchardt, Za XL, xi. 114; Griffith, Sethe and Dörpfel, pl. 7, line 228; Petrie and Gardiner, pl. viii, lines 4, 11.
12 Griffith, Sethe and Dörpfel, pl. 7, line 228 = Breasted, Anc. Records of Egypt, 515.
13 Griffith, Sethe and Dörpfel, pl. 7, line 228 = Breasted, Anc. Records of Egypt, 257.
14 See Lange-Schiöfer, i. nos. 2007, 20142, ii. nos. 20142, 20712. Cf. also no. 20145, according to which the temple is situated, some members are wēb-priests and some minor officials.
15 Wicken, ii. 311.
16 E.g., Leclain, Statues et statuetttes, ii. nos. 4235, 4235, 4231 = Breasted, Anc. Records of Egypt, 272, 272, 272; and the editor’s statements on pp. 55, 58, 61, and 64; Reitzenstein, p. 5; Wicken, p. 218.
17 Breasted, Anc. Records of Egypt, 274.
18 Wicken, p. 126; Griffith, Demotic Papyri, no. 18, 18; cf. Otto, ii. 311.
19 Wicken, p. 126; Griffith, Demotic Papyri, no. 203, lines 19-22.

1 Sethe, Urkunden, i. 121, line 6; cf. Griffith, Demotic Papyri, i. 109.
2 Griffith, Demotic Papyri, iii. 59, 108 ff.
3 Wicken, p. 95 with note 58; cf. Davies-Gardiner, p. 57, 6, on the question of temple land-tenure in dynastic times.
4 Wicken, p. 94.
5 Griffith, Sethe and Dörpfel, pl. 7, line 228 = Breasted, Anc.
6 Wicken, p. 94.
7 Griffith, Sethe and Dörpfel, pl. 7, line 228 = Breasted, Anc. Records of Egypt, 515.
8 E.g., Lange-Schiöfer, i. nos. 2007, 20142, ii. nos. 20142, 20712. Cf. also no. 20145, according to which the same
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9 Wicken, ii. 311.
10 E.g., Leclain, Statues et statuetttes, ii. nos. 4235, 4235, 4235 = Breasted, Anc. Records of Egypt, 272, 272, 272; and the editor’s statements on pp. 55, 58, 61, and 64; Reitzenstein, p. 5; Wicken, p. 218.
11 Breasted, Anc. Records of Egypt, 274.
12 Wicken, p. 126; Griffith, Demotic Papyri, no. 18, 18; cf. Otto, ii. 311.
13 Wicken, p. 126; Griffith, Demotic Papyri, no. 203, lines 19-22.

17 Wicken, p. 126; Griffith, Demotic Papyri, no. 18, 18; cf. Otto, ii. 311.
PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian)

PRIESTHOODs.

1. High-priesthoods seem regularly to have been appointed to their office by the king. See below, 2 (f), and above II. i. (a) When the central power was weak, the high-priests, along with the local governors, (i) undertook the responsibility of the priesthood; and (ii) in all periods, too, the high-priests of certain famous temples seem frequently to have become vested in one family, but often the recommendation or recommendation to the high-priesthood seems still to have rested with the sovereign. (b) We have two instances of the high-priest of Amun of Thebes being chosen by an oracle of the god himself. In the first case, our inscriptions say, ‘Amenemhet (b) priest of the god’; and in the second we may presume that the king ratified the choice, as the new high-priest was his son.

2. Priestly offices below the rank of high-priest. (a) Certain duties, which (a) naturally pertained to (b) his representative, the local governor and (c) purchased, (d) conveyed by deed of transference, (e) bequeathed to descendants. (b) The general or high-priest, as Pharaoh’s representative, seems to have appointed persons to vacant priesthoods. (c) Priesthoods were bought and sold from the earliest times onwards. Appointments to priestly offices in Roman times were usually obtained by purchasing them from the government. (d) Priesthoods could be conveyed by the holder while living to another person by deed of transfer.

Priestly offices were frequently obtained by inheritance. In the case of mortuary priesthoods it is often specifically stated in the deeds of appointment that the offices are to be transmitted to the children. In Roman times a person, on entering upon a priestly office, would advance an oath upon himself or a relative to pay to the government a tax called rá teate.takó. This tax suggests that perhaps even in the dynasty periods all such credentials had to be ratified by the State—i.e. the king (cf. [a], [b]).

3. Investiture and installation of priests. — Remesses II., on appointing Nebwemem to the high-priesthood, says, ‘Anuin, invested him with two gold signets and a gold (d’u) staff. At the installation of the chief priestess (hiaf) of Amun of Napata a silver pail for libations of milk was placed in her right hand and a silver sistrum in her left. Perhaps on his appointment or at his installation the high-priest of Ptah of Memphis was invested with his curious chain of office. At the installation of ‘the god’s wife’ and high-priestesses of Amun, ‘Enkhentsheribet, ‘the prophet, fathers of the god, sed Osiris and Horus, the staff (teau) of the temple of Amun were behind her and the great companions were in front of her. Thereafter, perhaps the usual offices and all the customary ceremonies of the induction of the god’s votaries of Amun into the temple. The god’s scribe and nine sed Osiris priests of this house fastened on her and all the other high-priests of the god’s wife and the god’s votaries of Amón. The newly-appointed prophet of Amun of Thebes had to ‘anoint the hands’ at his induction.

9. In daily activities the priestly service the god was sprinkled with water—a ceremony derived from servants bathing their master—furnished him with offerings of food, and anointed him in his applied cosmetics to his eyes, and arrayed him in his various ornaments.

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PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian)

be his beard, and performing the ceremonies for him with the sacred crook. (c) Another duty of the priest was to carry in procession the image of the god, *kher-hey[b],* which denoted their rank in the hierarchy, bore a number of attributes which could vary, including the very high title of 'King of the gods', meaning to us or are quite unintelligible. These additional titles denote special administrative or religious functions.

Very important function in each phyle was the scribe of the temple, who, during his term of office, kept all the temple accounts and made all the entries in the temple day books. (a) A priest also served as a scribe, and keeping the temple registers, was often referred to as a 'sacred scribe'. (b) Lector (or ab-ab).--There were 'ordinary lectors' (or ab-ab 24) and a 'chief lector' (or ab-ab bry-an). (c) A lector ranked third on the staff of the Middle Kingdom temple of Abydos, the only phylarch coming between him and the superintendent of the temple, i.e., the high priest. (d) The high priest was often combined with that of lector or chief lector. (ii.) The priestly grade of the ordinary lectors seems generally to have been that of 'chief'. A lector could also be a phylarch. (iii.) The duty of the lector was to recite the formulae, to the aural perception of which the rites in the temples were performed. (iv.) For the lector as a mortuary priest see under § XVI. (c) as a scribe for the 'Old Kingdom', (5.) and Gardiner, PSBA xxxvi. (1917) 31; as a physician, see under § XVI. (5.) Deniers and musicians.--Probably male as well as female deniers ('high-priestesses') seem to have been functions, but they do not appear to have been a role specifically assigned to women. (6.) Lectors seem to have figured especially as scribes. In the Middle Kingdom many of them were foreigners—chiefly Aamu—(7.) and perhaps slaves. (7.) Door-keepers, etc.—The temple staff included minor functions of door-keepers and 'sweeps'. In the temple of Abydos at Ilahun these were permanent functions, not members of phyle. (8.) But a temple door-keeper could be a first and second prophet of the endowment of the altar.

IV. THE MORTUARY PRIESTS.---The cult of the dead in many respects resembled that of the gods (see above, § XIII.). The officiants most commonly represented as performing the services required by the dead bear the title: 'chief servant', 'enamroller', 'lector', 'chief lector', 'treasurer of the god', sem, tiny-khant.

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1. C. Moret, Ritual, p. 55.
2. Annales d'Egypte, xvi. 319; Lange-Schäfer, no. 29350. For further descriptions of the priests' daily duties see Breasted, Anc. Records, i. 564; Lange-Schäfer, nos. 29350, 56151; Scharfe, of the Priestergrdber. (c) with note 1.
3. E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], pl. 6, line 2741. (= Breasted, Anc. Records, 1: 640.) (see also ii, 625.)
5. A. H. Gardiner and A. E. Weigall, A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes, London, 1905. (6.) E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], (= Breasted, Anc. Records, 1: 640.) (see also ii, 625.)
7. E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], pl. 7; Legrain, Status et statuettes, i.-iii.; Sloth, p. 335.; Wessinits, Die Priestergrdber, p. 35, 67, 73; Leroi-Gourhan, Le Temple de Beni-Hasan. (c) with note 1.
8. 1 A. A. Murray, Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, London, 1905; Lange-Schäfer, i., ii.; Legrain, Statuts et statuettes, i.-i. iii.; Sloth, p. 335.; Wessinits, Die Priestergrdber, p. 35, 67, 73; Leroi-Gourhan, Le Temple de Beni-Hasan. (c) with note 1.
9. E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], pl. 7; Legrain, Status et statuettes, i.-iii.; Sloth, p. 335.; Wessinits, Die Priestergrdber, p. 35, 67, 73; Leroi-Gourhan, Le Temple de Beni-Hasan. (c) with note 1.
11. E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], pl. 6, line 2741. (= Breasted, Anc. Records, 1: 640.) (see also ii, 625.)
12. E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], pl. 7; Legrain, Status et statuettes, i.-i. iii.; Sloth, p. 335.; Wessinits, Die Priestergrdber, p. 35, 67, 73; Leroi-Gourhan, Le Temple de Beni-Hasan. (c) with note 1.
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16. E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], pl. 6, line 2741. (= Breasted, Anc. Records, 1: 640.) (see also ii, 625.)
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18. E.g., Griffith, Siid and Dtr R[ch], pl. 6, line 2741. (= Breasted, Anc. Records, 1: 640.) (see also ii, 625.)
19. 1 A. A. Murray, Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, London, 1905; Lange-Schäfer, i., ii.; Legrain, Statuts et statuettes, i.-i. iii.; Sloth, p. 335.; Wessinits, Die Priestergrdber, p. 35, 67, 73; Leroi-Gourhan, Le Temple de Beni-Hasan. (c) with note 1.
Memphis they and the antecedents were united in one large group and certain others at the time they were separated. For the embalmer's impersonation of Anubis see § VI. a. (f) Treasurer of the god.—These offices were almost entirely in the funerary as in the temple services. As mortuary officials their duty was to direct the ritual of the embalmer's workshop and to carry out the religious and funerary ceremonies. The functions of the lector and embalmer were not sharply differentiated. Thus a chief lector is described as being 'of the mysteries of the good house,' and an ordinary lector is entitled 'Anubis in the good house, chief of the lectors of the god, Amen, Anubis.' This explains, perhaps, why Diodorus calls the chief embalmer a scribe, paygemonere,2 and why the Greek rendering of ryp-hb, 'embalmer.'

(o) Treasurer of the god.—The presence of a functionary bearing this title at funerary ceremonies is a legacy from the time when Amenemhet I was restored and he became the 'treasurer of the god' who was closely associated with the acquisition of funerary monuments.8 Rich as a turquoise,9 the produce of Byblos and Punt,10 alone from Haumnaut for monuments,11 incense, etc., from the Sudan;12 he would naturally, therefore, play an important part in the royal observances, for he would have to supply many of the articles required for the embalming and burial of the king. 'Treasurer of the god,' as a mortuary office, could be combined with those of 'lector' and 'Anubis the embalmer.'

(9) Superintend—The funerary official with this title represents, of course, the high-priest of Tuthmosis III. That ecclesiastical naturally pronounced the offering formula,16 and handled the libations at the funerals of early times. As was to be expected, the sam was the chief official in the 'Opening of the Month'13—a rite originally performed by the priest of a temple. In early times a function of the Memphite high-priest in his capacity of chief 'superintendent of the temple' was to—great in number,14 mean 'festival priest.' Connected with the Osiris cult at Abydos there was a 'great imp-hanu' who was also entitled 'superintendent of the temple.'

XV. PRIESTS OF THE REIGNING KING.—The word 'priest' and priests of the reigning Pharaoh15 were a prominent feature of the Old Kingdom priesthood. We also meet with them later.21

VI. PRIESTS AS DOCTORS.—The professions of physician and priest (weh and lector) were often combined.22

A weh who is also a physician can pronounce the sacrificial victim pure.23 Priests of the goddess Sekhmet were regarded as especially skilled in the art of medicine.24 The business of the priest of Sekhmet depicted with cattle in a scene in the tomb-chapel of a certain Kheperwy at Abydos has thus evidently to decide whether they were fit for such important purposes or not. There was apparently a medical school at Sais attached to the temple of Nebt. It was restored in the reign of Darius

1 Otto, L. 105-107.
2 Lange-Schäfer, p. 209.83
3 ib. no. 20147.
4 ib. 105-106.
5 Griffith, Desmette Papiers, ill. 122, note 9.
6 Th. de Font, Vie Meir, ill. pl. xxviii. 3.
7 Newbery, Ben-Hasan, i. pl. xxx., fig. 5.
8 Cf. §§ 1 i., and see Davies-Gardiner, pp. 57, 57.
9 Erman, L. 308, 346.10 Breasted, J. B., Ancient Records of Egypt, i. 342.
11 ib. §§ 351, 3601.
12 ib. §§ 297 ff., 335.
13 ib. §§ 335.
14 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20598, i. d. line 3; see also Otto, i. 105.
15 See Griffith, Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, p. 8 ff.
16 Stoll, p. 131.
17 E.g., Newbery, Ben-Hasan, i. pls. xvii., xxxv.; Davies-Gardiner, p. 21; Griffith, Stad Der 日日, pl. 2.
18 E.g., Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, i. pl. iii.; Junker, Stundenbuch, p. 5.
19 Davies-Gardiner, p. 59; Burrow, The Book of Opening the Month, i. 156 ff.; cf. Stoll, p. 159.
20 Die Mystere der Osiris in Аbydos, p. 13.
21 Davies-Gardiner, p. 57; see §§ 1 i., 3.
22 Stoll, p. 13; see §§ 1 iii.
26 Erman, Life, p. 296.
27 E.g., Breasted, J. B., Ancient Records of Egypt, § 3794.
28 Erman, Life, p. 296.
29 valves, Borchardt, Grabdenkmal des Königs Sethos II., ii. 96.
33 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 33, 51; Droy and R. Pörnter, Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denkmäler aus den deutschen Sammlungen, Munich, 1902-04, ii. ff., pl. ii. w. E. C. Grünwedel, Grabdenkmale, i. 321 ff.
34 Erman, Life, p. 296.
35 E.g., Breasted, J. B., Ancient Records of Egypt, § 3794.
36 Erman, Life, p. 296.
38 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 33, 51; Droy and R. Pörnter, Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denkmäler aus den deutschen Sammlungen, Munich, 1902-04, ii. ff., pl. ii. w. E. C. Grünwedel, Grabdenkmale, i. 321 ff.
39 Erman, Life, p. 296.
40 Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, § 3794.
41 Griffith, Stad Der 日日, pl. 6.
42 G. A. Reisner, ZA iii. 1941, 45.
43 Newbery, Ben-Hasan, i. 21 ff.; Breasted, Ancient Records, i. 519 ff.
44 Breasted, Ancient Records, i. 541.
45 Griffith, Stad Der 日日, pl. 6.
46 Erman, L. 342.
47 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 33, 51.
48 Erman, L. 342.
49 Breasted, Ancient Records, i. 519 ff.
50 Erman, L. 342.
51 Breasted, Ancient Records, i. 519 ff.
52 Breasted, Ancient Records, i. 519 ff.
53 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 33, 51.
54 Erman, L. 342.
55 Breasted, Ancient Records, i. 519 ff.
56 Erman, L. 342.
57 Breasted, Ancient Records, i. 519 ff.
58 Erman, L. 342.
poems, which, while admitting the claim of, e.g., Kalchas to special mantic endowment (II. i. 72), and indicating the high honour in which priests of various deities were held (ii. v. 78: θεοὶ δὲ τοῖς σημαίνοντας μόνον τὸν πρεσβυτέρον, ὁ καθίσαι, ὁ μόνος τὸν πρεσβυτέρον λέγει). Nestor, in the Iliad, speaks of the priest being mentioned, and none, so far as we can see, finding any place in the ceremony (Od. iii. 430 f.). This accords with the facts of historical times. Priests and priestesses alike throughout the Hellenic world considered social and civic distinction, which tended to increase rather than to diminish as Greek civilization develops, yet Isocrates can say, with but slight exaggeration, that any man might be a priest (ii. 7: οὐδ' ἀλλ' ἄρετας ἐγείροντο πάντως ἀδόξοι εἶναι om.)

Whatever may have been, among the Greeks, in the ages below the historical horizon, the relations existing between priest, king, and community, in all times, in the history of the priesthood, like everything else, has had to submit to the all-embracing sway of the idea of the State, and has become, to a very considerable degree secularized and is regarded almost purely from the politico-social point of view. This is clearly and explicitly stated on one of the earliest administrative acts of the priest, but also in regard to his purely sacred functions (Xen. Mem. iii. 18: δικαίως δὲ νῦν πρώην ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀποκαθίστατος, τέκνης κ.τ.λ.κ.), for instance, and cf. Dem. in Navir. 116; Plut. Quinct. Gr. 38). Only the actual sacred duties of the priests are invested in this second control, simply because, being traditional, they dated from an age anterior to the birth of the historical State itself, and owed, much of their force to that very fact. Hence the so-called ἱερά σακρά are found to be confined to regulations touching qualifications for office, priestly qualifications, the establishment of additional ceremonies, etc.—just such details as fell to be regulated in connection with purely secular offices; they were nothing of the duties themselves. In this second stage, therefore, it is not incorrect to describe the Greek priest as in some sort a State official. The ultimate authority in a question concerning the sacred was the synod of priests, but the council and the assembly (Ar. Ath. Pol. 43.)

The Greek priest or priestess, then, is one who is charged with certain specific religious functions or ritual acts, directed godwards, in the due performance of which the State, either as a whole or through its organic groups (gentes, phratries, families, etc.), is vitally interested. These functions, as they were invested upon the traditional priest, demanded a certain, often a high, degree of professional or technical knowledge, just as did many other departments of civic life: the priest is simply one who is skilled in these particular duties, and who is pre-eminently such. Practically, therefore, the priest implied the existence of a temple or some form of holy place dedicated to the particular deity in whose service he ministered. For the Greek priest was always the servant of a particular deity, and that at a particular shrine, and at none other. There was no such thing as a priest with a general competence of sacred functions at any and every shrine, or as minister to any and every deity, simply by virtue of his priesthood as such. For the functions, legal or quasi-legal, or general or applied, were all invested upon the priestly person or persons as such only.

1 This is true even in cases where reference was made to an oracle, for such reference could be made, in a matter of State, only if the question referred to a known person or persons, as reference absolute essentially, though it was in harmony with Hellenic, and especially Athenian, sentiment to refer such matters (Dem. in Ixion. 20, 427 C) to the oracle. E.g., τοὶ τεσσαράς πᾶσιν ἀδένοις πάτρως ἐξηρτήθη ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ταῖς θείαις ἐκείναις (cf. Plut. Pomp. 546 B.).

2 Stob. Ed. Eth. v. 170: τὸν θεὸν οὐδὲν δὲν ἔκτρωμεν νόμῳ τῶν περὶ θεῶν καικείων καὶ καθηματών, καὶ ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμῶν καθήμενος. The same is given in Plato, Pol. 530 C; and καὶ νῦν τῆς ἱερών ἀλλοι τέλεοι, ὡς τὸ νοοομένον, παρὰ μὴν μονόν ἠμὲς θείας τούτους ἐκείνους ἀποκαθίστηκέναι (Dem. in Phoc. 40). It is true that the ceremonies observed at the shrine did not affect the κακά κακαίας και θεοῦς ἀνθρώποις, ταῦτα δέ ἐσσαι πείθομεν 

3 Cf. Plut. Lesb. 759 A: ἀληθέντως μὲν θὰ τοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς ἐνεχθέντως τε καὶ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἱεραίς δεῖ σκεφθεῖν. Large temples would have more than one priest, but one was the rule; cf. I. Diod. i. 72. 8: οὐ γὰρ, ἄσπρως παρὰ πόλεις Ελληνομελῶς, εἰς αὐτὸ ἡ μὲν γενὴ τῆς ἑμετερᾶς ἑλληνικῆς, ηὗτος.
and had their special deities, rites, and religious observances.

Perhaps this very multiplicity of individuals invested with priestly or quasi-priestly functions did as much as anything to check the rise of a definite priestly class, the priestly class of exceptional sanctity being too inextricably intertwined with that of civic life in general. Undoubtedly, also, much was due to the general sanctity of Greek institutions, from which it resulted that the rites performed by such officials as existed were looked upon to such a sort as to enthrall the intellect by extravagant claims to a specially recondite or mysterious character. It was, in fact, partly by way of reaction against this somewhat threadbare simplicity that Orphic and Dionysiac mysteries won such vogue. A further powerful factor making against the rise of a priestly caste was the fact that temple funds were, as a rule, not controlled by the priests of the temple itself; and at the same time the interpretation of sacred law was almost entirely in the hands of a special secular board of interpreters (Euaggelai, cf. Ehrmann, De iuris sacrati interpretationibus Atticis, Giessen, 1906). The significance of the last feature can hardly be overrated in this connection, in the examples of school or course of training for priesthood could arise.

2. Qualifications for priesthood.—Plato, following, doubtless the universal requirement, lays it down for his ideal State that a priest must be sound and perfect in body, and of pure and genuine civic pedigree (Lanoc, 759 C: δεικτικάς δέ τόν δε λεγάνθων πρώτο μὲν θλησκών καὶ γυνώσκοντον, τ.τ.λ.). No alien could hold an Athenian priesthood or perform its rites—a rule that was probably general.1

The tendency was not to be content with this, but to put priesthoods into the hands of men of leisure and substance (just as, in Athens, the State services, or leitourgies, naturally fell to the same class). So Aristotle would have no husbandman or mechanic appointed, but only citizens, who, in his scheme, would be the sole landed proprietors (Pol. lv. vii. 9. 1319 A: ὀστεί τὰ γαρ γενόμενα ὀστεί διατάγματα ἐν τῷ γὰρ τῶν τριτίων τιμαθοὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. Cf. Plut. vi. xxvii. 5.). The difference is that the ἐκδόται δὲν γένον μὲν μέλαντα αἰσθένειται, at Pelleon; D. 594. 10: ὀνεῶν δέ ἡ καὶ ἡ διαλέζας καὶ ἡ διαμορφώσαται, τ.τ.λ.). At Halicarnassus the priesthood of Artemis Peirgaia must be of full citizen rank, and on both sides, for at least three generations (D. 601. 6: αἴσθητ' ἐν ἀκόμα ἀμφότεροις ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς γενεείμενοι καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ πρὸς μητρὸς). Good looks were a recommendation, in some cases an essential (Paus. vii. xxiv. 4 [the boy κοινὸν κλημα, priest of Zeus at Alai]; cf. Ix. x. 4 [Thebes]). Notorious vice naturally disqualified, and Plato insists upon purity from the stain of blood and the grosser offences. On the whole, the insistence is upon somewhat external or formal qualifications, identical with those demanded of candidates for purely secular offices; no great stress is laid on moral, and none at all apparently.

1 Cf. Dem. lex., 189: οἷον δέ καὶ προερχομένα καὶ καλόν καλόν ήσσον; W. Dindorf, Scholia in Iambicam Cyniciam Graecorum, vol., Leipzig, 1888-1901 (henceafter cited as D., followed by a number to indicate the running number of inscriptions quoted).—2 Dindorf, loc. cit. in scholiis to Herod. vi. 81. 1: ἐνδούματα καὶ αὐτίκοι θεῖοι ήσσον τὸν θεοὺς ὁμοιοῦσα, τ.τ.λ.; cf. Lys., 23. 2: διδακτόν τῶν τριτίων τιμαθοῦν τῆς θεοῦ μοῖρας τοῦ τίμητα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς μνήμης τιμητικῶς καὶ τῶν τεκνίτων (την).—3 L. Schleierm. i. 185. 1: καὶ αὐτής ἀτέχνης ἀφέω ἱερωτὴν μεν ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ ἐπιτίθεται, ὥς ὦκ θ' ἐκ τῶν νυμφῶν καθαρὸν τοῖς θεοῖς, τ.τ.λ.—4 Cf. P. de Conlanges, La Cité antique, Paris, 1855, p. 196: 'La doctrine était peu de chose; c'étaient les pratiques qu'il s'agissait de conduire et c'est, sans doute, à l'opinion de ces pratiques que l'on doit surtout attribuer l'assimilation de la religion païenne à l'idée religieuse moderne.'
4. Modes of access to priesthood.—(a) Inheritance.—Originally, perhaps, all cults were family worships, whether or not they were all cults of the gods. It can be safely assumed that the gods which have come to be national are demonstrably still closely connected with particular families,

which retain their priesthoods as a hereditary possession guaranteed by an appeal to legend. Some, perhaps, the more remote, cases of offices, however, belong to several families or clans maintain their representatives side by side, though not all on the same level, as hereditary cult officials (cf. Paus. iv. xvii. 1.

Such hereditary national priesthoods can be seen in the making. Thus the family of Seleus of Syracuse claimed to be hereditary hierarchs of Demeter and Persephone at Gela because their ancestors had originally possessed the sacred titles (tadn) of the cult (Herod. viii. 172). So Malanarios of Samos proposed to lay down his sovereignty on condition of being allowed to retain the right to perform the priesthood of Zeus Eleutherios, whose cult he founded and endowed (ib. iii. 142; cf. the Battalians at Cyrene [ib. iv. 103]). Inscriptions furnish us with cases of disputed foundations of the cult type (e.g., the will of Epiktete of Thera [CIG ii. 2415, § 5]: τὰ τῶν ἀναγεννητικῶν 

περὶ τῶν ἀναγεννητικῶν ἐπίταξεν εἰς τὸν θυρεόμενον καθολικὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἀναγεννητικοῦ καθολικοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων),\n
and the speculations in its favor (the latter daughter).

How succession was arranged within the family itself in respect of these hereditary priesthoods is not always clear. Obviously, the ordinary rules of inheritance might sometimes give way to local custom. An inscription of a priestess of Halicarnassus (D. 605) shows us that the priesthood of Poseidon had passed from brother to brother, thence to sons, and then to the grandson of the brother, succession according to seniority, and so to sons of the next brother, and back again to grandsons of the eldest brother. Nothing is said about the rule of succession in which the hereditary succession was just as liable to any other property to give rise to disputes. Such in Athens were settled in the court of the king (Paus. ii. 20. § 10; cf. Del. col. 57. § 1): the succession was always determined by the agreement of the parties, and the priests who had been admitted previously, in the opinion of the city council, to enjoy the rights of the priesthood, were admitted to fill the place of the deceased. Such succession is probable in all cases connected with the festival cycle of the particular deity, as is expressly asserted of the priesthood of Demeter at Eleusis (Paus. iv. xiv. 1; ὂν 

ἠραξάντης ἐν τῶν μεν πάντων ἀναγέννητων, καθα 

τοῦτο καθαρὸν διά τουτο διασκεδώτωρ, τότε διὰ μισθὸν 

τοῦτο διά τουτο διασκεδώτωρ, τότε διὰ μισθὸν 

τοῦτο διά τουτο διασκεδώτωρ), the celebration taking place ἢν τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφῳ τοῦ τάφω

(b) Election.—Possibly the earliest example of this method occurs in Homer, where it is said of Thetan that the Trojans had "made" her priestess of Athene (Il. vii. 300 τῇ ἡδῷ ἱερᾷ Θυάς Ἁθηνῆς Ἀθηναῖος ἱεραῖας): but the inference is not very rigid. The mutilation of the inscription D. 911. 5

5 instituting a priestess of Athene Niko (460–446 B.C.), ἐκ Αθηναίων ἀντάξων does not allow us to say whether pure election was employed in that instance. More commonly the practice of election is to be referred to the lot (cf. D. 559. 9: ὡς ἐκ νόμων ἱερεὺς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Αθηναίων, at Athens; and often in inscriptions). Mixed often, a method of election, and lot, is used, the lot preceding being selected from among the candidates (cf. Dem. i. 1312: ἐκ

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Ziehen, para altera, facs. i., Leipzig, 1906, no. 133); 1 αὐτὸς ὁ κοσμόν θεός καὶ ἄδελφος καὶ μίδι 

neuter οἶκον ἥλιον ἰδέα τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ ἠμέραν: cf. 132, also of Kos, where the minimum age is laid down at forty years. It seems as if the title was not a matter of caprice, but that in many cases youth, and sometimes extreme youth, on the part of the priest or priestess was demanded by the cult itself (cf. the demand for a παιδὸς ἁμβλαδέυσας as priestess in certain ceremonies). Often, no doubt, the temptation was high to violate such regulations, but these legends have mostly perished. Plato, naturally, has no patience with all this, and, going to the opposite extreme, would have all priests to be not under sixty years of age, and, upon New Year's day, to hold office for a year only (Leyes, 750 D).

1 Hereafter cited as L.S., followed by the number of the inscription.

1 An excellent example of the process involved is afforded by L.S. 161, ἱερεύς τοῦ Ἴππος, a priestess of the temple of the Klibitidai of Olympian Zeus, the title of which was hereditary. The inscription shows the turbulence of the age and the changing fortunes of the Hellenic world, the vicissitudes of the temple and its priestess. The inscription is that of a priestess of the temple of the Klibitidai of Olympian Zeus, the title of which was hereditary.

2 The inscription given by Otto, in Hermes, xiv. (1909) 594 f., from Marathon, is interesting in view of the beginning of the 4th cent., and certainly refers to the purchase of priesthoods. Nor is this the only example to be referred to a date before that of Alexander. Whether the source of this traffic lay in Eastern, non-Hellenic influences cannot as yet be determined, but it seems likely.

3 Proved, by inscriptions, for Erathol, Milesis, Spone, Chios, Rhodes, Olympos (T. 5143, Mylesis, T. 5144, Rhodes, Kos. It is to be observed that the vendor is always the state itself, which consequently takes a certain percentage (εἰσπορεία) of the price according to the size of the payment.

4 The inscription given by Otto, in Hermes, xiv. (1909) 594 f., from Marathon, is interesting in view of the beginning of the 4th cent., and certainly refers to the purchase of priesthoods. Nor is this the only example to be referred to a date before that of Alexander. Whether the source of this traffic lay in Eastern, non-Hellenic influences cannot as yet be determined, but it seems likely.
5. Duties of priests.—These were partly liturgical, partly administrative. The Greek priest was in no sense a teacher, or exponent of dogma. His duties for the most part began and ended within the precinct of his own temple. Firstly, he must have sacred vessels, or at least superintend the sacrifices and other ceremonies offered by the State or by private persons, making or indicating the proper prayers and invocations as being the duly appointed expert (cf. the parody in Aesop, 229). His duties included: the conduct of the sacred animals (cf. D. 594, 601. 9: τίπα τηε λερα τα δησητα κα τα ινωτηκα). Secondly, the priest, like the dean of a cathedral nowadays, was personally responsible for the care of the fabric of the temple and its cult images and contents of the shrine, and for conservation of the precinct (cf. D. 594. 24: κοσμευε δι την λερα των κατ αμεραν ἐπιμελεθαι δε αυτον κα τα στοιχαι τω τω Λασπελλατον) (supra c. 5— at Chalkedon). Where there was a neophyte priest, his duties were comparatively slight (cf. D. 550. 6, 9: ἐπιμαγαζηετων του νεοφυον τω τε λεροι ἐπιμελεθαι). Illicit use of the precinct by tresspassing stock, and mutilation of the trees within it, evidently caused much trouble (cf. D. 508. 5; Pyth. 157. 12). The neophyte priest was responsible for decent and orderly conduct on the part of visitors to his temple, and for observance of its special regulations (D. 592. 24: ἐπιμελεθαι δε κα της εκκοιμησις τη γατα τω λεροι παντος την λεροι αν αυτον κατακερυκευεν). Thirdly, the priest had to perform official ceremonies in connexion with the act of sacrifice and worship.

In historical times his participation does not appear to have been essential on purely religious grounds, so as to make the sacrifice ritually effective; for many inscriptions specifically guard against the practice, not infrequent on the part of the supplicant, or of the officiating priest. There are, however, some illogical passages which would make the priest resume his primitive character as magus, or even sacerdos, for ritual purposes (cf. D. 594. 9 and infra). Sometimes also, he appears to have been present at funerals, and sometimes to have conducted the accusers and the% .

A similar gradual narrowing of functions is observable when we consider more definitely what it was that the priest actually did. He was an expert, and in connexion with the act of sacrifice and worship.

6. Privileges of priests.—Greek priests do not seem to have been able to claim any special privileges simply by virtue of their office, but such were freely bestowed. The inscriptions on the extant seats in the theatre of Dionysos (Athens) illustrate the granting of seats for special places in religious processions (cf. D. 653. 29: θεται τημετα των θεον ανε εν τω θεον την θεον και θεον της θεον) or in connexion with the act of sacrifice and worship.

1 In Homer the two designations of a priest are ἄρτοξειος and ἄρχον. The former, as an act of hospitality, was a matter of great importance; see W. S. Ferguson, Helenistica Athenae, London, 1911, p. 340 ff. of particular cults to don the garb and mask and to impersonate the divinity (cf. Paus. viii. xvii. 12 [Priestess of Artemis], protomachos in the procession in honour of Artemis Laphria at Patras— ἡ ορεχοσκοποι αντικειμενη της κοιμησις ἐπιτραπεζων τον νεφον τον την περιοδον της κοιμησις ουκ επιτραπεζων (Homer. 492. 11, 18; 874. 3 [priest of Demeter at Pheneos]). Sometimes the priest would be required to perform the functions of the priest of Delos with his vast accumulations of cultal, was a matter of great importance; see W. S. Ferguson, Helenistica Athenae, London, 1911, p. 340 ff. of the particular deity, 

2 In Homer the two designations of a priest are ἄρτοξειος and ἄρχον. The former, as an act of hospitality, was a matter of great importance; see W. S. Ferguson, Helenistica Athenae, London, 1911, p. 340 ff.
Even more substantial, and more universal, were the rights of perquisite (ιερωπόμονα, γέρας).

These are carefully defined and enumerated in a large number of inscriptions. In general, the priest had a right to a portion of the sacrifices paid for at public expense, and to the produce of the temple lands, but these were usually restricted to skin; to the skin not always, even in private sacrifices (cf. D. 601.14), and in the case of the great state sacrifices, in Athens at least. In Athens, the priest was also entitled to a share of the imperial income of State slaves (cf. D. 620). In some instances the priest receives also from the temple treasures, a small fee for each sacrifice, probably at the suggestion of the god himself. This was the case, for instance, when Herodes Atticus endowed a temple at Olympia; D. 734.20 [Kos]; περιεύθυνα δι' αυτοῦ τός τις τῆς ληφείας. The priests of certain cults also had the right of διώρυγα, street collecting of alms (D. 696 ἐκ τῆς περιακής ἑλέους τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ζύγαλον; διὰ τὸ δήμου τοῦ τῶν ἄνθρωπος παρείται αὐτὸς τις), but we know nothing further of any ceremony of consecration or institution.


PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Hebrew).—1. Date of institution.—Those portions of the OT which are most priestly in tone are latest in point of time. When we lay these aside and try to get a historic view, we discover that the earliest legislation, noticed in the books of Leviticus and Numbers, may be said that where firstfruits and festival offerings are spoken of, a priest is implied; but this is not necessarily the case. The earliest offerings, including tithe and firstfruits, were brought to the sanctuary for the Divine use and not allotted to Him in a feast in which the worshipper and his family, with their invited guests, consumed the whole. For sacrifice it was not deemed essential to have any officiant. Many passages of the OT show that the ritual was familiar to every adult male of the clan, and that any man could perform the ordinary acts of worship.

It does not follow, however, that priests were unknown even in the earliest stages of Israel's religion. For other purposes than sacrifice a priestly type of function, mention of which may be, is implied even in the earliest documents. When the Covenant Code provides that cases of dispute shall be brought before God, it thinks of the sanctuary as a place where the will of the Divinity is made known. But this clearly implies that there was a person to whom the access was given to men. When the narrator speaks of the perplexed Reuben going to seek Jahveh, he has in mind an oracle and its interpreter. From this point of view we understand the primitive priestly caste, however, is designated by the Hebrew word for 'priest,' which is kōhān, and the corresponding Arabic word (κόνα) means 'a soothsayer'—more exactly, as we learn from the Arabic lexicographers, one who has a familiar spirit to tell him things otherwise unknown. This 'priest' is the familiar friend of a god or demon, and his interpreter to those who seek him.

The priestly caste, however, is designated by another word, which in Hebrew, the explanation of which is not so easy. To understand its meaning, we think of the many sacred places in the land which offer an asylum to fugitives or criminals. It would easily happen that the broken man, who was outlawed by his kin, one who had survived the massacre, was in a position to seek the sanctuary and take up his residence under the protection of the god as his client. Gradually he would become acquainted with the customs of the place; if susceptible, he would receive intimations of the god's will in dreams of the night or visions in the day, whether as guide to strangers who resorted to the place. Thus the man would become an attaché of the

1[1] 1 So in Sparta the kings receive as perquisite the alms of all State sacrificial animals. The priest has nothing but the share of the victim to which he is entitled (τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ κύριῳ λατρεύοντος). Cf. Hom. Od. iv. 49.

2[2] In D. 591 (Kos) certain categories of worshippers apparently receive the privilege of paying a lump sum of five obols for certain sacrificial charges (παντί δήδακε διώχθην αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄνθρωπων πάντων."


5[5] The occurrence of tithes in the story of Bethel (Gen 28:22) is parallel.
place, a slave of the god, as he would doubtless delight to call himself. The Hebrew word for 'one attached to another' is  בְּרֵית, which we translate 'Levite,' but which originally meant one 'joined' to a person or place. The Levite is the priest viewed as an attached to a sanctuary; the kohen is the same person ministering as the interpreter of the oracle. We may illustrate the state of things in Israel 3000 years ago by what is found in Syria to-day. That custom we—speak—of Levitical is full official strings dedicated to saints—Christian or Muhammadan. Each shrine has one or more attendants who are supported in part at least by the sacrifices, generally receiving the hide and one of the quarters of the sacrifices. The office is one which has been hereditary, and those who may have succeeded to the priestly office had the sanctuary not been destroyed. At the same time he developed prophecies which made him the vehicle of the divine will, though not bound to any one place.

Of the two Hebrew words בְּרֵית and קֹהֶן, one came to designate the man qualified to act in divine things, the other described him as officiating at a sanctuary. This is well brought out by a narrative in the book of Judges (ch. 18).

Here we read of a man named Micah who had an idol of precious metal. At first he set apart one of his sons as his attendant, but one day a stranger came, whom Micah appointed Levite from Bethlehem. Micah recognized his opportunity and engaged him. The way in which he congratulated himself in having a Levite for priest shows the extent to which professional was looked upon. There was nothing illegal in the ordination of the layman who had first undertaken the office, but it was in every way better to have a man who belonged to the gild.

If we may argue from this case, the Levite was often obliged to seek his living by entering the service of strangers, and we can see how the duties in the sanctuary of a sanctuary might force its attendants, or some of them, to emigrate.

3. Functions.—The earliest priests, then, were not sacrificers, but guardians of the sanctuary and its treasures—gold or silver images or utensils with which the sanctuary was furnished. The last point must be borne clearly in mind. It comes out in the story of Micah, for, when the Danites came to the house of Micah, they asked a response from Jehovah. So favourably were they impressed by the experience of image and priest and settled them in their new possession. In the history of Saul we find a priest with an ephod in the camp, and no step was taken without the approval of the oracle. When the priests of Nob were brought to the house of Jehovah and asked why they escaped the house of Jehovah, they mentioned that which brought the priest David gave him counsel in the same way. Whatever theory we may adopt concerning the ephod, we must recognize it as the instrument by which the priest ascended to the divine will. The ephod remained the property of the priest down to the latest time, as did the Urim and Thummim, which we know to have been the sacred lot.

The technical name for the instruction given by the Levites to the ephod of the Levites. From the earliest to the latest period of Israel's history, it is assumed that ephod is the word used by the Hebrew word for the gild, or tribe of Levi. It is clear in the current of Israel's thought that the word is used to denote the priest, and the severance of the Levitical from the priest. The severe arraignment of the priest by the Levitical prophets, as well as the prophet's counsel as the most serious crime. The priests of other nations were supposed to have the same duty as those in Israel. When the Philistines were at a loss how to treat the Ark, they consulted their priests, who told them the Ark must be carried by the Levite; and, when Haggai wants to know about a matter of ritual cleanliness, he seeks tìrah from the priest. 2 Even the Priestly documents, which lay stress on the sacrificial duties of the priest, speak of imparting tìrah as one of his offices. The activity of the priest at the examination of the leper and at the ordeal of jealousy is therefore in line with his earliest duties. From giving responses in answer to such legal questions as were brought before him, the priest easily assumed the office of judge. Both Deuteronomy and Ezekiel indicate that the Levites act as judges, and the earliest picture drawn of Moses shows that he was as much priest as prophet in making known the decisions of Jehovah.

4. Priestly and prophetical ideals.—The Levites early traced their origin to a common ancestor. Whether there was a clan or tribe that bore the name Levi or another name, it is the rise of the question on which scholars are not agreed. (a) In the Testament of Jacob 3 we find such a tribe spoken of in terms used of its brother tribes. It is coupled with Simeon in a denunciation which reads with the threat to scatter them in Israel. Of Simeon we know that he was ground to pieces in the struggles between Israel and the frontier Bedawin. It is natural to think of Levi as scattered in a similar way. But this is not a necessary inference. The author of the poem, living in the time of Simeon, may have inferred the threat from the scattered condition of the gild—a fact which must attract attention from its singularity.

(b) The next mention of Levi shows a considerable advance in the esteem in which the tribe was held. It is contained in the poem called the Blessing of Moses. Here we read:

'Thy Urim and thy Thummim belong to the man of thy friendship
Whom thou didst prove at Massah,
For whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah;
Who says of his father and his mother: I have not seen them.
He does not recognize his brothers and does not know his sons.
For they keep thy word
And they guard thy covenant;
They teach Jacob thy judgments
And Israel thy korah.
They bring blessing to thy nostrils
And whose-blessings-offerings upon thine altar' (De 33:8).

The change of tone between this and the preceding must be evident. Here the tribe or gild is said to be isolated because its members have chosen to ignore father and mother, brothers and sons, for the sake of Jehovah. The priesthood is the reward of this disregard of the ties of kindred. And the great leader and prototype of this calling is Moses, who was tried at Massah and Meribah. We recall that Moses was an outcast for the sake of his decision to come to life, and that he was priest as well as prophet. One thing more comes into view in this poem. This is that the Levites are now the ministers of the altar. They not only teach the korah, but also burn the sacrifices. It is not asserted that they have exclusive right to do this, and in fact it is very doubtful whether an exclusive right could have been established in the face of early history. The earliest legislation makes it the duty of every Israelite to erect a

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plain altar of earth or unknown stone in every place where he discovers traces of God's presence, and there to offer his sacrifices. The exclusive right to furnish the necessary alabaster without which this law was distinctly in mind. But it is clear that at the more conspicuous sanctuaries the ritual would, as it became more complicated, fall more and more into the hands of the official ministers. (c) The Levite was, however, in some sense an Israelite. After the division of Israel into two kingdoms. It shows that at that time the Levites were regarded as an organism, and that to them belonged preferential rights to minister at the altar as well as to the sanctuary. The sanctuaries are represented as centres of moral corruption, and the priests are active fomoters of what by their calling they ought to oppose. The people perish for lack of knowledge, because the priests, whose business it is to teach the will of God, neglect their duty. This state of things is not confined to the northern kingdom. In Judah also we hear of priests who are drunken, ignorant, profane, violent, and addicted to lying. 1 Hosen, Isaiah, and Jeremiah are the witnesses to these charges.

The author of the book of Deuteronomy was a practical man. He was in sympathy with the prophetic ideas, but he saw that the cultus could not be dispensed with. Vested interests were on its side, and the craving of the heart for religion needed the traditional ordinances. His book therefore represents a compromise between prophets and priests. We learn from him that all priests belong to the class of Levites and that they are entitled to the same rights and privileges. In fact he usually speaks of them as 'Levite-priests.' 2 Although in some cases he uses the simple term 'Levite,' he nowhere intimates that there was any difference of function between a Levite and a Levite-priest. Levite-priests were the called carriers of the Ark (the carrying of the Ark is elsewhere assigned to the priests); the Levite-priests have charge of the curious expiatory rite over the body of a man found slain; disputes are to be brought to the central sanctuary, there to be decided by the Levite-priests, such decision being, as we have seen, a distinctively priestly function. In a passage in Jeremiah, which is in the tone of Deuteronomy, we learn that the Levite-priests shall have the privilege of offering burnt-offerings and of performing sacrifice for ever; and in the same connexion we find the Levites described as the priests who minister to Jehovah. 3

The thing that comes prominently into view in regard to the Levites as the priestly class is the class. While we may suppose that the great sanctuaries, especially those which had kings for their patrons, gave an adequate support to their officials, the mass of the Levites connected with the ordinary services both in the sanctuary and in the charity of their neighbours. They are mentioned along with the widow and the fatherless, and commended to the benevolence of the people.

3 Cf. Dt 31:22, where the Levites are called carriers of the Ark, with Jos 3:1 8 64, 2 3 1194; further, Dt 21, Jer 33:17-22, and 15.
demanded that the Levites from the country sanctuaries be admitted on an equality with those already in possession. But the most that the instructions do is to provide for the official admission to the lower offices. Ezekiel gave the stamp of his authority to this arrangement and thus introduced a new period of ecclesiastical history.

(c) What took place in Jerusalem in the time of Daniel 10-12 can only be conjectured. We are well aware of the political view of the righteous and the wicked: Daniel is the most prominent among the righteous, and Jeremiah is the most important among the wicked. They are purged by the triple rite of sprinkling with holy water, washing of clothes, and a purificatory sacrifice. Thus prepared, they are ‘waved’ by Aaron in imitation of the presentation of a sacrifice. The significance of the whole is to indicate that the Levites are given Jehovah by the Israelites, and by Him in turn given to Aaron and his sons to assist in the service.

The priesthood is the prerogative of Aaron and his sons. How Aaron came to take the place of the Levites, as Ezekiel has supposed, is still a mystery. Earlier indications are that Aaron was connected with the calf-worship of Bethel. Between Ezekiel and the time of the Priestly writer some influence of the northern kingdom must have made itself felt in Jerusalem. The fact stands out quite clearly that in the Priest Code Aaron and his sons are fully established in the priesthood. The whole responsibility for the service is theirs; they bring the blood of the sacrifice to the altar, burn the fat, offer the unbloody garments, and in their duty in the sanctuary, to eat the ‘bread of the presence,’ and to burn incense within the Dwelling. For them the ritual of the great festivals and of the daily offerings is laid down. For them also the author included his book, the called Hebraistic Code—a body of regulations drawn up in the Exile for the government of the priests in their daily life.

It will be seen that the office of the priest has now become mainly sacrificial. But the old theory of his duty as interpreter of the will of God still remains in such cases, e.g., as the inspection of leprosy. Here the priest appears as examiner and judge of the kind of infection, and director of what is to be done for the ritual restoration of the afflicted person to the community. The difference between the present system and the earlier administration of the oracle is that now everything is laid down in a book by which the official must be guided. The result of thus formulating the cultus is to deposit a unitary character, as an expression of joy and gratitude on the part of the worshipper, and to emphasize it as an opus operatum by which alone the relation between Jahveh and His people is kept intact.

The predilection of the chief priest in the post-Exilic community has already been spoken of. In the Priestly document his position is made sure by divine appointment. In him, in fact, the culmination of the sacerdotal system is found. It is he who represents the people before God, and whose ministration secures them the divine grace. He it is who once a year goes alone into the Most Holy place to restore the purity of the dwelling and of the people. No part of the OT is more familiar to Christian and Jewish students than the ritual of the great Day of Atonement. Its solemnity indicates the intercessory value of the high-priest. But the sacerdotal head of the community is also in this writer’s mind the political head. His vestments are regal, and he is made to look like a king, which cannot be distinguished from a kingly crown, a robe of royal purple, gold and gems of untold value. In the theory of the code there is no one above him in rank. Moses, indeed, may be distinguished as the true head of the community in which the king-maker is above the king. But this is because Moses was the necessary inaugurator of the new state of things—a special organ of divine grace, who has to have no successor. The civil ruler in his relation to the high-priest is represented by

1 Zec 3 and 4; cf. G.L.
2 Lev 1 and 2; Nu 26 and 29.
3 Lev 17-26, based on doubt on earlier tradition.
Joshua in his relation to Eleazar, and it is plainly one of inferiority. Book of Chronicles is wholly of the mind of the Priest Code in recognizing the difference between priests and Levites. But the author, who was perhaps himself a Levite, takes great interest in the lower clergy. In a part of his work we find (perhaps under the influence of tradition) the post-Exilic community divided into Israel priests, Levites, Nethinim, and the sons of Solomon's servants. In another place the door-keepers and singers are found between the Levites and the Nethinim. The Nethinim (p. e.) we know to be descendants of the Temple-slaves to whom Ezekiel objected, and the sons of Solomon's servants were one particular class of the same order. Ezekiel's regulation had not been able to overcome the traditional claim of these men to a place in the hierarchy. What actually took place was the absorption of all classes of lower clergy into that of the Levites. The Chronicler shows a purpose to defend this absorption and establish its legitimacy. This he does by dating the organization of the Levites (into the office of Levitical priests, judges, scribes, and priests) in the time of David. His desire to magnify the office of the Levites leads him to vindicate for them the function of teaching the Law. He pictures them also as having in charge the sacred vessels, and to such an extent as preparing the show bread and the sacred ointment. The Levites never assumed the importance in actual life which they had in the system of the scribes. The inferior offices fell into the hands of the Levites, and this has been historically formed an aristocracy which arrogated the higher functions to itself. In Maccabean times and later we hear of higher and lower orders of priests, but scarcely any mention is made of Levites. The reason for this is not far to seek. The income of the Temple was never sufficient to support the large body of attendants provided by the Law; and what came to it was seized by the higher orders of the clergy. The economic situation is revealed by the list in the book of Ezra, which gives one in seven of the priests and Levites who were restored, as priests. It was impossible for a poor people, who had to pay taxes to the Persian power, to support so large a body of Temple-servants.

5. Revenues.—In conclusion a word must be given of the sources of priestly income and support. In the earliest times there was no fixed income for the priest. Some portion of the sacrifice was given to him by the offerer, and the hide of the slain animal came to him from the nature of the case. Deuteronomy says so far as to legislate on this as on some other subjects. It gives the priest the shoulder, the cheek, and the maw of the sacrifices. In this book we also have mention of the firstfruits and the tithe. These were not given to the priest directly but were brought to the sanctuary, where they were consumed in a joyful feast by the one who brought them—the priest being invited to share, no doubt. Every third year, however, this author directs that the tithe be distributed to the needy classes, among which the Levites were counted, as we have seen.

The advance in ideas is seen in the Priest Code, which ordains distinctly that a tenth part of the produce of the land is to be given the Levites for their support. The firstfruits and the tithe are also specified. In the same way, the sin-offerings and trespass-offerings become the property of the priests, and a yearly tax of half a shekel is laid upon each male Israelite for the support of the sanctuary. In fact the provision, if carried out, would have given ample support to the whole sacerdotal class. But the difficulty in collecting a tax must be evident. The theory of the Law gave the priests a tenth of the tithes collected by the Levites, and logically the high-priest would receive the tenth of what came to the priests, but this too was not enforced. A purely ideal construction is the assignment of cities with pastureage, though without farms, to the Levites, a certain number of them going to the priests. Almost all the towns of importance treated in this manner were given to the Levites, and possibly were to the Priest writer. The earlier historical writers know nothing of any such arrangement, and in fact to them the most striking mark of Levi is that he received no territory at the conquest and settlement of Canaan.


HENRY PRESERVED SMITH

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Hindu).—I. The Rigveda.—As a collection of sacred poetic covering in all probability the period from about 1500 to 1200 B.C., the Rigveda cannot be expected to afford any complete picture of the actual position occupied by the priests in the age in which the hymns composing it came into being. It represents only the priestly activity of a limited number of families among a certain body of Vedic tribes settled for the most part in the country later known as Magadha, and there is no probability that it completely mirrors that activity on all its sides. But the information it does afford is consistent and, so far as it goes, gives a clear picture of the sacerdotalism of the period.

The priestly function appears to have lain entirely in the hands of a special class, to which appertained the duty of acting as the instrument of securing the divine favour. There is nothing in any hymn of the Rigveda to suggest that it was composed by a man of other than the priestly class, though of course it is impossible to prove that the authors were all priests. Later tradition (indicated by their titles such as Dvapya (X. xxviii.) was Devapi Arsiṣeṇa, a prince of the Kuru family, but the hymn itself makes no such statement, and Devapi appears in it in a purely priestly capacity. The tradition seems to be that the Rigvedas are composed of royal origin great priests of the Rigveda, such as Visvāmitra and the more
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mythic Prthvi Vaînya, and, still later, tradition ascribes several hymns to royal authorship, but none of these traditions has any support in the ancient texts. The list of hymn numbers in the Rigveda itself is full of references to the activity of the priests under the generic title of brahmanas, and to several different kinds of priests, and the hereditary character of the priesthood is attested by the well-known humble origin of the present high priest. Moreover, there is abundant proof in the Sàvatihit and elsewhere that, as in the immediately following period, the brahmanas worked in the service of kings or wealthy nobles, whose generosity in sacrificial gifts is celebrated in the anuvâdas appended to several of the hymns; the amounts of the gifts recorded are too great to be accepted as genuine records, but they at least prove that the priests already set upon their services the highest value. Side by side with these praises of the generosity of patrons and with broad hints to others to follow their example in the form of encomia on generosity, there are many proofs of the extremely good opinion of themselves entertained by the brahmanas, though it is not clear in what connection the hymns were appended and themselves the description of gods on earth which they claimed shortly afterwards. They seem to have adhered as strictly as possible to their own occupation; if priests like Vasiṣṭha and Vîṣṇâva- mîtra are to be credited with the priest's battle, doubtless it was by their irascible power, their prowess in arms. But the priestly sphere included in all probability medicine, for one poet declares (ix. 29.7) that his father was a physician—an occupation in which, to judge from all analogy, the use of spells would be of the highest importance. Naturally enough, the Rigveda contains very little of this side of priestly activity, but in its tenth and latest book there are found certain spells which touch on the medical art, one against the disease Yagṣma (x. 163), and two to preserve the life of a man lying at the door of death (x. 188. 1. 7. 11). These hymns, with a few others, containing spells to procure offspring, to destroy enemies, and to oust a rival wife from a husband's affections, constitute, in connection with the funeral and wedding hymns, practically the only sign in the Rigveda that the activities of the priests extended to the ordinary affairs of human life, the domestic ritual which is of so great importance, and the domestic, religious, political, and social achievements of the priests. In the next period, the activity of the priests was confined in the main to the greater sacrifices and to such only of the domestic rites as had begun to assume special importance; the wedding hymn (x. lxxxv.) bears clear marks of comparatively late origin and is not primitive in character, and the funeral hymns exhibit a decidedly complicated and refined religious belief.

It has proved impossible to trace to the Rigveda the full sacrificial liturgy of the following period, but the hymns abundantly prove that there already existed much complication of ritual and subdivision of function among the priests. The main subject-matter of the Rigveda is clearly the soma-sacrifice, and it was precisely in this sacrifice that the greatest number of priests was engaged. In the heaven sacrifice (ii. i. 2) to the god Agni are assigned the offices of hotṛ, potṛ, neṣṭṛ, agnīdhṛ, praksāṭṛ, adhvaryu, and brahmanas, as well as that of the lord of the house for whom the sacrifice is being performed. We have already had a reference to praksāṭa, who is doubtless to be identified with the praksāṭṛ, as his business is to give directions to the hotṛ, of an udāgrayāh, and a prāg-vidgātāha, and of two kṣatriyas. The latter are doubtless the slaves of the victim, who in the later literature of India are usually referred to as the sacrificer. The function of killing probably having tended to lower them in rank compared with the ordinary priests, while the two former, whose functions, to judge from their names, must have been the drawing of the water and the taking of the pressing stones required, have been absorbed. Further, among the priestly functions of the Rigveda, there is none that can be identified with the praksāṭṛ, a function that has the king in charge. The king was the actual sacrificer in the heaven sacrifice, even though he might act through a priest, the official service of Agni is both the hotṛ for excellence and the pruṣhita; the two divine hotṛs of the āpī litanies are also called (x. lxx. 7) the two priests—the pruṣhita. Unlike the other priests, the pruṣhita was not merely in the service of a particular god as was the hotṛ, but was devoted to the worship of the king, and he was closely concerned with the king in his more worldly functions. Vasiṣṭha, Ṛṣabhā, and others appear to have taken part in their priestly capacity in the wars of their kings, and the hotṛ, rather than the具体 priest, is Devā for his master Śantu and its successor. It was rather from the pruṣhitas than from the
ordinary sacrificial priests that the high claims of the brähmana to priority in the State proceeded.

Great as the position of the priests may have been in the brähmana, he does not claim as yet to be powerful enough to constrain the gods to his will; it is probably enough that in his own view and that of the people he was possessed of magic powers; we have indeed in the Rigveda (X. xxi. vi.) the mention of a maṇi, one of those divinely inspired ascetics who figure in all the life of India. But on the whole the relation of the priests of the Rigveda to the gods is that of devout worshippers who seek by skilful song and well-presented sacrificial gifts to win the favour of the god for the sacrificer, in whose service they are.

2. Brähmanas.—In the Brähmana literature, which covers the period up to the 6th cent. B.C., the priesthood appears quite definitely as a separate class, contrasted with the Ksatriya, or warrior class, the Vaiśya, representing the main body of the people whether engaged in agriculture or trade, and the servile Sūdras. The priesthood was normally hereditary, but the class system at this period did not present still the distinctions between priests and women of inferior castes, and, though priests might be despised, as were Kavaca Ailasa and Vatsa, for descent real or alleged from slave-girls, still they would not thus necessarily be excluded from the blessings of the higher classes. Nevertheless, much stress is laid on descent from a rṣi and on purity of origin, and certain ceremonies could be performed only by priests who fulfilled the prescribed condition of birth in a family which for a number of generations had practised the rite. On the other hand, there are assertions (e.g., Kathaka Svakhita, xxx. 1) that what matters is not descent but learning, and we actually hear in the Chhandogya Upanisad (iv. 4. 4) of Satya-kāma Jābāla, who was allowed to be taken as pupil, though his parentage was uncertain, his mother being a slave-girl who had been connected with several men. This evidence, however, merely shows that the class was not absolutely closed by the rule of heredity. Nor was the practice of priestly functions absolutely restricted to members of the priestly class. The legend which treats Viśvāmitra as a king of the Jahnus (Paśchawinda Brāhmaṇa, xxii. xii. 2; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. xvii. 2) is supported by the occurrence in the Vedas of the term dgnldhra or rdjan- (e.g., as in the Rg. trayas, or rdjan-ratr, a name of the Yajnopavita:) vās, referring to a seer of royal origin; all the stories which mention such kings are of a legendary character, but that does not alter their significance as evidence that the view of the priestly class of the time did not see any impossibility in kings composing poetry for the sacred rites.

As in the period of the Rigveda, the sacrifice is carried out for the profit of an individual, even in the case of the horse-sacrifice, which is formally an offering of the king alone, although intended to secure the prosperity of all classes of the people. To this rule the only exception is in the case of a sattrā, or sacrificial session, which might last from twelve days to any number of years, and of which the most important form is the gāvinduṣya, lasting a whole year; in that, whereas any participants must be consecrated and thus made for the time being priests, and the sacrifice is for the benefit of all and not merely of the sacrificer. The sattrā is known as early as the Rigveda, and it is possible that we may have it in the Rigveda. In an earlier period when the sacrifice was a clan sacrifice, but of that we have no proof. As in the Rigveda, the sacrifice is conducted by priestly families, but the separate traditions of these families, though they are often recorded, are of relative insignificance in comparison with the general uniformity of the sacrifice throughout the texts, which indicate that a steady process of assimilation of customary usage was in progress. This assimilation was doubtless helped by the temptations and by the presence of any close connection between king and the cult, such as is so marked in the growth of early Greek religion.

The number of priests mentioned is greater than in the Rigveda, and more specific information as to caste and others required for certain sacrifices is given. The adhvaryu alone is required for the agnihotra, the daily offering to Agni; for the agnyādhyena and the new and full moon offerings the agnihotṛ, the hotṛ, and the brāhmaṇ are required besides the aśvādhyena for the later of the prayājyaphā́, and for the anāgni, in addition to the kāstika, who does not rank as a priest in the full sense, the maitrivarṇa. In the soma-sacrifice the number rises to sixteen, classified in the ritual texts as hotṛ, maitrivarṇa, aśvādhyena, vās, and grañvast; adhvaryu, pratyrājāsthāni, etc., and un-maitrivarṇa; udāgī, prastotṛ, pārathā, and subhrahavya; brāhmaṇ, brāhmaṇa-kedkhan, pārata, and agnividhara. To this list the Kausitakas are added, and the sadasya, who was charged with the duty of general surveillance of the sacrifice. The arrangement of priests does not, however, correspond to their actual employment in the ritual, in which the lower priest, the adhvaryu, is usually the highest, and the brāhmaṇ and the nāra are merely assistants of the hotṛ, and not of the brāhmaṇ and the adhvaryu. Of the priests the maitrivarṇa is identical with the prā śā ṛ ṭ kā a or upavā ṣ kā of the Rigveda, and bears his name because of his reciting litanies to the gods Mitra and Varuna; the aśvādhyena is clearly a later addition, the Brāhmaṇas themselves (Aitareya, vi. 14; Kausitike, xxviii. 4-6) emphasizing his exceptional character. The functions of the udāgī and subhrahavya are unimportant. On the other hand, the brāhmaṇ is a priest of great importance, whose task it is to take charge of the whole rite and by his silent presence to make good any errors which may be made in the carrying out of the sacrifice. He is actually declared to be as important as the sacrifice itself by the imitation of the priestly functions which it is required of him in his appointment is curiously indicated by the addition by the Kausitakas of the sadasya, who would seem to have been originally the hereditary scribe for the friary, and as the priest of the brāhmaṇ. The existence of the brāhmaṇ in this capacity has been seen1 even in the Rigveda, but the evidence for this view is extremely doubtful, unless perhaps in one of the latest hymns (X. xiii. 3). On the contrary, the evidence of tradition supports the view that the brāhmaṇ as a special priest was an innovation of a comparatively recent period in the history of the ritual by the Vasishtha family, and that for a time only one of that family could perform the duties of the office, doubtless because such a priest alone would be in possession of the special knowledge which constituted the characteristic of the post.

At the same time, the purohita steadily increased in importance; even the Brāhmaṇas are helped by the lack of the higher priest, and matters the constant adviser of the king; in some cases at least the same purohana acted for two or even three tribes, which placed him in a position of quite exceptional consequence and influence. Indeed, the purohita is but an advanced type of the officiant, which is effectively described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 27), where the formulae of appointment are given; they are based literally on those of the marriage ceremonial; the purohana thus becomes for practical affairs the alter ego of the king, and

1 See R. Pischel and R. F. Geldner, Vedische Studien, Stuttgart, 1858-1901, ii. 144 f.
the duty of the purohita is made out to be the defeat of the king's enemies and the securing of the prosperity of the realm. The importance of this part of the work is indicated by the fact that the gods in their struggles with the asuras repeatedly are worsted until they are able to summon to their aid Bhisapatip, who is por excellence the purohita of the gods. The Atharva-

The Brahma, is in the same manner engaged in the spell for success in battle. When a king, as often, is sent into exile by his people, it is his purohita who is expected to extricate him from his mis-

3. Upaisads, Buddhism, and Jainism.—From

the sacrifice, for Veda study, and for penance they substitute knowledge as the all-

The Brhad-

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the wise man, who has defeated the brahman, is as proved by the concurrent testimony of two texts (Taittiriya Sanhit, III. v. 2; Aitareya Brhama, vii. 26)—a fact which stands in accord with the clear indications that the ho

influence in the land. On the other hand, the priests are theosophs, and find in the sacrifice the explanation of the cause of the universe.

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then sets over against them the abiding in brāhmaṇ, which is later developed into the fourth āśrama. The Kena (33) and the Katha Upaniṣad (i, 15) are equally clear in their recognition of the value of study and asceticism, and the Kena also mentions sacrifice expressly as a condition of true knowledge. The significance of these requirements is suggested by the fact that the day of the Brāhman is set aside for asceticism and to abandon the use of sacrifice, which indeed in the Buddhist literature is regarded with much contempt, the Brāhmans were anxious to find due place and room for the different sides of human activities, even if their doctrine made it the very tendency of the community with some distinctly original features. Such a community followed the lines of the preexisting system of pupilship; a formal initiation by a priest of the order acts as a preliminary to the adoption of the life of the Jain monk, who then becomes a homeless wanderer like the Brāhman ascetic, forbidden to possess any property, and compelled to beg his food, to live on what he thus obtains, to wear at most the rags that he can gather, and to avoid dwelling long in any one place; he must be always ready to move in search of fixed dwellings, and for the rainy season, the time for fixed dwellings during the three or four months of the rainy season gave the impulse to the development of the quasi-monastic life, more or less permanent dwelling-places, though of the simplest kind, and from all appearances the first idea of laymen. But the rule of wandering is still applicable. The essential duty of the monk is meditation and spiritual exercises, life being supported by begging, but in the course of its development, the practice of Begging, as it were, has become of less importance than the devotion of effort to avoid the destruction of life, and the provision of food. Moreover, from an early date, perhaps as early as the 2nd cent. B.C., a definitely Hindu element has been introduced in the form of idol-worship, accepted by both the Svetāmbara and the Digambara sects, but rejected by the reformatory sect of the Śānakavāsī from the 15th cent. onwards. The introduction of this new element has added to the duties of the Jain monk a temple worship, consisting in the main of mental devotion and contemplation of the idol of the Tirthankāra, accompanied by the singing of hymns in his honour. There has also arisen a temple priesthood, who in the case of the Digambaras must perform the Śvetāmbara Hindu rites of washing, dressing, and adorning it, the waving of lights before it, the burning of incense, and the giving of offerings of fruit, sweetmeats, and rice. The Jain priest does not, however, eat the food thus presented, differing in this from the Brāhman priest and the Hindu temple-priest. In the temples of the Svetāmbaras men who are not Jains, even Brāhmans, may be employed. Besides the monks the Jains recognize an order of nuns, subject to the same general rules of life as the monks, and, what has been of the first importance for the preservation of the faith, orders of lay male and female adherents, brīvākas and brīvākās. This recognition gives the laity definite duties and obligations, based upon but modified from the monastic rules. The regulations of the vows undertaken by the laity are those of from time to time observing for a brief period the full restrictions incumbent on the śādhu, and of constantly helping the monks by gifts of things of food and things of utility to be had, and the lending of such articles as they may not take for their own. Probably from the first these adherents have been largely of the mercantile class—a result contributed to by the fact that the Jain restrictions on the taking of life and many avenues of profession even to the lay community (cf. art. MONASTICISM [Hindu]).

1 See K. Glaser, ZDMG lxvi. (1912) 1-37.
Tradition, probably correctly, ascribes Mahāvīra to a Kṣatriya family, and the Buddha was undoubtedly not of Brahman birth. Moreover, in the Buddhist country in which he preached there is evidence that the Brahmanical system was much less rigidly determined than in the west, and that the practice of Kṣatriyas and Vaisya-s as ascetics was far more widely spread. But the Buddha in his various acts of asceticism shows essentially from Mahāvīra in laying stress on avoiding extremes of asceticism, such as the religious suicide encouraged by Jainism; greater freedom was accorded to the monks to receive the aid of the laity, and the personal and parochial connection was made to organize the laity into a community formally dependent on the order of monks. The admission of women as a special order of nuns was only grudgingly conceded, and subjected to such restrictions that the spiritual effect of the community of nuns can hardly be discerned. But from the death of the founder there entered into the duty of the pious monk the obligation of paying reverence to the four places of special importance in his life—that where he was born, that in which he obtained enlightenment, that in which he decided to set going the wheel of the law, and that in which he entered nirvāṇa. The actual reverence of the relics of the departed Buddha was perhaps at first reserved to the lay adherents, but it passed naturally enough into that idol-worship which assimilated the worship of Buddha to that of a Hindu god. Moreover, the doctrinal development of Buddhism in the Mahāyāna school displaced the historical Buddha as the centre of Buddhism by mythological figures essentially divine.

In one important point both Buddhism and Jainism agreed—the introduction of the formal confession of sin as an essential part of the duty of the monk and in Jainism also of the laity. In both cases the fortnightly gatherings and the great yearly meeting of the monks were the specially fit occasions for the confession, but great stress was laid in Jainism on immediate confession to the guru in order to avoid by repression the accumulation of Karmas. For such systematic confession there was no place in Brahmanical philosophy and these were defined tenets, though the importance of confession for certain ritual purposes was recognized. In these formal assemblies there was the possibility of the development of an ecclesiastical organization, but it seems that even in the first age of the religion, ascetics and laity were not united in any more than Hinduism has been able to produce a regularly organized hierarchy.

The Indian ascetic, whatever his religious belief, is credited with the attainment of magical powers of every kind, and this is true of both the Jain and the Buddhist—and indeed in even a higher degree of the latter faith, for one of the four rules for monks in that belief is not to boast of the possession of such powers as they do not enjoy. This is the better side of the magical powers which ordinary Indian belief ascribes to the priest, and of which so much is made in the Brahmanical literature.

4. Early Hinduism.—The two great epics of India, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, though in conjunction with the early law-books and with the Buddhist and Jain scriptures, present us with a form of religion and custom to which the name of Hinduism can fairly be given as distinguishing it from the Mahāyāna; the development of the religion of these texts is only in part the natural development of the religion of the Brāhmaṇas; it contains many elements of faith, doubtless as old as that religion, but appealing to different sections of the people; it is essentially a more popular faith than that which was concerned with the sacrificial ritual and the speculations arising out of it. Hence the priest of the sacrificial ritual is of lesser prominence, while the purūrakas come forward. The priests of the epic may be divided into the ordinary priests, whose life is spent amid simple surroundings in the performance of their functions, and the spiritual advisers of the kings, who are often also the actual governors of the courts of their youth. The office was one which tended to be hereditary in the same degree as the monarchy, and the mere fact that a priest might be at once the guru of the king and his purūraka naturally excluded it to an extraordinary degree of the latter office. The boast of the Brāhmaṇas was that the priests are the gods on earth is repeated with increased force; the gods are made out to be dependent on the priests, who, if need be, could create new gods. The power of the king is really derived from the priests, and they have the power to destroy a king who proves unwilling to meet their demands for gifts which have now grown beyond all measure; cows and land are expected as matters of course and even villages and districts, i.e. the revenues of which were taken to keep up the activities of the people, which is a real thing in the Rigveda and still seems to have lingered on in the age of the Brāhmaṇas, disappears in the epic, passing through the form of the council of warriors and the assembly of priests, and really becomes the conclave of the king and the priest, who gradually was able to persuade the king that his advice was worth much more than that of the people or even of the warriors. Naturally enough, this view of the complicated organization for the purposes of State affairs was not accepted always by the warriors; the legends of disobedient kings like Viśvāmitra and Nāhusa show, indeed, the terrible fate of those who were bold enough to question the position of the priests, but also indicate that there were kings impious enough to doubt the all-sufficiency of the priesthood.

Naturally enough, the claims of immunity to punishment made by the priests are of the most wholesale character; even for the gravest crimes they insinuated an exemption. This is a kind of life which can be inflicted on a priest, though, as in the Brāhmaṇas, kings seem to have felt themselves entitled to punish treachery by death. In return for this privileged position, the priests were expected to know, and on this point their knowledge was complete, that of the sacred lore, of the religious and liturgical duties of the people, of the law, of the organisation of the state, of the history of the world, of the life and actions of the gods, of the various processes of creation and re-creation, down to the intricate mysteries of the oracle and the divination which was not the least important part of the priestly duties.

Thus the priestliness of the Brahman was a set of duties combined into a beautiful and harmonious whole, which was not the less complete on account of the multiplicity of the elements. There is nothing more striking than the perfect division of the whole into parts, the whole Brahman class into different sub-classes divided by occupa-
tion, though probably as yet still theoretically and in feeling one. The Buddhist texts show as Brāhmāns as agriculturists, as engaged in pastoral occupation, in trade, and in the profession of the τοιούτους (Apastamba, i. vili. 20; Gautama, viii. 11 ff.) confirm this account to the extent of permitting these occupations, in certain circumstances of

pressure, to the Brāhmāns. It is possible also that in the eastern country, such as Magadha, the Brāhmāns went farther and undertook professions of a class never approved by the stricter schools: in the Jātaka texts (iv. 361 ff.) we find suggestions that they could act as hunters, and fulfill other menial tasks, which would be alien to their proper functions, put when they occupied themselves in these unpristinely functions at the same time devoted themselves to any priestly offices, whether sacrificial or intellectual; and we may therefore see in this adoption by priests of other than their appropriate functions the beginning of the breaking up of the unity of the castes determined in the main by hereditary occupation.

The attitude of the priesthood towards the gods as depicted in the epic is what one would expect from the doctrine of the theorizing of the Brāhmaṇa period. The priests then degraded the gods from all real importance except in their con

connection with the sacrifice, and the priests of the epic have likewise no real respect for belief in the minor deities of the pantheon, and to this rank even Indra and Varuna have sunk. The great gods of the epic are in the first place Viṣṇu, and in the second place, as the result of later working over, Śiva; both these gods are of essentially popular origin, but the epic that popular worship has been overlaid by the philosophic pantheism which is most congenial to the temperament of the Brāhmaṇa. Even the devotion of the worshipper to the divinity, which was clearly prevalent in some sects, as reproduced in the epic, is overlaid with pantheistic elements.

5. Medieval and modern India.—The priest of the middle age of India as revealed in the Purāṇas and in the classical Sanskrit literature presents essentially the same features as the priest of modern times. The chief distinction between this period and the epic age is that of the growing complexity of life and the progressive Hinduization of the centre and south of India. As a result the priestly castes have split up into many other different subdivisions which in effect constitute castes within the main class, between which there is no marriage possible and sometimes not even complete freedom of intercourse and commensality. The tendency of the Brāhmāns to adopt very diverse modes of life, of which there are only traces in the earliest period, becomes more and more marked, and, combined with geographic differences, this fact has contributed to the growth in the number of the castes. Further support has been given to the development by the practice by which aboriginal deities have been taken over bodily into the Hindu pantheon, doubtless, at least in some cases, together with the priesthood attached to the deity, just as the ruling family of the tribe was split up into the rank of the Brāhmaṇa. Hence arose innumerable subdivisions among the ten great divisions into which the Brāhmāns are popularly divided—the Sīravasats, Kanyakubjas, Gūras, Utkalas, and Mahālalas north of the Vindhyas, the Banas, the Mahārajas, the Malla, the Tailāngas, the Drāvidas, the Karṇātas, and the Gauras south of that range. But of these castes many have no priestly functions at all, and have devoted themselves to occupations of the most diverse type, ranging from the learned professions to the humblest duties of agriculture, and even trade.

Even within the sphere of religion the differences between the different classes of Brāhmāns is most marked. At the lowest level stands the village-priest, who is, however, of great importance in the life of the still illiterate mass of the people. He speaks for the due performance of the religious ceremonies which make up so great a part of the life of a Hindu; at initiation, at marriage, at birth, and at death his presence is essential, even if other priests are also present. He is, therefore, as important as these functions; and in return for his services he receives a fixed allowance of grain, with special presents on important occasions. The village-purusha is often also the astrologer, who, in the performance of the temple worship, though many of the functions of that worship are performed by men of lower caste. In its normal form the ritual of a great temple is mainly centred in the ceremonial treatment of the idol of the god whose temple it is. The functions performed are chiefly the washing of the god from slumber, his dressing and anointing, bathing, anointing, and painting, and frequent feeding; the priests partake of the food, which through its consecration by the eating of it by the god is holy, and which is therefore sometimes given or sold in part to the people. Further, if the sun is born, lights are arranged, bells are rung, and flowers and other offerings as well as food are presented. During these performances Brāhmāns often recite texts taken from the holy books of the religion of the god in question, mainly, in the case of Kṛṣṇa, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, in the case of Śiva, the Linga Purāṇa, Śiva's most potent representation being in the form of a Linga. The priests, however, while they supervise and control the performance of the temple ritual, do not claim for themselves the sole power to perform the acts of which it consists. The layman, on payment of the due fees, may be permitted to perform most if not all of the acts of worship.

A great number of Brāhmāns who concern themselves with the temple worship, a far higher intellectual rank is occupied by those who are members of one of the religious schools, the abundance of which is attested throughout the period. Further, the religious and the social conditions have undergone changes in the course of time; the devo
tes of the sun, who appear to have flourished in the time of Sankara (9th cent. A.D.), have disappeared, and the Vaiśnavas have attained much greater prominence since the revival of Vaiśnavism by Rāmānādā in the 11th cent. A.D. In the Vaiśnava schools the traditional respect for the teacher, which is seen in the claim of the Brāhmāns in the Vedic age to be gods on earth, reveals itself in its highest form in the sect of Vaiśnābābārya, in which the guru is even in life treated as living embodiments of God, and receive the formal marks of respect which are accorded to the images of the god whom they serve. But, even in the sects that carry the process of dedication of the Vaiśnava sects, in which the guru is considered upon him, as he is the source from which alone the saving knowledge which will procure the heaven of bliss open to Vaiśnavas can be derived. The Sikh guru baptized the disciple and taught him the的道路 of the Sikh religion; he saved him from his own sin, and in return demanded and received the implicit obedience which raised the Sikh to so high a pitch of military power when its bent was definitely turned under Gobind to warfare with the Mahāmārs. Common again to all forms of Vaiśnavism is the stress laid on the sacramental meal, which is decidedly a development of the
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giving or selling of the sacramental food by the temple priests to outsiders, and which is the most delinite sign of the belief, more or less clearly held by the Sikhs, who are in theory opposed to idolatry, making a sacrifice, and not ultimately in accord with the principles of their faith. Both in the practice of the sacramental meal and in the respect paid to the guru there has been seen the influence of Christian doctrines, but in the latter case at least the supposition is gratuitous, the respect being a natural Indian development.\footnote{\textcite{Carhe:1914}}

The teaching of the schools is not normally antagonistic to idol-worship, which it allows as a mode of approaching the divinity; even the Sikhs, who are in theory opposed to idolatry, make a fetish of the Granth, the sacred book of their scriptures, and guard it in a shrine, paying to it the same rites as are offered to Hindu idols. There is therefore no necessary incompatibility in the combination of the duties of priest in a temple and spiritual teacher, and the two functions are sometimes united. This is essentially the case with the priests of the Tantric rite, who themselves take an active part in ecstatic ritual. The sahas, or ascetics, who undergo severe penances of all kinds in order to produce ecstatic states, and many of whom are doubtless connected in origin with the ascetics of whom we hear in the Buddhist texts. The better side of asceticism shows itself in the persistence of the practice by which, after the performance of the duties of life as a householder, in old age the Brahmans, be he priest or politician, end his days in the meditation of the sannyasin.

In one respect there is a clear distinction between modern and epic and, still more, Vedic India. The Vedic sacrifice is all but extinct at the present day, and has clearly been moribund for centuries; in its place have come the temple worship on the one hand, and the Brahmanical marriage, on the other. These festivals, such as the Makarasankranti, the Vasantapachami, the Holi, and the Dipali, are of essentially popular origin, and traces of them can be seen in the Vedic ritual, but in that ritual they have been deprived of their original nature and brought into the scheme of sacrifices performed by and for the profit of the sacrificing priests and their employers only. Doubtless outside the Brahmanical circles they persisted in their simpler form, which can often be recognized in the ceremonies of the present day, though many elements of sectarian religion have found their way into these.

A certain distinction in the religious methods adopted by the priesthood may be observed between this and the earlier periods. In place of the schools of the Brahmanical ritual, on the word and retiring from the Buddhists or the Jains, we find the wanderers of the monk of the type of Sankara, Ramanuja, and Madhava, who go here and there challenging others to discourses on the theories of the Vedanta Sutra which they have to discuss. Time to time to a monastery for study and literary composition; these are obviously in spirit and in method a natural development of the philosophers of the Upanisads, but with their intellectual and doxographical definitely by the authority of the Vedanta Sutras and of the Upanisads. A very different method of religious propaganda appears in the Tamil south, at an unceasing but certainly early date. In shape of the itinerant, devotee, and musician, who wanders hither and thither with a large retinue, singing his own compositions in the vernacular in honour of the god whose shrine he frequents; this is a type of priest corresponding to the conception of bhakti and differing entirely from the type of theologian produced by the Brahman schools, and of more popular origin. Ramananda, to whom is due the spread in N. India of the doctrine of Ramanuja and the introduction of the Vedanta philosophy, introduced the type, at once intellectual and popular, of the wandering theologian who could dispute with the most learned opponents, but was anxious to preach in their own tongue to the people and to express in vernacular verse the tenets and principles which he sought to inculcate.

An attempt to strengthen this appeal to the popular mind was made by Chaitanya at the beginning of the 16th cent. by introducing from the south its method of expressing the divine in a more popular way, by an Ave of the bhakti cults from the Buddhists or Jains. Since the beginning of the 19th cent. the influence of Christianity has produced considerable effects in the Hindu conception of priestly methods and ideals. Apart from the effects on doctrine, the general result of this influence has been, on the one hand, to create for Hindues a feeling of unity and individuality hitherto not to be discerned; there has even been created a society, the Bhara Bhuma Mahamanjha, for the defence of Hindues. It is, however, characteristic of the nature of Hindues that no effort has been made to create a controlling spiritual centre, such as would assimilate Hindueism to the great Churches of the West. On the other hand, the minor religions have some conception of church organization, and in practically all aspects of Hindues a strong impulse has been given to the priesthood to undertake the direction and support of various forms of social service.

6. Animism. The primitive tribes have from the beginning of Indian history been continually falling under the influence of the higher culture of the tribes among them, and their conceptions of priesthood have been affected by the views and practices of these tribes. There are still, however, abundant traces of a more primitive view in which the priest is mainly a medicine-man, whose strength lies in his magical powers and his ability to become the subject of divine possession. In this view the priesthood is not, as in Vedic India, a hereditary profession based on sacred learning and knowledge of tradition, but a spiritual exaltation which betrays possession by the divinity. Thus among the Kolis, when a vacancy occurs in the office of village-priest, the next holder of the religious office is deemed the heir of the itinerant or wandering-fan with some rice is used, and the person who holds it is dragged towards the man on whom the office of priest is to be conferred. A similar practice is observed among the Orangs. In N. India in the offices of demned exorcists there are others who do not learn their work from a guru, as do the professional, but are naturally inspired by a spirit. In accordance with this view is the practice of the semi-Hinduized Dravidians in the Vedd or Veddah of the worship Gansam or Raja Lakham. The shrine of the god is in charge of the village-baiga, who is
invariably selected from among some of the ruder forest tribes such as the Bihils. Much of the work of the baiga is sorely pure and simple, and for this purpose no doubt of the station a person is the best adapted, as being in closer touch with the spirits in nature. Similarly the Kurumbas in the Nilgiri Hills are employed by the Badagas, who are much above them in culture, for the sake of these men. So it is in the ordinary axe carried by the dweller in the jungle that the victim is slain at the shrine, the baiga then taking as his share the head, while the rest of the meat is consumed by the male members of the tribe. When the baiga in villages south of the Ganges desires to exorcise a disease-ghost, he attains the necessary divine possession by beating himself with the iron chain which hangs from the roof of the shrine of the village-god, and which among the Gonds is considered to be itself divine. The same principle of divine possession is exhibited in the worship of Bhivásan, the regular Gond deity, who is identified with Bhimasa, one of the Pandavas; once a year a special feast is held in his honor, at which the god is represented by a man who, after leaping frantically round, falls in a trance. In an analogous manner throughout S. India priests in fantastic attire, often with masks human or animal, dance in order to cause the entry of themselves or some divinity by whom they can predict the future for those who make inquiry. Moreover, even the sacrifices in which the priests take part in large measure are obviously mere fertility-charms, as in the case of the famous human sacrifice by the Kurds. The cult which they performed was simple in the extreme; the elaborate temples and formal worship of the Hindu gods is unknown in aboriginal religions, where the temple is often of the simplest possible formation, consisting merely of a heap of stones, while even in more advanced communities at most a small hut forms the abode of the priest of the god, who is aniconic. Of the development of higher religious conceptions among the aboriginal priesthoods we have no clear proof, as the occurrence and appearance of what may be considered higher beliefs may easily be explained by borrowing from the surrounding tribes which have fallen under Hindu influences. Among the Kurds there are priests who have not the occupation of their sacred functions; others, again, can engage in other employments, but are forbidden in any event the profession of arms, just as in theory this profession was closed to the Brahman. The Todas in the south have a celibate priesthood, but it is uncertain whether this conception is borrowed from Hinduism or is merely one instance of the superiority of the celibate for the exercise of functions connected with divinity, of which there are traces in the Vedic period itself, though the principle is not carried very far. In many cases, however, the penetration of Hindu practice goes very far; thus the out-caste tribe of the Tiyas in Malabar have since A.D. 1500 created for themselves a temple worship modelled on the ordinary Hindu type but served by non-Brahaman priests. The much older example of the same principle is probably to be seen in the growth of the Lingayāti (q.v.) sect of Saivas in S. India, whose priests, āgamas, are not Brahmanis, but may belong to any other caste. The Vedic period the chief authorities are: J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, 1, London, 1890; H. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, Berlin, 1879; A. Weber, Jacobitische suche (V. 2), 1, 1890; 2, 1891; H. Oldenberg, ZDMG ii. (1877) 297-290, Religion des Vorder-Orients, Hill-Hebrardt, Ritual-Listt., Vestische Operer und Zauber (G.TAP ii. 2), Strassburg, 1897; M. Bornfield, The Religion of the Veda, New York, 1903; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Veda Index, London, 1912; S. Lévi, La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brahmanas, Paris, 1898; P. Ottomare, L'Hist. des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde, Paris, 1866; P. Müencke, The Hindu Religion, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1806. For bibliography see H. Oldenberg, Buddha, Stuttgart, 1880; R. Fick, Die soziale Gliederung im nordostindischen Zu Buddha’s Zeit, Kid, 1917; L. de la Vallée-Poussin, Zoroaster, God and Hermit, 1895; Comparative dogmatique, Paris, 1900; for Jainism, Mrs. S. Stevenson, The Heart of Jainism, London, 1915; J. G. Bühler, On the Vedic Religion of the Brahmanas, Eng. tr., 1899; the material is dealt with by E. W. Hopkins, JASO xii. [1899] The Religions of India, London, 1891; W. W. Hunter, Religion with Aitken, London, 1898; also does A. Barth, Religions of India, Eng. tr., London, 1892; for Hinduism see also M. Monier-Williams, Religion of Hindustan; and A. F. Evers, Hinduism and Buddhism, Eng. tr., London, 1897; for the early history of the sectarian office in Iran, the animistic tribes there are important notices in W. Crooke, PB, London, 1896, and E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, Caste and Tribes of Southern India, Madras, 1900.

A. BERREDALE KEITH.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Iranian).—1. Pre-Zarathushrian times.—That the religious beliefs and practices of the Iranians before the reform of Zarathushtra necessitated and actually commanded the services of a priestly class scarcely admits of any doubt, though, in the absence of direct records, the proof of this, as of so many other facts relating to the earlier life of the Iranians, rests upon indirect evidence. In the Avesta we find that the generic term for priest is athravan, clearly derived from atervar, ‘fire’—a fact which is significant alike of the early origin and of the primary purpose of the sacred office in Iran. That reverence for fire was a marked feature of the religious life of the Iranians in the most primitive period is well established1 and, when taken in conjunction with the fact that the word atharvan in the Avesta is used to express a term among other related senses, the same connotation as the Iranian form athravan, the inference is necessarily that both the office and its Avestan name are derived from Indo-Iranian days. Moreover, although athravan, as the common appellation of the priests, suggests that they had as their chief care the maintenance and guardianship of the sacred fire, nevertheless it can hardly be supposed that even in the pre-Zarathushrian period their duties were not more extensive. The old Iranian pashane enshrined other deities among their sacred divinities2 whose cults would naturally require the mediation of priests. The cult of Haoma, to name only one, involving, as in all probability it did, in the earliest times a somewhat elaborate ritual, would afford a special opportunity for the priestly function. Furthermore, the tradition also, as reflected in Ys. ix. 1.7., lends support to this contention. In that passage the poet describes Haoma approaching Zarathushtra in the morning while he was chanting the Gathas in the presence of the sacred fire, and entreating the prophet to pray to him, to consecrate his juice for libations, and praise him as the other sages or priests were praising him. Nor can there be any doubt that prayers, invocations, and sacrifices offered to all their gods at this period were mediated by their priests.3

Regarding the organization of the priesthood and the relation of the priests to the laity and to other classes in society at that period, we have but little data from which to draw any conclusions with certainty. Although Firdausi’s attribution of the establishment of the three orders of priests, warriors, and husbandmen to Yima belongs to the sphere of legend rather than to that of history, still the division into these serious service in the development of the Iranian commonwealth. Moreover, the position of the priests at the head in every enumeration of these orders in the Avesta, suggesting the venera-

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1 See art. ALTAR (Persian), vol. i. p. 347, with the references.
2 See art. GOD (Iranian), vol. vi. p. 251.
3 Cf. Herod. i. 132.
tion in which they were held, is in perfect accord with what we know of the deep moral earnestness and marked religious susceptibilities of the ancient Iranians. The priests of Zarathushtra, like the priests of Iran, were considered as anticipating in some respects the various classes of religious officials which in the Greek world were termed dhravans. That priestly families existed at this period, who handed down to their descendants the secrets of correct sacrificing and the approved forms of invocations, may very well have been the case, though what in the nature of a close priestly caste resulted in Iran—at least during the period now considered. The high regard in which agriculture came to be held at an early period and the constant dependence of the community for its defence upon the warrior-class would in themselves militate against the development of castes in Iran. Moreover, the fact that, according to the Avesta, Zarathushtra was the first priest, warrior, and agriculturist indicates that tradition at least did not regard the gulf between those classes in the early Aryan period as impassable.

2. The Zarathushtraian reform.—In the nature of things it was very unlikely that the great spiritual movement which is associated with the name of Zarathushtra should leave the priesthood unaltered. What influence it actually proved to be, so far as it is ascertainable, must be learnt from its reflexion in the hymns, or Gāthās, of the Avesta. In these hymns the āthravans are not once named by name. In one passage, it is true, the property applies to himself another Aryan term for 'priest,' namely zaotar (Skr. hotar), which may serve to show that, however insignificant the sacerdotal element in the new movement proves to have been, he did not entirely renounce priestly functions. But the character of his reform helps to account for the recession of the āthravans into the background. It was a change in the basis truths of the religion more than in its external symbols. It was a question not of the manner of expressing their devotion to their deities, but rather of the object to whom their worship should be directed. It was a great prophetic and religious revolution, not a priestly transformation. New and more spiritual conceptions of deity were born, which were only afterwards to be clothed and wrapped up in forms of worship and ceremony. The āthravans of the old religion, at least those of them who yielded themselves to the great reform, found a place in the religious life and ministry of the new Mazdeism; for the sacred fire continued to burn and was jealously guarded during the new and more spiritual epoch, even if it found a higher meaning and significance in the reformed religion. That all the old Iranian priests did not conform, as might naturally be expected, can be proved from the frequent references to the latter opposition of the evai, waj, and evropans.

It should be observed that all that has been said so far has application, in all probability, to only eastern Iran, our knowledge of the religious institutions of the western part of the country being practically nil. On the other hand, in reference to the succeeding periods, matters are entirely reversed.


For other reasons supporting this contention see F. Spiegel, "Erzgebirge," Leipzig, 1867, pp. 87-242; also Gelger, ii. 76 ff.

See also Maclean, p. 118.

When we turn to Greek and Latin authors, the other important source for Iranian history, we find no evidence of any acquaintance whatsoever, on their part, with the priesthood under any equivalent of its Avestan name. According to all the classical writers from Herodotus to Agathias, the sacerdotal office in Iran was occupied by a tribe or caste of Medes called Magi (Ωρηστάριοι). But it is evident that the suggestion is given that any other sacerdotal class shared with them the priestly functions at that period, or that they were the heirs of an earlier order of priests. But it should be observed that these writers speak rather jealously of the priestly existences, in a purely religious rites as they existed among the Medes and Persians, or, speaking geographically, as they were found in western Iran. Furthermore, with the exception of Herodotus, the classical authors in question wrote of events and at a date posterior to the condition of things represented by the earlier part of the Avesta.

Nevertheless, an additional explanation of the difference of nomenclature in the Avesta as compared with post-Achaemenian times may be necessary when it is remembered that much of the so-called Later Avesta was written under the influence of, and probably by, the Magi themselves, and at a period contemporary with several of the Greek authors.

In this respect it is to be remembered that even in late Achaemenian times the Magi had not outlived the prejudice which had become associated with their name in the mind of Persians since the revolt of Gaumata, and hence they had a strong motive to avoid the use of the term magus under all circumstances; while the preservation of the old term ēthravan throughout the Avesta, besides being a convenient substitute for the offensive ethnic designation, may have been prompted by the desire to further establish the claim of the Magi to the succession of the ancient ēthravans in the Iranian priesthood.

That the Magi were the recognized priestly order in western Iran in the earliest Achaemenian times (and, probably, in the pre-Achaemenian days, i.e. during the ascendency of the Medes) cannot be doubted. What influence or authority they achieved and exercised later in eastern Iran as a result of the conquests of Cyrus in Babylonia we have no means of determining. From this article, therefore, magus and priest will be convertible terms,2 and Iran, in the main, coincident with Media and Persia.3

4. The organization of the Magian priests in late Avestan and post-Avestan times.—It is sufficiently established that the priesthood during this period possessed a more or less definite inner organization, though probably varying much in character and completeness at different epochs. Even in Achaemenian days the Magi seemed to have recognized a chief or head of their order, Diogenes Laertius,4 quoting Xanthus the Lydian, speaks of a long succession (βασιλεύος) of Magi between the time of Zoroaster and that of Xerxes, and names Ostanes, Astraspsychus, Gobryes, and Ninus. It is, however, certain that among the chief priests who stood at the head of the sacerdotal order during that period,5 in his succinct account of the Magi Annianus Marcel-
linus 1 says that the Magi tribe was at first a small one, and that the Persians, who were politically in a position to avail themselves of their services for the conduct of public worship, gradually increased in number and formed an exclusive class, with a special area for their dwelling-place and a proper constitution.

But the Later Avesta itself contains clear indications of the existence of a priestly organization, although there is much uncertainty as to the time to which they have reference. In Ys. i. 3–7, where the names of the gah, or divisions of the day, are mentioned, the priests probably avowed their purpose to bring offerings at each gah to a special divinity, and also to the frao-wari, or spirit of a chief or holy person. One of the priests whose spirit is invoked is the zarathushtrapatma 2, i.e. the one most like Zarathushtra, or the successor of Zarathushtra. Now, the zarathushtrapatma, as we learn from other passages, was the spiritual (and, in Raga, also the secular) head of the community, the Pahlavi commentators have inferred that the other chiefs whose frao-warishka are associated with the other gahs also represented members of the same organization. These were dagnyana, or lord of the province; zantuana, or lord of the tribe; visya, or lord of the village or clan; nemeniya, or lord of the house. The interpretation is no doubt correct, but it has no valuable purpose in that it has preserved for us some vestiges of the organization of the priesthood as it seems to have existed at least in Sassanian times. At the head, according to the tradition embodied in this interpretation of the Parsi passages, there have the zarathushtrapatma, who was a kind of supreme pontiff at Râi. Under him each satrapy or province (daggyana) had, as Darmestcter surmises, a superintendent of the cult, or andarapatma. 3

In each tribe there was a bishop — rat or ratu; in each borough (dage) a mobed or magapat. Beneath the mobeds, and yet belonging to the priestly race, were the civil judges (dâdibar, Mod. Pers. 1). We know that the priesthood underwent a thorough re-organization under the Sassanians and that at that period attained its fullest development. 4 Another classification of the priests is that of the Aerpatastdn, 5 who do not appear to have been part of the social ecclesiastical rank, but according to their functions in regard to certain parts of the Mazdaean ritual. On this basis they were divided into eight classes, and their names for the most part indicate their special functions. The zaotar (now called zot zoti) had the supremely sacred duty of reciting the Gâthas. The hâvânâmí, pressed out the juice of the haoma-plant, which was such a marked feature of the ritual in all ages. The dârevêkáhska had as his primary charge the nourishing of the sacred fire, but in addition he was responsible for the washing of three sides of the fire-alter and making the responses to the zaotar. The frâbârstrar, besides his duties of preparing and handing the utensils to the zaotar, washed the fourth side of the hearth, and to the zaotar was assigned the work of filtering and washing the haoma, while the râthwiskar made the mixture of haoma and milk. The aberet, in keeping with his name, brought the water necessary for all the priestly ceremonies. He bears also the name dânavazân. 6

The eighth was the emâdovarse, who seems to have superintended the whole ceremonies of the temple. At the present time the functions of these eight priests are all performed by only two: the zot, who has much the same functions as in earlier times (see below also), and the râpi or rathvî (Pahl. râpixpî), who is responsible for performing the devotions and charging the duties devolving upon the seven ancient assistant priests. Though taking his name from the Avestan râthiskarak, his chief functions correspond more nearly to those of the vâdâhikar 7 and adarapatma. 8

This great reduction in the personnel of the priesthood resulted, there can be little doubt, in the first instance from the Arab conquest in the 7th century. The change is reflected in the work of the Bahman Yâshd and the Dâdizâd-din, 9

5. The functions of the priesthood.—The principal functions have already been touched upon incidentally. Performing the sacrifices, so long as they were practised, 10 mediating the offerings and all public worship, constitute the most characteristic parts of the priestly duties. No sacrifice, Herodotus 11 tells us, could lawfully be made without the presence of a Mâgus. Still the extent of the priestly intervention at these sacrifices, on the one hand, and of the laymen at these and other parts of ritual, on the other, seems to have varied at different epochs in Iranian religious history. In the days of Herodotus the part of the Magus in the sacrifice was confined to merely chanting the theogony or hymn: the person who brought the sacrifice both prepared it and disposed of the flesh after the ceremony. In Strabo's days the priestly duties at such sacrifices were more extended. 12

The purification constituted another primary function of the priesthood, and formed the most fruitful source of their revenue. Duncker maintains that even the purifications could be performed by a layman. 13 It is expressly stated in the Vendidad, 14, however, that none could perform these rituals save a Mâgus, even if they had learnt the law from one of the purifiers or priests. It is scarcely probable that the priests would impart to many laymen the qualification which would enable them to share with themselves their already slender means of livelihood. It becomes more probable that the Aerpatastdn 15 that the priestly revenue did not suffice to maintain the whole of their tribe, and as a result the participation in secular pursuits was legalized. It is true, their fees were substantially augmented by what they obtained from the practice of medicine. The art of healing was a priestly function in very early times in Iran, and, if not originally, yet ultimately fixed dues were attached to such services. 16 The priesthood, as we have already stated, was intimately associated with judicial functions in the Iranian commonwealth.

13 To the Magians, Duncker says, 17 belonged the judicial power. It is quite legitimate to infer that the zarathushtrapatma's position at Râgha, referred to below, would entitle him to high legal authority among his other prerogatives. During the ascendancy of the Arsacids the Mâgi together with the members of the royal race formed the Council of the Empire, 18 and during the Sassanian period the Grand Mâgian performed the coronation of the kings.

1 xivii. 6.
2 Cf. Ys. vii. 5–9.
3 Tomb is the superlative suffix. Spiegel, ill. 602, cites Mash. masha, 'in the most perfect manner.'
4 Cf. S. XCI. 1, etc.
6 Magapat (Mod. Pers. mobed or mobudd). As meaning 'head of the priests,' 7 indicates the existence of degrees in the priestly ranks. The name does not occur in the Avesta.
7 See Duncker, p. 597.
8 Vend. v. 161.
9 See Agathias, ii. 26.
10 Duncker, p. 56.
12 Ys. vii. 13–15.
13 See Altar, (Versian), vol. 1, p. 345.
14 According to Strabo, vii. 7, 26, the children and women and children were considered eligible to assist at the ritual. See Bâyand, 1891, pp. 1144.
15 Dâbistdn-l-
17 See J. Darmesteter, Le Zoroastrisme, etc. 132.
18 See Geiger, tr. Sanskrit, i. 213–215, ii. 251.
19 Ys. vii. 6.
20 Ys. vii. 1, etc.
6. Qualifications and symbols of the priestly office.—How much or how little at different periods racial or tribal descent may have counted as afford-

ing a right to exercise the priestly functions, the primary qualifications clearly and strongly insisted

upon in the Avesta were of a moral and spiritual character. According to the Vendidad, the priest must not be a thief, a forger, a cheat, speak a lie or a little bread, and should eat what is offered to him.1

1 Call him a priest, O pure Zarathushtra, who enquires of the pure

intelligence the whole light of the wisdom which purifies

sin and makes the heart whole, when he hears the whole

light without praising, or hearing, or reciting, or learning,

or teaching—call not such an one a priest.2

The Aēρpantāśān speaks in the same tenor:

The priest, the house whereunto he is delivered to the sacred calling? He who has the greatest thirst after righteousness, that is, he who is the truest friend unto the soul whether he be

great or humble.3

Diogenes Laertius,4 after Sotion, says that the

Magi were forbidden to wear ornaments or jewel-

lery; their resting-place was the ground; vegetables,

a little cheese, and bread their food. Nevertheless they possessed certain outward sym-

bols. The first was a līna (Yavūnī or penōn), a cloth or napkin with which they covered,

and still do, the lower part of the face as they recited the Avesta and especially when tend-

ing the sacred fire, lest perchance any pollution of the fire should be imputed to them. From this, through the khrafstraghna, a leather thong or strap with which they killed insects and other unclean creatures. They also carried the uvrarna, or staff, and the astra mātrī, or knife, with which to kill snakes. But perhaps the most characteristic sym-

bol was the bersema, or borsam, a bundle of slender rods or twigs of a specially sacred tree, but now substituted by a bundle of metal wires, which are held before the face at the prayers and sacrifices (see Zarathushtra, vol. 1, p. 254, ed. Ency. 1896).

7. The priesthood in modern times.—To-day the priesthood is a hereditary privilege, though it does not seem always to have been so.6 All priests in India at the present time claim to be descended from a single priest, Mimnčihir, who came from Persia with the first settlers in the 7th century. The unity of the priesthood is a cardinal doctrine

among the Parsees. Every son of a priest, however, is not ipso facto himself a priest able and entitled to officiate. Although no consecration can make a priest, all priests must pass through a series of sym-

bolic actions to institute him into the different grades of the sacerdotal office. There is in India a preliminary function called nāzēd (really meaning 'new sazdār'), which, although not a door to any stage of actual priestly grade, is essential to every aspirant to such dignity, and by which he becomes a recognized member of the Zoroastrian church or community—a bhiđān, a status corresponding to full membership in Christian churches, or, as some of the learned Parsees, a yag se among the Jews. In Persia this ceremony is called sudrāh or kāsti dādām, i.e. the investing with the sudrāh, or sacred shirt, and kusti, or holy girdle, which are the outward and visible marks of the Zoroastrians. The term nāzēd is employed by the Zoroastrians of Persia for the ceremony termed nāzēr by the Parsees, and which is made to a mobed's son into a priest of the lower grade called

herbāt (Avestan ašiyārvarītī) and qualifies him for performing the ceremonies of the second grade. Before receiving a herbāt, and by the use of a fiber called bahrām, after which he is conducted to the temple by a dasātir and his patron, followed by his friends and other guests. He carries the gurz and garvastī, or club, a reminder of that which was in the hands of Zoroaster and his descendants, and a visible sign of the authority over the demons. The head of the assembly asks if they admit him as a candidate for the holy office, and, taking their silence for an assent, he enters the zhānān kāh, where he celebrates the kāh—i.e., he head priest, who initiates him, acting for the time being as his ridzi, or ministering priest. He performs the purification of mirang and water for four successive days, and

on the fourth day he has attained the degree of herbāt. With a rich to celebrate all the ceremonies of the khrafstraghna, the most important of the Vendidad together with that of initiating other candidates to nāzēr it is essential that he should be a mobed, or fully qualified priest. To attain the mobedship he must have passed through the ceremony called in India wadātīb (pl. of Arabic مَرْتَنَة, meaning 'grade' or 'degree'). This consists of another nine nights'

training. On the morning of the succeeding day he performs the Yasna with a fully qualified priest. On the following or second day again he performs the sacrifice of the fravashtī or that of the srosh; at midnight the Vendidad is performed and henceforth the candidate is a mobed and enti-

tiled to all the privileges of a full-fledged priest. Another frequent designation of the chief priest in India is dasātir. The name and office probably arose, as Darmesteter observes,7 after the Arab conquest of Persia. The origin of the term is not altogether clear.8 It is used in the translations to render the Avestan rātu. In the Shāh-nāmāh it sometimes denotes a high ecclesiastical functionary; at other times a minister of State. To-day in India many mobeds assume and are accorded the title of dasātir or shāh or i. But it is often more properly applied as a title of honour to a learned mobed who knows his Zend or Avestan and Fahlavi. But it specially and more correctly designates the priest attached-in-chief to a fire-temple of the highest order, i.e. an atash bahram. The office is generally hereditary, but not necessarily so, inasmuch as the patron or founder of such a temple may choose his own dasātir. See, further, artt. SACRIFICE (Iranian) and WORSHIP (Iranian).

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PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Jewish).—I. Ex-
clusiveness of the priesthood.—According to the Levitical code, the Hebrew priest is born, not

made. This principle has always been so rigor-
ously uph楼主l that the priestly office, which from the Babylonian captivity, all those who

1 Herbed did not originally designate a priest of inferior as opposed to holy, or instructor as opposed to hokhâvît, or disciple. See Spiegel, loc. cit., s.v. 4.

2 Le Zend-Avesta (= Annuaire du Musée Guimet, 21, p. lv).

3 See Spiegel, iii. 506.

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3 See Spiegel, iii. 506.
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claimed priestly rank but were unable to produce documentary evidence of their descent from Aaron were disqualified (Ezr 2: 5; Neh 7: 7). In order to safeguard the purity of the line in later generations, according to the Tosefta, the Biblical laws regulating priestly marriages were not only strictly enforced, but also strengthened in various directions. Priests were forbidden to marry a hagalah (childless widow whose husband had died childless) or a woman who had been refused permission to marry, or a woman who had spent some time in captivity, or a freed slave, or the daughter of a proselyte, unless the mother was of Jewish descent (Mishnah, Bikurim, i. 5). The high priest, it was believed, should be virginal, who, however, was allowed to be of lay origin. These restrictive regulations, added to ancestral pride, gradually converted the priestly class into an exalted theocracy which, from the nature of public affairs at the same time, formed the social aristocracy. The priestly family of the Hasmonaean acquired royal dignity. Later the high priest was the president of the Sanhedrin. Thus power, both spiritual and temporal, and wealth accumulated to a vast extent.

2. Classification.—(a) The principal duties of the priests were those connected with the sacrificial service of the Temple in Jerusalem. It was also their business to prepare and kindle the perpetual lamps. The ancient priestly calendar was based on the golden table every Sabbath. From Biblical sources we know that the number of priests had in the course of time increased to such an extent that only a limited number could be employed in the Temple at one time. At any one time the four classes mentioned by Ezra (2: 41-42; Neh 7: 42-43) numbered more than 4000 male members. It was, therefore, necessary to fix a rota of attendance, in order to give every priest an opportunity of discharging his duty at the service. For this purpose the whole priestly tribe was divided into 24 companies, probably irrespective of the 22 families mentioned in Neh 12: 37. At what time this division was first made is uncertain, but the most reliable tradition seems to be that preserved in the Tosefta (Tosaf., ii. 1; To'ah, iv. fol. 69). The effect was that the classification was undertaken by the prophets. As both Jeremiah and Ezekiel were priests, it is not unlikely that they, especially the latter, had a voice in the constitution of the priestly section taking no active part in the duties of the Temple. When the procreative work of the high priest was restricted, the high priest was required by law to deliver the priestly calendar (Talmud, Yoma, fol. 39a) records a tradition on the authority of R. Hanania, himself a sagan, that, if the high priest was suddenly disqualified from ministering on the Day of Atonement, the sagan took his place. Now this Hanania is always called 'sagan of the priests' (in plural), which cannot mean that he acted as deputy to a priest of lower rank, or to one high priest only. It seems rather that he did duty to several high priests either by fixed appointment or by re-election. It stands to reason that at a time when many high priests were ignorant or neglectful of their duties an experienced assistant had to be near at hand to prevent them from making mistakes. The frequent change of high priest was most likely of less importance as long as a tried sagan looked after the proper execution of his duties. He was probably also meant to be in constant attendance on the high priest in order to give greater dignity and importance to his office. According to the Mishnah (Talmud, Yoma, vii. 3), one of his duties was to assist the high priest whenever the latter ascended the staircase to burn the perfumes. Then he took the flags and gave the Levites the signal to start singing. (b) High priest. —The office of the high priest is characterised by the privilege of being the spiritual head of the people, but since the period of the Hasmonaean he added the regal crown to the ecclesiastical mitre. His participation in the sacrificial duties during the year was left to his discretion, but he was supposed to act as offering priest on the Day of Atonement. There is no reason to assume that even on this day he nominated any other priest for his work, as otherwise the Mishnah would have had no cause to describe the preparations which began a week beforehand, when he had to make himself familiar with the details of his task for the holy day. Even an emergency was appointed for the event of his wife's sudden death. His evening meal was always a celebratory meal, with a table representing the description of office-holder rather than a fixed title.

(b) 'Amarkelihm.—Of somewhat higher status seem to have been the seven 'amarkelihm (Shek. v. 2; Tos. tb. 15). The exact meaning of the word is doubtful, but it seems that they were the keepers of the keys to the sanctuary itself. The Targum uses the term for the translation of the 'keepers of the door' in 2 K 12: 2 and similar passages. The Tosefta remarks that all seven 'amarkelihm had to be present when the door was opened on the Day of Atonement, although the high priest had a different key, so that the door to the Temple could never be opened without a certain amount of publicity, strict control being kept over every one who wished to enter. As the word is also employed in the Talmud for high priestly officials, it does not really describe any priestly function, although the offices who bore this title were priests. Together with the 'amarkelihm are mentioned three meziborim, or treasurers, who were responsible for the golden vessels and the Temple funds.

(c) Sagan.—One of the highest offices was that of the sagan, commonly believed to have been the high priest's lieutenant. Here, however, it should be noted that the Mishnah (Yoma, i. 1), when speaking of the appointment of a deputy priest for the Day of Atonement, does not use the term sagan, but simply says 'another priest.' Other passages (Yoma, vii. 1; Sotah, vii. 7) also have in common with the Mishnah, sagan.
in the person of Ecclesiasticius (ch. 50). Poetic
descriptions by various authors form an integral
part of the present liturgy for the Day of
Atonement.

3. Rules for the priesthood.—There was one
condition which all priests, high or low, had to
fulfil, viz., they must be free from bodily defects,
and the rules were as elaborate as their enforce-
ment was strict. It made no difference whether
the blemishes were chronic or temporary (Mishn.
Bokhóroth, vii.). The Mishnah even forbade a
priest whose hands were stained with dye to pro-
nounce the blessing over the people (Megillah,
vv. 8-18). A careful compilation of the sacrifices
(vis. Halakhah, viii. 1-17). The Mishnah dis-
allowed the sacrifice of an animal which was
attached to a votive offering (ibid., vii.). Hence
there was a considerable interval between the
layman and the high priest (Josephus, Ant.
xxii. 8, 10). A priest was forbidden to partake of
alcoholic drinks or any intoxicating drinks, but
he was allowed to partake of wine. The Talmud
holds that the public and the priest were allowed
to partake in the wine at the Feast of Tabernacles,
but the priest was debarred from eating any of
the fruits, vegetables, and meat of the altar during
the week. The Mishnah (Bikkurim, iii.) gives an
account of the cutting and conveying the first-
fruits to the Temple. Rich and poor joined in the
festival procession, every one carrying his basket,
and even the king, probably Agrippa I., handing
his gift of first-fruits to the high priest, while
reciting the prayer prescribed in Deut. 26:10-11.

The revenue of the high priest was placed on a
different level. His position demanded that he
should be wealthy. If he came from a poor family, it
was the duty of his brother priests to make him rich.
Josephus (Ant. xxii. viii. 8, 10) speaks of the
violent conduct of some high priests who sent their
servants into the threshing floors of the people to
take away the tithes so that their poorer brethren
were reduced to beggary. They acted under well
considered names, but attests this remark to the par-

aphrase in which he tells of the appointment of
Ismael b. Phabi as high priest. This, however,
is the priest of whom the Mishnah (Sukkah, ix. 15)
speaks when it states that he was the last priest
to come to an end. It is therefore probable that the
censure of Josephus (who was himself a priest)
was meant for Ismael's predecessor, the avaricious
Amanias, son of Nebuchadnezzar, who was removed
from office, and hence, no doubt, met with a violent
death at the hands of the people.

5. High priest's legal status.—Notwithstanding
his exalted position, the high priest did not stand
above the law, at least in theory. Both the
Mishnah and Tosefta point out that, in the event
of his committing breaches of the religious or
moral laws, he was liable to be called before the
court. No such case is recorded in the sources.
High priests were occasionally removed from office,
but for personal and political motives rather than
for religious reasons. For example, in the case of
the traditional teaching the people acted inde-
pendently. The Mishnah (Sukkah, iv. 9) relates
that one high priest (whose name is not given) who
endeavoured to introduce Sadducean practices
among the Jews was deposed by his fellow priests.
The Feast of Tabernacles was done to death by the
people, who pelted him with their citrons.

6. Decline of the priesthood.—The destruction
of the Temple by the Romans not only put an end
to the sacerdotal service, but also deprived the
priests of their chief source of income. Although
the laws connected with land-tenure remained in
force, the Jewish population was so reduced in
numbers and so impoverished that their tithes and
gifts could not have amounted to much. The
priests living in the Diaspora were reduced to
a number of empty privileges, and only the redemp-
tion of first-born sons, which is practised to this
day, preserved a remnant of monetary gift due to
them. In the storm and stress of the times the
real control of priestly pedigrees has been irretriev-
ably lost, and is replaced by family tradition.
Certain family-names, some of them being of considerable age and literary renown, carry an
indication of the anachronistic dignity with them.
In modern times the claim of priest-
hood has lost its title to social distinction.
The religious duties of priests are limited to pronounc-
ing the blessing (Nn 62a-62b) over the people during
the public worship on festival days. The ancient
rules of disqualification are still in force, with
the exception of the preservation of Levitical cleanli-

ness, since the means of re-establishing the same no longer exists, and are merely intimated by the ceremony of washing of hands with the assistance of Levites. The prohibition of coming in contact with a dead person or a grave, with the exceptions mentioned above, was a wise safeguard. The
till is still one privilege specified in the Mishnáh (Horayóth, iii. 8) to be mentioned, viz., the
ceremony of the prece
dence over a Levite or an ordinary
Israelite in every religious ceremony, especially in the ordinarycases of sin, called the 
learning of the lessons from the Ponte
tech in public worship.

The same paragraph goes up to contemplate those high priests who held office not by virtue of learning
and piety, but from worldly motives. It places them beneath the moñier in the Rabbinical
sense (Mishnáh, Véhámóth, iv. 18). The historical background of this is undoubted.

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PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Mexican).—In ancient Mexico the priestly office had arrived at
a condition of high complexity, the various grades
of the priesthood being sharply differentiated.
At first the priest was merely the tribal medicine-
man, and in nomadic times had charge of the tribal
god, the image of which he carried from place to
place. The temporal and religious authorities were
never quite distinct, the tlatoani, or king,
being necessarily a man conversant with hiero-
phantic as well as military practice. In
the Mexican hierarchy proper, as apart from those
of the surrounding and subject peoples, were two
chief priests, each of whom was entitled Quetzal-
cuauh, (the image of the god who was the founder
of religious orders), but who were distinguished
from one another by the titles of totoe tlamacazqui
and toloco tlamacazqui, and who were respectively
the leaders of those castes which especially served the
god during the various seasons. These priests
were equal in grade and held their positions in
virtue of their piety and general fitness. Occupy-
ing a lower rank was the mexecítl teohuatzin, head
of the calmcacs, or priestly college, and interpreter of
rationalistic difficulties, in which duties he was
assisted by the huitznaué teohuatzin and
the tepan teohuatzin, the latter being executive educa-
tional officer. The rank and file of the priesthood
consisted of two grades—the tlakamaneces, or upper
grade, and the tlamacazqui. Beneath these were
the tlamacaston, or neophytes. The first grade
included many special functionaries who served
various deities or performed definite rites.

The costume of the priest in general con-
sisted of a simple tunic, the face being painted
black, relieved, in some cases, with yellow designs.
The hair was allowed to grow long, and the ears
were torn and ragged from the practice of peniten-
tial blood-letting. The priest who performed the
act of human sacrifice was garbed in red.

The names of the Mexican priesthood were
numerous; and, besides sacrifice, the care of the
temples, and ritualistic labours, they were employed in
astrological observation and divination. The
amamaorí, a special class, were engaged in the
preparation of the sacred drinks, the cholultuca,
Mexicans as written records; and others were
employed as singers and dancers. Ritual practice, how-
ever, occupied most of their time, especially in-
cense-burning, which was performed several times a
day. The education and preparation of a priest were
severe. The neophyte commenced his priestly life
at about the age of seven by sweeping the temple
buildings and preparing the body-paint for the
priests from pine-wood, gathering the leaves of
the adobe building bricks. Later he made night pilgrimages to a holy moun-
tain in the vicinity as a test of austerity.

The Mexican priests were, however, above all,
diviners, and their practice in this respect
was almost universal. From the source
of their knowledge is derived the
basis of their calculations was the astronomical
calendar known as the Tonalamalt ('Book of
Days'), from which they cast horoscopes and fore-
told lucky days and seasons (see DIVINATION
[American], CALENDAR [Mexican]).

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LEWIS SPENCE.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Muhammadan).—In the Muhammadan system there is properly no caste,
class, or division of the community according to
religious rites; when these were at first performed in public, the leader was properly
the chief of the community, and the name imám, 'leader in prayer,' is therefore used for 'sovereign,'
'chief authority,' and the like. Taking the lead
in the religious service of the mosque was there-
fore the duty of the sovereign in the capital and
of his representative in the provinces; but in
'Abbasid times we find the ālāt, or 'public
prayer,' occasionally separated from the governor-
ship and combined with another office—the
decision (Talabari, Chronique, Paris, 1867—74, iii.
378 [anno 155], 458 [anno 1563]) or the headship of
police (ib. iii. 469 [anno 1569]). As mosques
brought it became customary to make provision
for an imám, and, if there was a Friday sermon, for a
khatib ('preacher'). Such a man was supposed to
be of good character (Aghání, Búlaq, 1865, xvii.
11), and of course had to possess sufficient
learning to discharge his functions.

The legal aspect of the matter is treated by
M. de Jacob, Constatiation Politique (ed. M. Enger,
Bonn, 1853, pp. 175-185). A distinction is there
made between royal and civil mosques; in the
former the minister must normally be appointed by
the sovereign, in the latter by the congregation;
if there are more than one candidate, a majority
are to appoint; if votes are equal, the sovereign
is to do so. The founder of a mosque has not the
right to lead prayer in it himself, but on this point
there is a difference of opinion. Prayer may not
be led by a Roman, if there are any men in the
congregation.

D. S. MAEGOLOUTH.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Roman).—Under the old Roman monarchial system the office of king
included religious functions as well as political functions; the

priest—was both king and priest. But on the establish-
ment of the Republic a line of cleavage was
drawn, and, although religion remained a branch
of the general State administration, all its technical
phases were assigned to the pontifical organization.
The elevation of the priestly colleges to the secular
authorities was one of the characteristic features
of Roman religion. The powers of the priests
were not so much those of the Senate and the
magistrates, but were subordinated to the duties of their
office without special instructions, but, when unusual
circumstances arose, it was only at the command
of the State authorities that they became active.

Neither pontifices nor lares capices took measures in
PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Roman)

regard to prodigies until the senate had ordered them to do so; the quindecimviri were not permitted to inspect the Sibylline books except at the express command of the senate.

Of the numerous priestly organizations (sacerdocii) publica pontificia Romanorum (the college of special importance (sacerdotium quattuor et amplissima collegii): the pontifices, the augures, the commission in charge of the Sibylline books and of all ceremonies conducted "ritu Graeco" (quindecimviri sacris foedantia), and the colleges which supervised the sacred banquets and the epulones. Next to these in rank came the priestly sodalitates: the fetiales, the sodales Titii, the sodales of the divi imperatores (modelled on the sodales Titii), the Salii, and the fratres Arvaliae. There is evidence that the rank of the fetiales and of the sodales Augustales approached very closely that of the four great colleges; of the relative ranking of the Arvaliae, Titii, and Salii we have no definite indication. The runners of the Lupercales (the Luperci) were inferior to the others. The sodales Augustales were founded A.D. 14; but all the other priestages mentioned, with the exception of the septemviri epulones, go back to the regal period. This fact is significant of the centralizing tendency of the Roman national religion. Moreover, the septemviri epulones were organized (106 B.C.) merely for the purpose of relieving the pontifices of one of their functions; the priesthood did not represent any new religious ideas. There were, however, two minor priestly organizations during the Republican period to take care of the rites of some god or gods belonging to communities which the Romans had assimilated (sacerdotes Lanuvini, sacerdotes Tusculani, etc.). The Greek and Oriental cults introduced during the Republic and the Empire brought their own priestages in addition. The qualifications for membership in any of the priestages were free birth, Roman citizenship, an unblemished civil record, and a physique free from infirmities. Originally, with the exception of the quindecimviri, all the old priestages were limited to the patricians. But in the course of time this exclusiveness passed away, except in the case of the rex sacrorum, the Salii, the three great flamines, and later the flamines of the deified emperors. By the latter time the pontifices were freely chosen; in the colleges of the pontifices and the augures respectively were reserved for the plebeians, while the four others were open to both orders. Wiseman suggests that in all probability it was the lex Domitia passed by the other priestages also. From the beginning of the Empire a new classification prevailed: senatorial and equestrian priestages. To the former belonged the four great colleges, the sodales of the divi imperatores, sodales Titii, fetiales, fratres Arvalae, and Salii; to the latter the Luperci, the minor flamines, the minor pontifices, and the sacerdotes Tusculani, Lanuvini, etc.

The extent to which the accumulation of priestages on the hands of one man was customary varied with the kind of priest and with the period. As regards the combination of two of the four great priestages, we find examples in the earlier Republican period, but not in the later until the time of Cesar, who was both pontifex maximus and rex sacrorum. The two priesthoods of this class did not become common till the 3rd and 4th centuries, except in the case of the emperors and other members of the imperial family. There was less objection to the combination of one of the great priestages with one or more of the sodalitates, and many examples occur. The Salii, however, could not hold any other priesthood. If they joined another, they ceased antonomastically to be Salii. Whether a flamens Dia was allowed to hold any other priestages was doubtful.

Priests were allowed to hold civil and military offices. This probably was not intended in the readjustment of civil and religious offices that took place after the expulsion of the kings, but perhaps it became the regular practice. There were, however, exceptions. The pontifices could not hold any civil or military office, and the flamens Dia was virtually prevented from doing so by the numerous tabus which hampered his actions.

In the early Republican period the usual method of choosing members in the priestly colleges and sodalitates was that of co-optation, but in the year 103 B.C. the lex Domitia was passed, by which vacancies in the four great colleges were filled by election at the comitia sacrorum, which consisted of seven hundred men (a minority) of the tribes chosen by lot. The nominations to the sacerdotal comitia were made by the respective colleges, which after the election went through the form of co-optation. In the case of the sodalitates the old system of composition was retained.

Under the Empire the influence of the emperor in the appointments both to colleges and to sodalitates was almost unlimited. Appointment to a priesthood was generally for life. The Vestals and the Salii were exceptions.

The priests were provided by the State with funds for the maintenance of the various cults and for the performance of the duties of their office, and with attendants and slaves (opportores, licentiae, viduaria, servii publici). Some of them were familiar with their religious function and possessed the sacrorum and the Vestals. They had the privilege of wearing the toga praetexta, and, if they cared to take advantage of it, exemption from civil and military duties (exactio militiae numerumque publicis).

1. Collegium pontificum. — (a) Pontifices. — While the old derivation of pontifex from pons and facere is probably sound, it is not possible, with the data available, to determine precisely the original significance of the term. It is not even known positively whether it could originally be used for a bridge-builder. Some scholars once more tend to interpret the word in that way, finding an explanation in those religious associations of bridge-building which are known to have existed in ancient times. The priesthood was not confined to one person but existed also if necessary in places in Latin — e.g., Praeneste and Tibur. According to the tradition, the pontifices were originally five in number. Including the king, however, who doubtless performed the functions which under the Republic fell to the pontifex maximus, there were six. Subsequently the number was increased to nine (300 B.C.), and later by Sulla to fifteen.

With the pontifices were closely connected certain other priests or priestesses: the rex sacrorum, the flamens Dia, and the flamines Dia. Some interpreters see in the association that from the beginning of the Republic all these were regarded as belonging to the college of pontifices. Towards the close of the Republic the pontifices minores were also members of the college of pontifices. Or at least their places were called pontifices.

The pontifex maximus was the president of the college and represented its authority. But it is a mistake to suppose that the other pontifices consti-

1 See Indexes to CIL xiv.
2 The title of pontifex was applied to the regular pontifices only towards the end of the 3rd cent. after Christ. The title was used to distinguish them, not from the pontifices ministri, but from the pontifices sacri, the priesthood founded by the emperor Aurelian to supervise the worship of his sun-god.
PRIST, PRIESTHOOD (Roman)

The pontifices were an advisory body. A question submitted to the Senate was discussed by the whole College, and the opinion of the majority prevailed, even if the pontifex maximus held a different view. But along many lines he could act without reference to them. In the earlier period especially, his power was very great; e.g., he originally appointed the rex sacrorum, the flamines, and the Vestals, even against the wishes of the appointees. Later this power seems to have been modified, and in the time of Augustus (Livy, xxxv. 13), the priestly functions of the so-called flamines maiores (Tac. Ann. iv. 16) he made appointments from a list of candidates nominated probably by the college, while Vestals were chosen by lot from a list of twenty whom he nominated (Aug. Gell. i. xii. 11). He had also the power to punish these priests: the rex and the flamines he could fine, and under some circumstances dismiss from office; in the case of the Vestals he had the right of corporal punishment, and originally of inflicting the death penalty.

It was the duty of the pontifices to conserve the body of Roman religious traditions. They were primarily theologians, professors of sacred law. They were the final authority on all questions pertaining to the old Roman religious laws and on the proper course of maintaining satisfactory relations with them. It was a fundamental belief in Roman religion that a benevolent attitude on the part of the gods could be secured only by scrupulous attention to all the minutiae of ritual. With these minutiae the pontifices were familiar. They knew not only the names of the gods, but also their attributes and the formulae by which they should be addressed. They were consulted not only by the magistrates in regard to matters which concerned the State, but also by private citizens who found themselves under the stress of some religious problem.

They were not, however, merely authorities on sacred law. They themselves took an active part in religious services, and their sacral obligations are clearly indicated by the insignia of their office, which include the bowl for libations (stipulum), the sacrificial knife (secepsita), and the ax (securia). It was, moreover, with special reference to their duties as priests of the gods that, in the earlier period, they were subject to tabus similar to those which persisted with so much more rigour in the case of the flamen Dialis: they could then not look at a corpse or mount a horse. The pontifex maximus in particular was not permitted to absent himself from Rome, or at any rate from Italy, for a period of any length. They officiated at the most important ceremonies in the public worship of Vesta and the penates as well as at those of the Capitoline triad, for with these cults, which embodied some of the oldest and most sacred of Roman religious ideas, they, members of the College, were chargeable with the supervision of the sacred temples, which were open to private citizens as well as to magistrates and the body of the Senate. The pontifex, by act of the Senate (devotio), was constituted the greatest religious client of the city. The pontifex, in a word, was the highest religious official of the city, and his actions and decisions were of the highest importance to the city at large.

When Augustus became pontifex maximus (12 B.C.), he built a temple of Vesta close to his own residence on the Palatine, and the College of the Pontifical priests was equal in the sanctity of its appointment. This appointment was made by the pontifex maximus, after consultation with the Senate and other pontifices, elected or nominated by the pontifex at large, and it is clear that the pontifex, as a member of the College and by the nature of its office, was in possession of the temple of Vesta, and that the pontifex, by act of the College and by his own personal initiative, could nominate the Vestal priestesses (psedepus in Capitoilo), till in the year 106 B.C. his function was transferred to the college of the flamen. Furthermore, the pontifices officiated at the ceremonies held in connexion with cults which, though recognized by the State, were not provided with special priests. And it was they who, in order to prevent the complete disappearance of the worship of certain ancient divinities like Angerona, Carna, Acca Larentina, and others who were fading from memory in the course of human life, made annual stipends and sacrifices in their honour. Moreover, they were in charge of certain ceremonies belonging to the category of histrionica, as, e.g., the Forficidae on 16th April. They also took part in the preparation of the ludi xxv (in March and May).

On all these occasions the pontifices either officiated in person or were represented by subordinate priests. But there were many important ceremonies in which they participated merely as the advisers or assistants of the magistrates—e.g., when vows were made on the outbreak of a pestilence or at the beginning of a war, or on the occasion of the annual vows on 1st Jan., which were pronounced by the consul or other magistrate, and which were continued by the pontifex maximus. When relations with the gods were endangered by a flaw in a ceremony, the pontifices were consulted and charged with the supervision of appropriate expiatory rites; when a prodigy was announced (monstrum), they were charged with the task of determining that body consulted the pontifices, who gave their opinion as to the best methods of placating the gods of whose anger the prodigy was regarded as a manifestation. At a comparatively early date, however, the pontifices were given the exclusive management of the care of the prodigies to the haruspices or to the priests in charge of the Sibylline oracles, reserving for themselves the expiation of certain others only (e.g., showers of stones, speaking oxen, etc.), in regard to which the efficacy of their methods was recognized and approved by the Senate. Moreover, the ceremony of consecration (consacratio) was performed by the pontifices; e.g., a new temple or altar was dedicated by the magistrate who had vowed it, or, if he was no longer in office, by a committee appointed for the purpose (duoviri ad dedicanda), but was consecrated by the pontifices. By the act of dedication the magistrate gave it up to the god; by the consecration the pontifex maximus or one of his colleagues declared it to be the property of the State, and in the process usually another god also belonged the act of consacratio capitis et honorum. A husband who had sold his wife, a son who had killed his father, or some other equally reprehensible offender could, after adequate investigation, be expressly consigned to the pontifex to this or that divinity or group of divinities (Sacer esto); and one who had been pronounced sacer could be killed with impunity by any one of those whom his crime had injured. In historical times, however, the punishmer of one upon whom the sentence of 'Sacer esto' had been passed was left to the tribunes. Another ceremony in which the participation of the pontifices was indispensable was that known as devotion (devotion). The words in which the commander of an army, in the presence of the Senate, promised allegiance to the Roman State, was the act of devotion (devotio). The pontifex, by the act of devotion, transferred the soldiers of the army to the care of the pontifex and the Senate, who were responsible for the safety of the army, and who were also responsible for the direction of its religious policy. The pontifex was therefore the only person with the power to demand the discharge of any soldier who had been guilty of a religious offense. This power was exercised with great severity, and was a powerful check on the activities of any person who might wish to make use of the army for political purposes.

1 Livy, iv. xlvii., l: 'Dictator, praeseunte A. Cornelio pontifex maximus... ludos voxit;' livy, xxvii. ii. 8; 'id votum in haec verba, praeseunte P. Licinio pontifex maximus, consul munificiav.'
the proper observance of the festivals—a duty which was incumbent on them as the representatives of the rights of the gods—they had charge of the intercalations, and there is evidence that they sometimes manipulated them to further the aims of political parties or patrons.

In the early period of Roman society law and religion were inextricably intermingled, and so we find that the pontifices were authoritaries in the former as well as in the latter field. Even in later times, when the legal system had attained to independent development, the pontifices still retained functions that belonged to the sphere of law—e.g., their participation in the marriage rite of conferratio, in the kind of adoption known as arrogatio, and in the making of vows, as well as their control of burial, of sepulchres, and of the whole cult of the manes. In the case of an arrogation or the making of a will they convoked the people in the comitia calata in order to secure their approval of the act.

The archives of the college were in the regia. These included the formulæ which had to be used in appealing to the gods (indigitationes [q.v.]); the forms for vows, dedications, etc.; the directions for the observance of the festivals of Roman origin connected with sacrifices; the necessary instructions for the performance of expiatory rites, or, where the offence could not be expiated, for the infliction of the penalty; the calendar (fasti); and the annual transcriptions of the registers (anales maximi), which, on account of the connexion of the pontifices with the political administration of the country, became so important an element in Roman historiography. But the archives contained other documents of even greater importance, namely the laws, in the form from other sources formulated on questions submitted to them by magistrates or by the senate. These decrees dealt with the new problems which were constantly arising in regard to vows, dedications, sacred sites, festivals, the cult of the manes, and other phases of Roman religion which fell within the scope of the activity of the pontifices. These decrees formed a growing body of pontifical law.

(b) Rex sacrorum.—On the establishment of the Roughs in the religious life of the kingdom devolved upon the pontifex maximus, some of them were assigned to a priest whose office was instituted at that time, and who was given the name of rex sacrorum.1 While the office, as we see, was not an office of great dignity, it was vastly inferior to that of the pontifex maximus in power and influence. The rex could not hold any political office, and it is clear that appointment to the office was regarded as equivalent to political extinction. The incumbent was honorably but effectively shelled for the rest of his life.

He officiated at the rogatio, the ceremony held in the comitia on 24th Feb.; and the calendars show the notation Q.R.C.F. (quando rex consuetudinavit, fas) on 24th March and 24th May.

At the rogatio the rex sacrificed a victim as a sin-offering, and immediately after the sacrifice took to flight, apparently with the idea of escaping the taint.2 The old explanation, by which the manner of flight referred the expulsion of the kings, is wholly without foundation. Equally unsatisfactory is the explanation usually given in regard to the functions of the rex on 24th March and 24th May. It is generally said that these two days were the limits of the time within which priests might sacrifice rex sacrorum, flamen Diais, flamen Martialis, and flamen Quirinalis, and that the pontifices were always patricians. This true of the flamines maiores also in early times, but later this office became plebeian. Under the Empire flamines maiores were frequently members of the equestrian order.

In regard to the flamen Diasis we are reasonably well informed. He was chosen by the pontifex maximus out of three candidates, nominated by the college of pontifices, only those born of parents married by conferratio, and themselves married by that rite, being eligible. He had many prerogatives (the right of the toga pretexta, of the sella curulis, and the services of a lictor and herald), but was subject to galling restrictions and a long list of taboos. Although in the old list of priests his title appears before that of the pontifex maximus, and he had precedence over him at the prietely banquet, he was, so far as all the duties of his office were concerned, completely under his control. In the early period, he had become a powerful figure in Rome, and even in later times his absence from the city was limited to two and afterwards to three nights. From the year 200 B.C. he was eligible for political office, but the rule that required his continuance in the presence of the pontifex maximus prevented his occupying any office which required residence in the provinces.

1 Pauth-Wissowa, L.D.
2 The derivation is uncertain. It has been connected with farre, from kindling the altar fire; Marquardt, with fragare, flamma (Curtius, Cursen, Usener); with the Skr. brahman, 'priest' (Meyer).

3 This is the form of the title attested by inscriptions. Latin authors use rex sacrificatoris frequently. Livy, xx, xxxiv, 12, has rex sacrificatorum.
4 Cf. the pontifilia (6th July), where, from a similar motive, the people fled from a sin-offering.
The numerous tabns by which he was bound show the degree of sanctity associated with his office. He could not touch, approach, or name any object or animal with which contact in Roman religion was connected. The presence of uncleanness was associated: a corpse, a tiber, raw meat, beans, a dog, a goat, etc. He could not stand near or cross the sound of flutes played at a funeral. In a word, he was excluded from every possible contact with death or with anything connected with pollution.

Moreover, there was another series of tabns, which, while indicating the freedom of the flamen from the usual ties of human society, went still further to the point to which he belonged to his god. He could not come in contact with anything that was tied or knotted, or anything that had been placed under a ban, or which was considered as sacred, or anything which the flamen was particularly enjoined not to touch, such as safety pins (siductus), or some other device lacking continuity. He had to shave his head, and the ends of his hair were laid down on the altar of Jupiter. He could not walk on wood or on the choral floor of the temple, neither could he cut his nails, nor were he allowed to sit down on any piece of wood. He could be shaved only with a bronze razor. Furthermore, for him every day was a holy day, and he was not permitted to see any kind of work. On his walks an attendant always preceded him to warn workmen to desist from their labours while he was passing.

One of the chief duties of the flamen Dialis was to officiate at the sacrifice of a sheep to Jupiter at the 15th of each month (caput). He himself led the entrails of the victim on the altar fire. He officiated at the sacrifice of a lamb to the same god at the beginning of the vintage. His services, however, were not confined for the time being to the performance of these acts, but he was also required to assist in the sacrifices performed in temples and the shrines connected with the temple of Jupiter, the 100 flamines (flamines coelestes or merely flamines) participated in the sacred duties of his office. He was not the priestess of the temple, as is properly understood, but a subordinate, being appointed to the office. It was supposed that he was the most acceptable model for the teaching of young men in the profession of their art, and as such, he was charged with the instruction of the 100 flamines who were under his direction. The duties of the flamen Dialis included also the care of the temple, the distribution of the religious offices, and the preparation of the sacrifices.

The flamines of the deified emperors (flamines divorum) also were attached more or less loosely to the college of pontifices. Down to the 3rd cent., a flamen was appointed for every emperor enrolled among the gods.

There were other flamines in Rome, who were not connected with the college of pontifices—e.g., the fratre Arvalis had a flamen (flamen Arvalis), and so too had each of the curiae of the city (flamen curiae).

The wife of the flamen Dialis (flaminica Dialis or merely flaminica) participated in the sacred duties of his office. She was not the priestess of the temple, as is properly understood, but a subordinate, being appointed to the office. It was supposed that she was the most acceptable model for the teaching of young women in the profession of their art, and as such, she was charged with the instruction of the 100 flaminices who were under her direction. The duties of the flaminica Dialis included also the care of the temple, the distribution of the religious offices, and the preparation of the sacrifices.

(d) Virgines Vestales.—The Vestal virgins, six in number, were attached to the public cult of Vesta. They were chosen by lot out of a list of twenty, enrolled by the pontifex maximus. At first they were drawn from patrician families, but later the daughters of plebeian houses were eligible, and under the Empire we hear of daughters of freedmen being admitted. Only those whose parents, both living were eligible. A candidate who had been chosen was formally accepted by the pontifex maximus. She was then conducted to the house of the Vestals (atrium Vesta); her hair was cut off and hung on a lotus-tree, and she was provided with a mat. She was from six to ten years of age when she entered, and the term of service was thirty years. After its completion she was at liberty to leave the order and marry. The thirty years of service were divided into three decade, in the first of which the youngest lived in the temple of Vesta, and in the third instructed the virgines. The eldest Vestal was the head of the order (virgo Vestalis maxima).

Like many others, the cult of Vesta, goddess of the earth-born, had begun in the family, and had subsequently become a State-cult also. It was the duty of the priestesses to keep up the sacred fire. Once a year only was it allowed to go out and be rekindled (1st March). If it went out at any time assumed the garb of the order. She was from to seven to ten years of age when she entered, and the term of service was thirty years. After its completion she was at liberty to leave the order and marry. The thirty years of service were divided into three decades, in the first of which the youngest lived in the temple of Vesta, and in the third instructed the novices. The eldest Vestal was the head of the order (virgo Vestalis maxima).

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some pertaining to ceremonies not primarily or definitely belonging to that goddess. Chief among the former was the festival of Vesta on 9th June (Vestalia). At this season (from 7th to 14th June) the Vestal VIRGINS, as their number could then, under the imperial bare feet thonged to the temple to ask a blessing on their households; offerings of food were sent to the temple; offerings of sacred salt-cakes (mola salae) were made by the Vestals; the millers and bakers of CARTHAGE and TARRACCA brought the bread and millstones adorned with garlands. On 15th June the temple was cleansed. In regard to the activities of the Vestals that seem to be outside the cult of Vesta proper it may be pointed out that it was they who kept the blood of the October horse and the ashes of the unbom calves sacrificed at the Pordicitia, giving them to the people for use in the ceremonies of libation held on the occasion of the Parilia (21st April). They were present at the sacrifice of the sheep to Jupiter on the Ides of each month. On 15th Feb. they provided the mola salae used at the Lupercalia. On 1st May they offered prayers to the Bona Dea. On 15th May they took part in the ceremonies of the Areii. On 21st Aug. they paraded in the Porta Capena; on 25th Aug. they, together with the pontifex major, undertook the secret sacrifice to Ops Consiva in the regia. Fowler (Roman Festivals, p. 149 ff.) has pointed out the connexion between these ceremonies and the food-supply, with which the Vestals from the earliest times were closely associated.

The Vestals enjoyed many privileges. A Victori attended them when they went out on the street, and even the highest magistrates had to make way for them; on certain occasions they could use a carriage in the streets of the city. It was pointed out to him by way of exhortation to himself to execution caught a glimpse of them, he could not be put to death; places of special honour were reserved for them at the public games; they could be buried within the city. But, on the other hand, the life was an exacting one. They were subject to discipline at the hands of the pontifex maximus, who could have them beaten for any negligence in their religious duties. It was he too who, in case of violation of the vow of chastity by any member of the order, pronounced the sentence of death. Hence, it should be noted that the response of the augures did not carry with it the annulment of the act. This took place only as the result of a senatus consultum, although the latter was based on the reply of the college. We do not know that the senate invariably followed the recommendation of the college, but it is certain that they generally did so.

A preliminary to the taking of the auspices was the marking off of the templum or place of observation. Then the magistrate, after announcing the moment (time, the legs were placed, the incantation, or his observation of the signs), stationed himself at that point of the templum prescribed by augural law, and, addressing Jupiter or other gods, asked for a certain, definitely specified sign or signs of auspices. The divine order was that the magistrates that were specifically asked for were called auguria or signa imprecativa, while signs that appeared without being asked for were known as signa oblativa. Quite apart from this classification, five different kinds of signs were recognized: from birds, from thunder and lightning, from animals (signa ex quadrupedibus), from the sacred chickens (agnus ex tripludibus), and from incidental occurrences of evil omen (dire). The birds were, in the language of augury, either alites or ovescinae. The former gave signs by their manner of flight, the latter by their songs or cries. Among the alites were the eagle and the vulture as well as the osprey, the nightingale (osfregata), the buzzard (a kind of hawk), and the animals that could be interpreted to have evil auguries, from the ravens (corvus), the crow (corvina), and the owl (noctua). Some birds were included in both lists, and we hear of some that as ovescinae were believed to give favourable, but as alites unfavourable, signs.

The signa aevi (the summer and spring) belong to a very early stage in the development of augury. 1 Dio Cass. xliii. 51 speaks of a sixteenth member added by Casar.
2 Cf. Festus, p. 107; Varro, De Ling. Lat. vi. 76; Pliny, H.N. x. 43; Cic. de Div. i. 20 (139).
Their precise interpretation involved a consideration not only of all the details connected with the appearance itself, but also of the nature of the occurrence which the gods were being invited to witness for a sign. The most favourable of the *signa* *ex celo* was a flash of lightning passing from left to right of the observer. Yet even this sign, though generally auspicious, was unpropitious for a meeting of the *comitia* *plebana, 2* and the holding of the meeting, or, if business had already begun, would result in its discontinuance. *Signa* *ex celo* were used at a comparatively early date in the *auspicia* of the magistrates, not only as signs of the heavens, but as portents of human action. They were used to indicate the moment at which the auspices had become a foreboding, and the end of the Republic they were practically the only *signa* that were used by the magistrates. It was not so much that they had crowded the others out as that in the general decay of the augural system they survived as the most convenient. Moreover, it was no longer regarded as essential that the magistrates themselves should take the auspices. A subordinate official, the *pullarius*, whose original function had been the care of the sacred chickens, could do so. The phrase 'serveur ex celo', which was frequently found in Caesar's official proclamations, is an indication of the kind of sign of which he was supposed to take cognizance. There is, however, abundant evidence that their announcement of a favourable sign had very little to do with any aesthetic appeal of the sign, and the magistrates had become a more formal, and the nature of the announcement in regard to them was dictated by political exigency.

Of the other signs, the *signa* *ex quadrupedibus* never seem to have been very much used as *signa* *imperatrices*, although, when occurring as *affecta*, they could not be left out of consideration. They did to have with the behaviour of animals appearing within the bounds of the *templum*.

The *signa* *ex tripudii* were the signs derived from the sacred chickens. By the end of the Republic these were practically the only auguries that were observed by military authorities. They came to have in the camps a place similar to that which the *signa* *ex celo* had in civil life. This was largely owing to the convenience of the method. The chickens were kept in cages, and, after the general who was to take the auspices had placed himself at the door of the tent within the bounds of the *templum*, the chickens were let out, and were led on a walk of walking-far which way they ate the food that was thrown to them. The most favourable omen was one that could give the augur an idea of the future. The auguries were interpreted as signs of the abundance of certain crops, the future growth of the city, or as a messenger of good news. If the omen was wanted, it was easily obtained either by giving the chickens food or by withholding it, and they were often to be seen eating or not eating, the omen being secured by the use of such other signs as were the auguries of the future.

The *dies* were unexpired events of an untoward nature which occurred either during the taking of the auspices or afterwards during the action itself. The fall of some object, the sudden illness of some one present, the gnawing of a mouse, etc., belonged to the category of the *dies*. All *dies* were deterrent.

With all the possibilities involved in the numerous auguries mentioned above, it is easy to see that the magistrate taking the auspices would frequently find himself at a loss in regard to the proper interpretation of the results. More often than not, a comparatively late date the *auspices* were not present to assist him. The statement made by some ancient authorities that he had assistants does not imply that these were members of the augural college. To be sure, the difficulties of the profession were at this time to some extent modified by his announcement of the signs for which he was watching. But *signa* *imperatrices*, of which course was always favourable, might be counteracted by the appearance of an unfavourable *signum* *blanditio*, and the possibility of conflict were endless. If he made a mistake or if he deliberately ignored manifest indications of the disapproval of the divine powers, there was danger of the business transacted being subse-

Whether they ever actually took the auspices themselves is not certain.

The inauguration of persons and places was another important function of the *auspices*. They themselves or authorised magistrates should be advanced in support of the theory that on the occasion of an inauguration they acted merely as assistants to the pontifex *maximus*, as Wissowa has shown in his article in Pauly-Wissowa, wholly inadequate. After the inauguration of the kings the only persons who were inaugurated were priests. We have definite record of the inauguration of the *re x sacrorum*, of the *auspices* themselves, and of the *flamines* of Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and the deified Julius Cæsar. This is not to say that *auspicia* alone were connected with the *pontifices*, and probably the Vestals were not inaugurated. Livy (ix. 8.3) describes the ceremony.

It took place on the *ara*.* The augur, after indicating with his right hand the auspices of the act or persons to be inaugurated, made his observations, laid his right hand on the head of the candidate, and asked the god to show by a *signum* *ex celo* whether the date was acceptable to him.

In regard to the places that had to be inaugurated, we find that the list includes all those intended for business which could be transacted only after the auspices had been taken. Among them we find many temples, and such places as the *rereda* of the kings the only persons who were inaugurated were priests. We have definite record of the inauguration of the *re x sacrorum*, of the *auspices* themselves, and of the *flamines* of Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and the deified Julius Cæsar. This is not to say that *auspicia* alone were connected with the *pontifices*, and probably the Vestals were not inaugurated. Livy (ix. 8.3) describes the ceremony.

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In regard to the places that had to be inaugurated, we find that the list includes all those intended for business which could be transacted only after the auspices had been taken. Among them we find many temples, and such places as the *rereda*. Moreover, the city itself was inaugurated as well as the land just outside the walls, as far perhaps as the first milestone. To this district the term *afer* *status* was applied. There were other loca *effasia*, as we know from the following list of five additional kinds of territory which were inaugurated so as to make possible the taking of auspices by magistrates absent from Rome: the *afer Romanus*, *Gabinus*, *pereregins*, *horatius*, *curtus*. The term *temples* *auspicia* is applicable only to an inaugurated place or building that is rectangular in shape. The city of Rome and the various territories referred to were *temples*, strictly speaking, but *loci liberae* *et effasiae* *status* also announces a property that is permanently free. We know very little about the ceremonies with which places were inaugurated, beyond the fact that a star-shaped piece of metal was brought in as a sign of the completion of the inauguration.

Other ceremonies in which we find the *auspices* officiating independently of the magistrates are the *augurium solutis*, the *verniscra auguria*, and the *augurium canarium*. The last-mentioned took place every year in midsummer, and was intended to gain the protection of the gods against the dangers of the sea. The ceremony was accompanied by sacrifices of red dogs. The *verniscra auguria* probably had to do with the agricultural operations of the spring. In regard to the *augurium solutis* there is a good deal of uncertain. Its start is obviously intended to procure from the gods some assurance of a continuance of the safety and prosperity of the nation. It could be held only when there was no Roman army in the field. Tacitus speaks of its being celebrated in a period of seven years. It was intended to hold it at an interval of seven years. It was intended to hold it at an interval of seven years. It was intended to hold it at an interval of seven years.

1 Possibly they sometimes did in the last period of the Republic. Cicero (de *Leg. lat. 20*) apparently makes a claim to this effect.
2 *Batuli* sine nodo adunacum (Livy, i. xvii. 7).
3 I.e. freed by the formula spoken by the augur from all previously existing religious associations.
4 Annals, xii. 23.
The archives of the augures, which were kept in the auguraculum on the ark, consisted of fasti (a list of members past and present), acta (the record of the transactions of the college), and, most important of all, the libri or copies of all the records of the temple. Both terms, libri and commentarii, are used indiscriminately of the traditional material and of the numerous acclamations consisting of the responses given to questions put to the god by the senate. 

3. Quinctierviri sacris faciundis. — The third of the great priestly colleges is the quinctierviri (sacris) faciundis. Originally it was a commission of two members (diwviri s.), and it was not till 367 B.C. that it became a collegium of ten, of whom five were patrician and five plebeian. In Sulla's time the number was increased to fifteen. Cæsar made it sixteen, and under the Empire others were added supra numerum. In the time of Augustus the college was administered by a group of five magistri 1 (chosen annually by the college from its own membership), later by one. 2

While the priesthood is less ancient than the pontifex and the augures, it goes back as far as the Tarquin dynasty, and its foundation is one of the indications of the foreign influences at work in Rome during that period. Its activity was confined to the Sibyline books, to the cults introduced in Rome in the 3rd century B.C. and to the ceremonies performed, after consultation of the books, to avert the wrath of the gods. But, as the Sibylline books were Greek oracles, the cults introduced through them were Greek, except in such a case as that of the Augustan Mother, which came from Pessinus in Asia Minor. The result of this was that the quinctierviri bore to all cults which were conducted according to Greek forms of ritual (ritus Graecus) a relation analogous to that of the pontifices to the cults whose ceremonies adhered to Roman tradition (ritus Romanus).

The Sibyline books contained the oracles of the Sibyl of Cumæ, to which perhaps some others from different sources were added from time to time. 3 When brought from Cumæ, they were placed in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, where they remained till the year 83 B.C., when they perished in the fire that destroyed the temple. A commission was sent to Greece to make a new collection, and returned with 1000 verses, which were increased in the 1st century B.C. The books had been built on the Capitol. They were left there till Augustus moved them to the temple of Apollo which he had erected on the Palatine. Augustus made a careful inspection of the oracles and rejected such as bore evidence of having been introduced into the collection for political reasons. Tiberius subjected them to a similar inspection, and there are other indications that the books were sometimes manipulated in the interests of political factions. 4

No one had access to the books but the quinctierviri, and even they could not consult them except when authorized by the senate. Moreover, it was only on the occurrence of prodigies which seemed to be of special importance that the senate gave in writing the quinctierviri the order for the inspection. When the quinctierviri had consulted the oracles, they made a report to the senate, stating by what sacrifices or ceremonies the gods could be appeased. The Senate then decided on the manner of those rites under the supervision of the quinctierviri.

The clearest indication of the nature of the activity of the quinctierviri is furnished by the list of divinities whose cults were introduced as the result of an inspection of the oracles. Among these are the cult of Apollo (with whom the oracles are most closely connected), Ceres, Liber, Libera (Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore), Mercury (Hermes), Neptune (Poseidon), 5 and Hercules. 6 At a later date came Asculapius, Dis, and others. The quinctierviri did not themselves perform the favorite or rites, for the Greek cults had their own priests; but they supervised them. They had a similar supervision over lectisternia, supplicationes, and other ceremonies ordered by the books in expiation of prodigies. That Oriental cults were not regarded as lying outside the field of their activities is shown by the fact that they were in charge of the cult of the Great Mother (see art. MOTHER OF THE GODS), introduced in 204 B.C. in accordance with a Sibylline oracle. Their connexion with this cult was especially close. They actually participated in some of the rites, 7 and from the latter half of the 1st cent. after Christ they were thought of in two capacities: priests of the Great Mother and custodians of the Sibylline books.

4. Septemviri epulones. — This priesthood was instituted in 196 B.C., and to it was assigned the administration of the sacred banquets of Jupiter on the ides of September in connexion with the ludi Romani, and on the ides of November on the occasion of the ludi plebei. It was probably founded by Mark Antony 8 and others, that at the time of the organization of the priesthood the only banquet to which it was held in connexion with the ludi plebei, and that the epulum Iovi at the ludi Romani was not established much later, is highly improbable. The epulum of the ludi Romani is in all likelihood an old institution. 9 These banquets, though they were wholly independent of the lectisternia in origin, were doubtless strongly influenced by them.

At the banquets a triclinium was set up in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. An image of Jupiter reclining and images of Juno and Minerva seated were placed at the table, and food was put before them. The senators attended the banquets as representatives of the State, and had places at the triclini set up in front of the temple. In a word, this epulum Iovi was not merely an offering to the god; it was a communion of the god with his people. The practice of holding sacred banquets in connexion with the ludi Romani probably began on the occasion of triumphs, dedications, games, etc. Not only the senators but also the people in general participated in them, being accommodated at tables that were set up throughout the entire length of the forum. The strictly religious element in the institution receded into the background. They became great public banquets, but remained under the supervision of the epulones.

Before the institution of the epulones the pontifices had had nothing to do with the epulum Iovi. It was the burden of their other duties that compelled them to relinquish this function, and the epulones, though an independent college and forming one of the four great priesthoods, were always regarded as the supplements of the pontificate and to a certain extent subject to its influence. When first instituted, the college had three members (treviri epulones). This number was subsequently increased to seven (septemviri epulones) and later (by Cæsar) to nine. Even after this increase the college was known as
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the septemviri epulones. An individual member of the college was called septemviris epulonis. 1

In the Roman calendar, the aediles were the authorities on the inaeftile, the sacred forms that should be observed in international relations. To them the senate or magistrates appealed in regard to questions pertaining to demands for redress, declarations of war, or conclusion of alliances. It was they who served as the emissaries of the State to the country with which the negotiations were being carried on. In the discussion of problems submitted to them by the senate the whole sodali
tol and of twenty of the thirty patres, patres patruus, took part. On the missions to foreign countries, however, a smaller number went. When the purpose of the embassy was the making of peace, the number of fetiales was two; 2 when redress was demanded, four were employed. That the sodalitas was a very ancient one is seen from the use of the stone (siles) in killing the victim. It was in fact an old Italic institution, for we hear of fetiales not only at other places in Latium but also among the Samnians, the Faliscus, and the Samnites. If Rome, with her priesthood ranked next to the four great colleges; and in A.D. 22 an effort, which, however, failed, was made to place it on an equality with them. Its members were men of distinction during both the Republic and the Empire. Augustus himself was one of the later emperors.

In Lily, I. xxiv., we are given some details in regard to the appointment and procedure of a deputation of fetiales on a peace mission.

The verbenarius 4 asks the king to authorize him definitely and specifically as the envoy of the Roman people. 5 The king formally gives the authorization requested. Then the verben
arius, under the escort of soldiers, herds (heres) of women, senators, and friends of the Senate, and is instructed by the king to gather them on the arx. These herbs are the symbol of his office. The verbenarius then chooses from the fetiales as patres patruus, 6 touching his hair with the herbs. The pater patruus is the plenipotentiary and spokesman of the deputation, and it is he who carries the sacred stone and the sceptre. The treaty is made in the presence of the commanders and of the armies by the patres patruus of each of the two nations. After the terms have been read, the pater patruus of the Romans, holding his sceptre and calling to witness the people present as well as the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Minerva, declares that his nation will keep the treaty. Then he kills a pig with the sacred stone, calling upon Jupiter, if the Roman people shall be the first to break the treaty, to treat them as he treats the victim. After the sacrifice he
threw away" the stone, saying: 7 "Si scelens fallo, tum me Dice
plurum et legum sanguinem" (the blood of the law). 8 When the same ceremony has been performed by the other pater patruus, the treaty is signed by both. 9 The fact that the treaty is in writing is not unlikely to be understandable to theory that it is nothing more than a primitive weapon that has survived from the stone age, and not, as W. Helbig 10 has suggested, a symbol of the god of lightning.

In the case of injury at the hands of citizens of some foreign power, fetiales were sent to demand redress. 11

The pater patruus goes to the boundary of the enemy's terri
tory and states his country's case, swearing to the Justice of the claims which he makes. 12 Then, crossing the border, he repeats the claims to the first native of the country whom he
meets. He repeats them again at the gate of the capital and in its forum. If the offenders are given up, he departs as a friend. If the nation addressed asks time for further consideration, he

1 The Roman grammarians connected the word with fides (Varro), fadus (Servius), forte (Paulus); Lange derives it from an old substantive fada (et. Jatari. Jari, Jat); Weiss compares the Latin verba.
2 Wissowa, Religions und Kultur, p. 561, thinks that the number was afterwards increased to four, but his reasons seem inadequate.
4 See the letter of the sacred herbs (verbena). How he was chosen is not known.
5 Petreus me rex, cum patre patruo populi Albanorum fides ferre.
6 Wissowa plausibly derives this word from patruo, "to make a contract," and applies it to the pater patruus, who is in a father artificially created as opposed to a natural father (frater).
7 "The formula are given in Lily, I. xxiv. 7
8 Posid. de Poier.
9 Lily. xxv. 4. 4
11 Lily, vii. v. 7. xxiii. i. xiv. 7.
12 On the ethical element in the feticl rite see Tenney Frank, in Classical Philology, vii. (1912) 335.

grants thirty days, publicly repeating his claims at the end of each ten days. After the expiration of this time, if satisfaction is not given, he solemnly calls the gods to witness, and, in the presence of the senators, the circumstances to the senate. If the senate decides on war, the pater patruus is dispatched again to the boundary, and in the presence of three adults enters the country of the enemy, to be received with a show of friendly adoration and charred at the end. Under the feticl law only a war declared in this way is legible.

Just as it was the duty of the fetiales to demand of another people those who had committed an offense against their nation, so also it was their duty to give up similar offenders among their own people. 1

Octavian declared war against Cleopatra in 32 B.C. according to the feticl rite; the emperor Cleopater (pater patruus) Marcus Aurelius declared war against the Marcomanni in this way. But it had long since became a symbolical act. In the war with Pyrrhus a piece of land near the Circus Flaminius at Rome had been legally conveyed to a captive. This was declared enemy territory, and into it the pater patruus flung the spear from the columna bellica near the temple of Bellona.

6. Fretar Arvales.—See art. ARVAL BROTHERS.

Those who were two of the class of Solii in Rome, the Solii Palatini whose headquarters were in the curia Saliiorn on the Palatine, and the Solii collini, or Agoneces, of the Quirinal hill. The former were the dancing priests of Mars, the latter of Jupiter. Each organization consisted of twelve members and had a magister, a presul, and a nates. The magister was in general charge, the presul was the leader of the dance, and the nates of the singing.

The period of their greatest activity was the month of March, with its many festivals in honour of Mars. Although the calendars specifically record only three days of the month (the 1st, 9th, and 24th) on which the Solii took down the sacred shields, 2 their processions seem to have taken place every day from the 1st to the 24th. Their dress consisted of tunica picta and trabea. On their left arm they carried the shield, which as they danced they struck with a spear or club held in the right hand. The dancing took place at certain sacred places, or in the circus, when the procession paused. Each evening they halted at one of the mansiones, erected for the purpose, where the shields and other paraphernalia were kept till next morning. There also the priests dined together. Banquets became the custom of the day. Next day the procession was resumed, and in the evening a halt was made at another mansion. After 24th March there was no procession of the Solii till 19th Oct., the armilustrum, when they danced on the Arventine. This ceremony corresponds to the quinquatrus of 19th March, which was originally a festival of lastration. After the armilustrum the shields were replaced in the sacrarium, and were not moved again till 1st March. The significance of this institution of dancing varied as follows:—Wissowa

1 Lily, vii. xxxix. 14.
2 From solis, "leap, 'dance."
3 It is not certain whether the shields (anctilas) were kept in the arms on the Palatine or in the regions.
4 Mannhardt, Roscher, Frazer, Fowler.
purpose of frightening away the evil spirits that might harm the sprouting crops or interfere with the transmission of the vegetative principle from year to year.

8. Sodales Titii.—Of this priesthood we know almost nothing. Tacitus (Hist. ii. 93) tells us that it was organized by Romulus for the worship of the Sabine king, Titus Tatius.1 Dionysius (ii. 52) makes a similar statement. It seems to have been defunct at the end of the Republic, but was revived by Augustus and lasted till at least the end of the 2nd century. The members belonged to the senatorial order or to the imperial house. We have no information as to their duties.

9. Luperci.—In the case of the Luperci we have a priesthood whose activity was confined to a single day of the year, 16th Feb., the date of the celebration of the Lupercalia. There were Luperci Quinctiales and Luperci Fabiani.2 In 44 B.C. a third group, Luperci Iutii, was added in honor of Julius Caesar, and of these Antony was magister. But this group did not last long, and it was omitted on the reorganization of the priesthood by Augustus. The Luperci were administered by a magister who did not carry with it a distinction equal to that of the other priestly sodalities. It was an equestrian, not a senatorial, priesthood. The festival lasted into Christian times, not being abolished till the 4th century.

The meaning of the title Lupercus has been the subject of a long discussion. Till recently the prevailing view was that the word meant simply 'wolves,' like hier' in the Sabine language (hiera' ; i.e., the name applied to the priest who was the god (Sorumus pater) worshipped on the top of M. Soracte; and it was claimed that we had here another manifestation of the vegetation-spirit, which often turns up in the shape of animals.3 But this theory seems too fantastic for serious consideration, and the author of the latest detailed investigation of the cult (Deubner, ARW xiii. 482 ff.),4 has returned to the old etymology (Serv. Aen. viii. 343) by which Lupercus is derived from lupus and arteo and means 'one who keeps off wolves.' Deubner's reconstruction of the festival is ingenious and in regard to many points very plausible.

The most important features of the celebration were as follows: In the morning the young men were sacrificed (though this is by no means certain); (2) two young men were smeared on the forehead with the blood of the sacrifice, which was offered in a small vessel; (3) a goat-skin was placed on the forehead of each and on that the Luperci danced, and the boys were laughed; (3) the Luperci, in two bands, naked except for goat-skins striped from the victims about their loins, ran round the back of the Palatine hill, and as they ran struck with strips of the same goat-skins all those (mostly women) who threw themselves in their way.

We have in the Lupercalia traces of a pastoral festival (implied in the protective measures against wolves), of a lustration of the community (seen in the encircling of the hill), and of a rite for fertilization (for which the striking with the thongs of goat-skin furnishes the evidence). According to Deubner, the course around the hill goes back to the early days of the Palatine settlement, when it was actually necessary to provide the sheep-folds from wolves, and individuals from certain families were appointed Luperci. Deubner's reconstruction of the festival is ingenious and in regard to many points very plausible.

The practice was not at that time connected with the worship of any god, but later was brought into relation with Fannus. The other elements in the festival, the dancing with the thongs of the Quirinal goat-skin, the sacrifices of the Luperci, and the processions which preceded the Lupercalia, were performed to pay the honours due to him as a god (divus). The sodalitas was organized on the analogy of the sodales Titii. It consisted of twenty-one regular members from the senatorial order and four honorary members from the imperial family. This number, however, does not seem to have been rigidly adhered to, for there are references which indicate that in later times the membership was as high as twenty-eight. The sodalitas was ad

1 Tacitus' own information on the subject seems to have been somewhat vague, for in another passage (Ann. i. 54) he says that the priesthood was instituted by King Tatius for the purpose of keeping up the religious rites of the Sabines.
2 It is generally assumed that the former represented the Palatine sanctuary, the latter the libraries of the Quirinal.
3 But Fowler (Roman Festivals, p. 280) points out that this is inconsistent with the fact that the running of the Luperci was always done round only one.
5 See also Fowler, Religious Experience, p. 478 ff.
6 Perhaps the source of the Luperci Quinctiales and Luperci Fabiani respectively.
sacerdotes Lanuvini (Lanuvium), sacerdotes Laurentes Latnovii (Lavinium and Laurentum), sacerdotes Suecini (Suecia), sacerdotes Tusculani (Tusculum).

In the municipalities throughout the Empire there were, besides the local priests, sacerdotes publici modelled on those in Rome: pontifices augures, and for the imperial cult flaminii as well as the organizations of the servii Augustales. More important than any of these municipal priests was the provincial priest, sacerdos,2 probably appointed by the central authority, generally for a year, and who was the chief priest of the imperial cult in the province or group of provinces to which he belonged.

12. Haruspices.—Although the haruspices never became State priests, they played a part of considerable importance in Roman religion from the time of the war with Hannibal.3 They were of Etruscan origin, and the field of their activities was threefold: (1) the scrutiny of the exta of sacrificial victims, (2) the interpretation of lightning, and (3) the interpretation of lightning. None of these was new in Roman religion. Examination of the exta of victims was made by members of the regular Roman priesthoods, portents were cared for by the pontifices, and the interpretation of lightning was included in the lore of the augures. But the haruspices supplemented the work of the Roman priesthoods, and along many lines showed a degree of specialization and an elaboration of detail which went far beyond that attained by the Roman priests; e.g., the examination of the exta 4 by Roman priests was not intended to do more than to determine whether the god to whom the offering was made was propitious or not, but the haruspices, by means of a complicated system, one entirely independent of the change of the liver into sixteen different parts,5 claimed to read not simply the mind of one god on the subject, but the secrets of the future. In dealing with a portent they undertook to show what its meaning was. Their science of lightning transcended in detail and complexity that of the augures. The division of the liver into sixteen parts is obviously to be connected with the division of the heavens into sixteen regions upon which their interpretation of lightning was based.

The science of the haruspices was traditional in the noble families of Etruria, and so important was it considered by the Romans that in the 2nd cent. before Christ they took measures to assure its regular performance. For the haruspices whom the senate consulted were regularly brought from Etruria. Distinct from them were the haruspices who resided in Rome, and who were of two classes: (1) those attached to the service of officials and forming the ordo haruspicius LX,6 and (2) private haruspices retained and paid for by citizens for advice on domestic problems. The status of these, especially the latter, was distinctly inferior to that of the haruspices summoned from Etruria.

Recent researches tend to show that the system practised by the haruspices in the examination of the exta is derived from Babylonia, and that its use in Rome constitutes an important channel of Oriental influence.


GORDON J. LAING.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Ugro-Finnish).—The priests among the Ugro-Finnish peoples did not form a separate social class. Their importance in the community, generally speaking, was evident only at the sacrificial feasts. The office of priest was regarded as an honour, and usually brought with it a certain amount of respect. In some cases, one priest was elected for a year, and in the absence of male lawful issue, to the nearest male relative. Besides the family sacrifice, we find a tribal sacrifice held in common by several families in a tribal hut called a great hut (kuala-kuala). These sacrifices were performed by a descendant of the progenitor of the tribe—an eldest son, if possible. One and the same Votyak thus belongs to two kuala-families, a smaller and a larger.

Sacrifices were also offered in sacred groves. Groves were dedicated both to underground spirits —i.e. the great men, princes, etc., of a community—and to great nature-gods. If a family, for some reason or another—usually when a great misfortune had befallen them—dedicated a grove to some great man who was dead, it was deemed right that the sacrifices should be continued in that group by his posterity. When the priestly office did not pass by inheritance, a priest was chosen from among the members of the family or tribe concerned. The groves usually comprised this small grove set apart by one particular village community, or in a common sacrificial place belonging to a number of communities—sometimes as many as twenty-five. For both, sacrificial priests were chosen. As a condition of appointment, the priest was required to have the respect of the community and also to be skilled in prayer. Often the sacrificial priest remained in office all his life.

When several animals were to be sacrificed at the same time, as many priests took part in the service as there were animals offered. In the groves used by several communities the service was usually performed by the priests of the larger towns or villages of the district. When several priests took part in the service, the people occasionally called the oldest among them the chief priest; and his duty was to supervise the 'small priests' in the discharge of their functions. The most general appellation for a priest was 'old man.' He had always one or more colleagues, to whom he was connected by a common origin. Two tribesmen were entrusted. When an individual wished to sacrifice in the grove of his village, he summoned the priest to hold a service for him. The seer could also sometimes appoint the priest to make the sacrifice.

In earlier times, when shamanism prevailed, it was the duty of the shaman to attend to the sacrifices. The shaman priest was held in very high esteem among his people. It was said, e.g., of the
Laps that they always gave the shaman the best seat in the house, set before him the daintiest viands, and presented him with valuable gifts; indeed, sometimes they even paid tribute to him; and his opinion and advice were always highly esteemed.

It is uncertain whether the Ugro-Finnish priest wore a special sacrificial robe. It is known front that he had to wash before every service, and to put on a new, or at least a perfectly clean and, if possible, white robe. Fastening before the sacrifice may also have been customary. Woman, as a rule, could not participate in the sacrificial rites. It is believed, however, that they were deemed unworthy of the priestly office.


PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.—See METHODISM.

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PRINCIPLE—PRISCILLIANISM

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PRINCIPLE I. Philosophical.—The word 'principle,' reproducing the Latin principium, is a translation of the Greek philosophical term ἀρχή. This term designated two very different kinds of facts—principles of knowledge and principles of reality (cf. Aristotle, Met. 9067). This double application of the term runs through English philosophical literature. Not only the axioms of logic—e.g., the Law of Contradiction—to which Aristotle refers in the passage cited, but the fundamental truths of any body of doctrine are called its principles (cf. the title of the work, Principles of Mathematics, by B. Russell). Sometimes by a redundancy of expression these are called 'first principles'—e.g., in Herbert-Spencer's work of that name.

Again, anything fundamental in the nature of things may be called a principle. Thus, when T. H. Green talks of 'the spiritual principle in nature,' or B. Jowett, translating Plato (Dialogues2, Oxford, 1875, iv. 229), mentions 'a principle which is above sensation,' they refer to a real existent.

A 'principle' in the sense of a principle of reality may be conceived of either as a cause or as a constituent. It is in the latter sense that water is the principle of all things in the philosophy of Thales. But, even when a principle is conceived of as a constituent, the principles of reality may be divided into two classes, those which are supposed to be in some way causally dependent on it.

To be fundamental is the essential notion of a principle, of whatever sort that be. If we ask, How fundamental? the answer is, Logically; the principle is that which comes first in the order of explanation, whether we are explaining the nature of a demonstration or the nature of a concrete fact. Thus, if the principle of the universe is spiritual, it is the existence of spirit that explains all other facts. Again, the principles of morality are the truths about moral relations on which depend all our explanations of particular moral phenomena (cf. T. Fowler, The Principles of Morals).

2. Popular.—'Principle' has various popular significations which are directly derivative from the different philosophical uses of the term.

(1) We constantly speak of the 'poisonous principle' or 'bitter principle' in substances, meaning by that something concrete which is the source or center of the evil or harm which these things possess. These are not far removed from such more philosophical expressions as the 'vital principle' or the 'spiritual principle in nature.'

(2) On the other hand, when we talk about the 'principle' of the steam-engine or of the electric motor, we mean the truth which gives the explanation of their working. Principle is here the formal and not the material cause of a fact. At the same time, while in this case principle means a scientific truth, the idea of logical explanation, the use of the term, is not wholly dissimilar from that which it has in the previous instance. By a principle here meant the ultimate and simple truth which stands at the beginning of our explanation. Again, the fact that ultimate principle is held to be the actual cause of the phenomenon explained.

(3) Principles of conduct stand on a somewhat different footing. They are general rules of good conduct which form the logical starting point when we deliberate upon the rightness and wrongness of a particular action. A 'man of principle' (cf. Carlyle, Cromwell, speech iv.) is one whose conduct is regulated by the agreement of his projected acts with the general laws of moral action. By a 'man of good principle' we mean little more, for it is assumed that, when a man regulates his conduct by testing its agreement with general maxims, he employs maxims which are morally excellent. A 'man of no principle' is one whose conduct is not regulated by his maxims, but is determined by some law, moral or not, which he regards as binding upon him. Regard for principle in politics is strictly analogous to what it is in the case of morals. It means the regulation of action by its agreement with a general rule which has been established as law, or is natural and being, without taking into account the immediate advantages which the infringement of that rule might bring.


G. R. T. Ross.

PRISCILLIANISM.—The Priscillianists or Priscillians were a heretical sect charged with Manichanean and Gnostic opinions, which made its appearance under this name in Spain towards the end of the 4th cent., and, after exercising considerable influence in S.W. Europe, was confined within ever narrower limits until it disappeared after a history of 150 years about the year 500 cent.

The sect took its name from Priscillian, its reputed founder, but it is very doubtful whether he is justly made responsible for the views which were held by his followers. The conditions of this problem have been carefully discussed by Schepss in his dissertation of 1885 and the publication by G. Scheppe of the extant works of Priscillian. The other primary authorities are very scanty (a letter of Ambrose, a notice in Jerome, and a reference in Pacetus), but they support rather than contradict the evidence to be drawn from Priscillian himself, by which the witness of secondary authorities must be controlled.

Priscillian was a layman of good family, of fair education, and of considerable wealth, born probably at Meos, in Lusitania, shortly before the middle of the 4th cent. He was attracted by that wide-spread movement of thought which found approval and safety when it went to the extreme of monasticism, but was exposed to the dangers of heresy when it gave itself to the cultivation of piety and an austere life apart from and not without criticism of the offices and officers of the Church. S.W. Europe had many groups of ascetically disposed Christians, in many cases, a sect only, the so-called 'entusiastes,' who nourished their faith not only on the canonical Scriptures but also on 'apocryphal' writings, such as the Acts of Andrew, of Thomas, and of John. In these it is probable that Manich-
ean ideas and ascetic practices found a common root (see Babut, Priscillian et Priscillianism, p. 231 ff.). One of the earliest works of Priscillian, the Nonoginta Canonum in Pauli Epistolae, a series of commentaries, transmitted today in selected sections of the Epistles, shows him in general sympathy with this movement, emphasizing those elements in St. Paul which look towards dualism and asceticism (canons 33 and 57), the 'carnal' character of the Law (can. 27), and the virtue of 'beata voluntaria paupertas' (can. 37). The first tendency of the movement was schismatic rather than heretical, and the fact that it captured several of the Spanish bishops—e.g., Salvidianus and Instantius—alarmed Iadius, bishop of Merida, who, after consulting Pope Damasus on the matter, summoned a synod at Saragossa for its consideration (A.D. 380). No individuals were condemned by this synod, nor do its decisions and anathemas console errors in doctrine of any kind; they are concerned with practical matters such as fasting, the use of the Eucharist, and the frequenting of conventicles. Priscillian took up the challenge thrown down by this synod, and, by accepting the Bishop's condemnation publicly, paraded it before the face of the movement, and entered the lists against Iadius. Iadius proceeded to obtain from the emperor Gratian a rescript condemning in general terms 'pseudo-episcopos et Manicheos,' and his condemnation of conventicles from Spain. This he then applied to Priscillian in a circular to other bishops in Spain, and also in a letter to Ambrose. Through the latter an unfavourable reception was provided for Priscillian when he proceeded to Italy in company with the bishops Salvidianus and Instantius 'cum usuroriis,' to bring his case before Damasus and Ambrose in turn. His Liber ad Damasum contains his apology, in which he repudiates every kind of heresy, and especially that of the Manicheans. Damasus probably refused to interfere, but an appeal to the emperor met with better success: the rescript was cancelled, and Priscillian returned to his diocese in peace (382).

The next two years formed a period of great and successful activity for Priscillian. Most of his tracts (iv.–ix.) were now produced, and the important de Fide et Apocrypho, in which the note of independence is distinctly heard.

There is no reason for supposing that Priscillian ever wrote evidence as to the pre-Hieronian text of the Latin Bible. The texte biblique de Priscillien presente tous les caractères des textes 'italiens': it seems former the transition entre ces textes du IV siècle et leur rejeton, the texte 'africain de base epoque' que nous retrouvons regnant a la fin du IVe siecle dans l'Empire des Vandales (G. Berger, Hist. de la Vulgate, Paris, 1889, p. 53). The 'comma Johanneum' (1 Jn 5) has what is probably its earliest witness in Priscillian, tract. i. (ed. Scheppa, p. 6). The Canon of Priscillian, often under the name of Peregriinus, and possibly modified in some respects by him, had a considerable vogue for several centuries in Provence and Spain (see Berger, p. 36 ff.).

The progress of the sect may be described in Babut's words: 'Les factes ne sont pas unies s'ils étaient supportés, they are likely to be the subject of almost any heresy. The swift disaster which overtook Priscillian and the whole movement was closely connected with the successful revolt of Maximus and the fall and death of Gratian. Ithacius (bishop of Ossonum) was the first to be arrested, and Priscillian, as the bishop of Tordes, and there claimed the assistance of Maximus in suppressing the 'Manichean' heresy in Spain. Maximus seized the opportunity of accruing credit for orthodoxy. There was another possible motive in the wealth of the 'heresy' as Priscillian and Instantius were roused to make a first step in summing the synod at Bordeaux, before which Priscillian and Instantius were arraigned as prisoners. To the charge of heresy was added that of gross immorality and the practice of magic. According to Sulpicius, who is probably followed by others, Maximus was unwilling to proceed, and refused to plead, and appealed to the emperor. Condemned by the synod, the accused were transferred to Trèves. There Priscillian, though still a bishop, was put to the torture, and the confessions he made were extorted from him. He refused to incriminate himself, and his name was added, then and ever since. Ambrose happened to be in Trèves on an embassy at the time, and was so indignant at the spectacle of bishops demanding the death of another bishop that he refused to communicate with Iadius and Ithacius, and was dismissed from Trèves in consequence (Ambrose, Ep. xxiv. 12). Having received from Maximus permission to proceed to a capital sentence, Evodius the prefect ordered Priscillian and his companions to be beheaded, and thus they perished—Priscillian, two of the clergy, Armenius and Feliceissimus, Latronianus, a poet, and Euchroia, the widow of Delphidius, the first heretics to be sent to the scaffold by the Church. The trial of Priscillian was followed first by a reaction and then by a counter-reaction. The horror which was felt throughout the Church was marked by the indignant protests of St. Martin of Tours, the excommunication by a Spanish synod of Priscillianists, the forced resignation of the bishopric by Iadius, and the sentence of exile pronounced upon both bishops by Theodosius. On the other hand, Latinius Pacatus pronounced a panegyric on the victims in the presence of the emperor; their remains were removed with all honour to Spain, and the names were inscribed on many prominent memorial lists there as martyrs. In Galicia the clergy and the people were almost wholly adherent to the movement.

Of the counter-reaction which followed we have no satisfactory record, beyond that which is indirectly given in the accounts of Priscillian and his followers which were circulated by Orosius and Turribius, and the judgment, probably based on Orosius, which was passed by Augustine. Councils held at Toledo (400 and 447) and at Braga (448 and 563) successively dealt with the Priscillianists. After the latter date they disappear. Isolated and persecuted, it is likely that they fell into heresy of the Manichean or Gnostic type, but the evidence on which this judgment is based is slight, and the names used to represent either is precarious. Much turns on the authenticity of a quotation from Priscillian given by Orosius (Commonitorium, 2 (CSEL xvii. 153)). Its genuineness has been taken for granted by most writers, and is maintained by Künzle and Lezun ; but the searching criticism to which it has been subjected by Babut (p. 279 ff.) lays it under serious suspicion. All the other evidence points in the other direction—the silence of the synod of Saragossa, the express and repeated statement by Priscillian himself to Ithacius, and the judgment of Jerome, the protest of Ambrose, and the championship of St. Martin. The case was soon found to be weak, and the evidence of Priscillian himself turned against him by the assertion that he had defended the death of an innocent martyr in order to conceal dangerous views. This Augustine believed of him on the authority of Dictinnum, which is the authority of one who, having left the Priscillianists and been reconciled to the Church and the clergy, is trying to demonstrate the completeness of his conversion.

LITERATURE.—SOURCES.—Priscilliani quae supersunt, ed. G. Scheppa (CSEL xvii.), Vienna, 1879; Jerome, de Vir, hist. lii. 121; Sulpicius Severus, 오타로, ii. 46-51 (see J. Bernay, Die Chronik des Stulpicous Severus, Berlin, 1861); Orosius, Commonitorium (CSEL xvii.).

E. CHRETIEN.—G. Scheppa, Priscillian, Würzburg, 1861;
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The sentence pronounced in 1630 upon Archbiichop Leighton's father, a physician and divine, for writing against Prelacy in Ireland, is still unexampled. He was no less magnanimous and not less honest than those employed by his accusers against Prelaty, was an extreme instance, in degree, but not in kind. It ran as follows: (1) to be twice pig-fist'd with a truncheon; (2) to be pillor'd in Chesterfield; (3) to have an ear cut off; (4) to have the nose slit; (5) to have both cheeks brand'd with a hot poker: (6) to be sent for 30 days' confinement; (7) to pay £100, and (7) to be imprisoned for life.

How long old ideas survive may be inferred from the Children Act of 1908. By sections 102 and 103 of that great statute it is solemnly enacted that, in Great Britain, delinquents under the age of 14 years, if defined as a person under the age of 14 years, shall be imprisoned or sent to penal servitude or the gallow.s. England obtained a Court of Criminal Appeal in 1907. But in Scotland, while a question of property of trilling value, tried in the civil courts, may be the subject of two, in some cases three, appeals, there is as yet, except in a case of conviction for habitual criminality, no appeal from the verdict of a jury, disposing, in the criminal courts, of a citizen's life or liberty.

For the system, the trial of which still impedes prison reform, a false theological view was partly responsible, along with an inadequate estimate of the sacredness of life and liberty. Lunacy and criminality were looked upon as works of the devil, to be expunged by dealing with the criminal or the laith. That the State, by its own shameful neglect and its iniquitous laws, was itself largely responsible, along with the cynical indifference of the community, for both crime and lunacy was an idea as new as the advance in sanitary science that had been made in the 19th, and which were admitted and mitigated by the State, were the chief cause of disease. Original sin was an easy explanation of all abnormal conduct. So thought Mr. and Mrs. Squeers in Nicholas Nickleby.

Neither the pictures of Hogarth nor the arguments of Jeremy Bentham, neither the disclosures of John Howard, Mrs. Fry, and Thomas Powell Buxton nor the eloquence of Samuel Romilly had much practical effect till the reform of Parliament in 1832. In the beginning of the 19th cent. Acts were passed abolishing goal fees, ordering the appointment of clerks, the police, and prison buildings, the classification of prisoners, the separation of the sexes, and the appointment of female warders for female prisoners. Yet, writing in 1812, James Neild, who followed in Howard's footsteps, said:

'The great reformation produced by Howard was merely temporary... Prisons are relapsing into their former horrid state of privation, filthiness, severity and neglect.' (State of the Prisoners in England, Scotland and Wales, London, 1812).

The movements for the amendment of the criminal law and the reformation of prisons dated from the American and French Revolutions; and they were largely connected with the growth of democratic ideas and institutions.

The importance of the subject, its human interest, and the difficulties which it presents cannot be exaggerated. There is no more difficult question to the legislator than the controlling of the housing of the people, or the liquor question, with all of which the subject of crime is vitally connected. Unfortunately, most critics of present methods are purely destructive. Some ignore the responsibility behind them, and blind to the large share played by poverty and unemployment, drink, gambling, and vice in the production of crime. The index to du Cane's Punishment and Prevention of Crime (London, 1885) does not contain the word 'poverty' or the word 'drink'; and J. Devon's original and interesting
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study, The Criminal and the Community (London, 1912), breathes a spirit of despair. The subject has been canvassed at national and international congresses; and, in the United Kingdom, it has been taken up by Government commissions, royal and departmental, whose reports have resulted in a large number of valuable Acts of Parliament and prison regulations, each one advancing more and more in the direction of the treatment of prisoners as human beings, and not as things. Under these statutes and regulations the penal side of prison life has been diminished, and the reformatory side increased, not, as sometimes ignorantly asserted, to gratify a sentimental humanitarianism, but because it was found that the capital community, outside and inside the prison. Reform is cheap at any price. It is a moderate estimate that a thief costs the community £150 a year, while at liberty. It is significant that in no single instance has there been any return to former less humane methods. Two hundred years ago, Montesquieu wrote:

"As freedom advances, the severity of the penal law decreases" (Esprit des lois, Paris, 1935, v. vi, ch. iv.)

We need not be holden of roses, neither should they be torture-chambers.

Experts have written on prisons and prison reform in every European language. Ex-converts have described their experiences, with little value for their point of view; or former, like Lord William Nevill, members of parliament like Michael Davitt, financiers like Jabez Balfour, ladies of fashion like Mrs. Maybrick, and literary men like Oscar Wilde. No subject is more in fashion among the literati than prison reform, and by it playwrights and discussed on the platform, in the pulpit, and in the press. Too often the case for reform is prejudiced by gross exaggeration. As in Oscar Wilde's powerful Ballad of Reading Gaol (London, 1898), pictures are drawn which depend for their point on hardships and cruelties no longer anywhere to be found. It is of little practical benefit to denounce present-day administrators. The question is one of system; it can be solved only by experiment on a large scale and over a prolonged period. Such experiments are being carried on by governments, by communities, and by individuals in the United Kingdom, the United States, and many European countries. Happily for the future, many prison problems will solve themselves as the results of the adequate and appearance of persons requiring penal treatment, through the gradual removal of the chief causes of crime, namely, (a) unemployment and irregular employment, with attendant idleness, the formation of bad habits, lack of energy, and starvation; (b) drunkenness, one of the chief causes of poverty and crime, and likewise one of their most common and dehumanizing concomitants and effects; and (c) the failure to seclude the mentally deficient, the habitual drunkard, and the habitual criminal, so as to prevent the perpetuation of a degenerate race.

It is no exaggeration to say that the greater portion of crime in this country is due to economic, rather than to directly moral, causes.

I. PAST AND PRESENT-DAY PRISONS.—Down to the beginning of the 19th cent. the time-honored methods of dealing with criminals made the question of prisons and prison-management of small practical importance. Prisons were places in which those who had been awarded trial and the condemned awaited execution. The old penal system, for the crime of theft, was to get rid of the criminal, as distinguished from the modern endeavour to reform him and to prevent crime by stopping the manufacture of criminals. This is obvious from a bare enumeration of the methods formerly in use: (a) capital punishment, (b) mutilation, (c) flogging, (d) the pillory, the stocks, and branding, (e) compensation payable to the injured or fines payable to the State, and (f) compulsory exile. Under the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, as also among the Saxons and Germans, the chief and most prevalent form of crime consisted in the enforcement of compensation to the injured. For this rational procedure the feudal barons and the Church of the Middle Ages substituted imprisonment, torture, mutilation, and death.

By degrees, partly through the writings of men like Cesare Beccaria in Italy and Jeremy Bentham in England, partly because a greater value came to be put on human life, and partly through the punishment of capital crimes continued to pass capital sentences for trifling as well as serious offences, the executive, especially in the case of young offenders, frequently remitted the extreme penalty. People may be better than their creed; and legislators and administrators have often been more humane than the laws which they enacted and executed.

These causes led to the system of transportation, which was introduced in the reign of Charles II. Criminals who were sentenced to death in England were transported to the American colonies, along with those who were directly sentenced to transportation.

The old system, thus modified by transportation, continued to prevail in England. Convicts who were sentenced to death in 1776, when ships, called 'hulks,' were established for convicts in the Thames, and at Portsmouth and Chatham. The first hulk was opened in 1778, and the system was not finally abandoned till 1857. Concurrently with the hulks a fresh field for transportation was found, in 1787, in the Australian colonies. In 1834, 4920 convicts were transported to W. Australia. The system of transportation continued till 1857, when the last batch of convicts sent to any British colony was prevented by the colonists from landing in W. Australia. Both systems, transportation and the hulks, were attended with misery, cruelty, disease, and loss of life, avoidable and unavoidable. In the hulks the inmates were herded together in unclean association. Vice, profligacy, and demoralization prevailed (du Cane, Chambers's Ency.

clopedia, a. v., 'Prisons,' viii. 418). It appears that about a fourth of the deaths in the hulks were due to a deadly, but preventable, malady called 'hulk fever.' Transportation was condemned in a Government report of 1838 in these terms:

'The system of transportation is unequal, without terror to the criminal class, corrupting both convict and colonist, and very expensive' (quoted by du Cane, The Punishment and Prevention of Crime, London, 1865, p. 190).

Yet, in view of the importance of emigration for those in danger of falling into crime, it is important to remember that many transported convicts, in new surroundings, away from old companions and temptations, and freed from poverty and idleness, became good citizens, and that some of their descendants overseas now occupy responsible positions in Church and State.

The next phase, concurrent for a time with the maintenance of transportation and the hulks, was the cellular prison and convict settlement, with the accompaniment either of solitary confinement by night and day or of solitary confinement by night and association at work and at meals during the day, but in both cases with silence by day and by night. It was the experience that England and the United States is entitled to the credit or discredit of the origin of the cellular system, which had been advocated by John Howard as early as 1776, always, however, with the accompaniment of work, instruction, and moral and religious influences.
The cellular system, so far as involving isolation at night and continuous silence while the prisoners are in association, still remains in almost universal use in all European countries. But in the United Kingdom the number of days of solitary confinement during the day, except as a punishment for offences committed in prison, was abandoned in 1859 for prisoners with short sentences; it has also been abandoned in Scotland in the case of convicts, and reduced in England in 1910 to one month. So far as the present buildings and surrounding ground will allow, the prisoners work, eat, and exercise in association, but in silence.

1. Kinds of modern prisons.—The various kinds of prison in the British Isles have, similarly to those in Great Britain, been designed, and a number of experiments in a few cases of exceptional local interest and intelligence, great abuses, due to want of any uniform system of treatment, to inhumane or incompetent officials, to antiquated and inadequate buildings, and to the disregard of the humanitarian and unnecessary prisons. The differences in prison treatment were so great that criminals were known to select for their operations the locality of the gaol with soft beds, generous diet, and lax rules. The cases of association, however, have always been hampered by want of funds in introducing humane and reformative methods; they have done much to minimize the disastrous effects of prison life, and their annual reports do not disguise their dissatisfaction with much that is done, and much that is left undone, under their administration. These reports show a progressive realization of the Compatibility of humane and reformative treatment with good discipline.

(a) Local prisons, for those sentenced to not more than two years' confinement, are vested in and managed by three bodies of Prison Commissioners for England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, created by the Act of 1878. There had been previous attempts to a maximum of ten years' imprisonment, but the cases of exceptional local interest and intelligence, great abuses, due to want of any uniform system of treatment, to inhumane or incompetent officials, to antiquated and inadequate buildings, and to the disregard of the humanitarian and unnecessary prisons. The differences in prison treatment were so great that criminals were known to select for their operations the locality of the gaol with soft beds, generous diet, and lax rules. The cases of association, however, have always been hampered by want of funds in introducing humane and reformative methods; they have done much to minimize the disastrous effects of prison life, and their annual reports do not disguise their dissatisfaction with much that is done, and much that is left undone, under their administration. These reports show a progressive realization of the Compatibility of humane and reformative treatment with good discipline.

(b) Convict settlements, for prisoners sentenced to what is called 'penal servitude' (first authorized in Great Britain by the Penal Servitude Act of 1853), that is to say, any period of imprisonment from three years up to a life sentence. There are three periods in a convict's sentence: (1) the first month, (2) the remainder of his period of detention, during which he works in association with other convicts, but in silence, and (3) the balance of his sentence, when he is outside on a ticket-of-leave, liable to be apprehended if he fails to report himself or breaks any of the other conditions of his licence. Penal servitude involves so much food and so much more open-air work, in association with others and not in solitary confinement, that many 'old hands' prefer a sentence of three years' penal servitude (to be served at Dartmoor in England, where the convicts are employed reining ground and in farm-work, or at Peterhead in Scotland, where they quarry granite and build a harbour) to one of imprisonment for two years in an ordinary prison.

Comparative statistics of criminal offences and criminals require to be dealt with cautiously, and with intimate knowledge of the whole field, if one age or one country is to be fairly and accurately compared with another. The comparison between transportation and the hulks, on the one hand, and penal servitude, on the other, is not a complete one; but, subject to all deductions, it is encouraging that, whereas in the days of transportation there were, in 1857 (when the population of England and Wales was some 15,000,000), about 50,000 convicts, in the colonies or at home in 1869 the total number of convicts under sentence of penal servitude was only 11,660, of whom 3950 were men and 1700 women. This number of convicts was reduced in 1867 to 4978 (4545 men and 234 women), and in 1908 to 2799 (2660 men and 130 women). Taking local prisons and convict settlements together, it seems to be established that of first offenders about three-fourths never return, while of those convicted for the third time about three-fourths reappear as prisoners in local prisons or convict settlements. (c) Preventive detention prisons, or departments of prisons, established under the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1908 for convicts who have received a sentence of penal servitude, and who have also been proved to have been 'habitual criminals' at the time the offence was committed, engaged in no occupation except that of crime. These are the 'reeducitives' of France, the 'revolvers' of the United States. The period of preventive detention, which begins when the sentence of penal servitude ends, instead of being unlimited, as it ought to be and as was proposed in the original bill, is limited to two years, or ten years if the sentence is for more than 15 years. When the convicts cease to require attendance at the Prison Commissioners the convict may have to serve the full period of preventive detention named in the sentence or he may be liberated at any time on probation. This useful Act requires amendment, because at some classes of criminals, such as those convicted of the minor and unnecessary prisons.

(d) Criminal Lunatic Asylums, established under the Criminal Lunatics Act of 1898, to which habitual drunkards, falling into crime, may be sent for lengthened periods. It was recognized that the short sentences usually inflicted on the habitual drunkard were worse than useless, and that to send a man or a woman to gaol for a day, a week, or a month on, say, their 200th appearance is to make a laughing-stock of legal procedure. Such short sentences, while long enough to rehabilitate the drunkard for further excess, are too short to do any good to the 'old hands', when out of prison, even while truly pursuing a life of crime, take care to do just as much work as will make it impossible to convict them, under the definition in the statute, of being 'habitual criminals.'

(e) Criminal Inebriate Asylums, established under the Criminal Inebriates Act of 1898, to which habitual drunkards, falling into crime, may be sent for lengthened periods. It was recognized that the short sentences usually inflicted on the habitual drunkard were worse than useless, and that to send a man or a woman to gaol for a day, a week, or a month on, say, their 200th appearance is to make a laughing-stock of legal procedure. Such short sentences, while long enough to rehabilitate the drunkard for further excess, are too short to do any good to the 'old hands', when out of prison, even while truly pursuing a life of crime, take care to do just as much work as will make it impossible to convict them, under the definition in the statute, of being 'habitual criminals.'

(f) 'Borstal' Institutions, established under the Prevention of Crime Act of 1908, pt. i., for persons between 16 and 23. Du Cane says that most habitual criminals have begun their malpractices before 20 years of age, and 60 per cent under 15 (see art. JUVENILE CRIMINALS).

(g) Reformatories for boys and girls under 16, convicted of crime, to be detained for not less than three or more than five years, of which there are 38 in England, 7 in Scotland, and 2 in Ireland (see art. JUVENILE CRIMINALS).

2. Differences between the prisons of the past and the prisons of the present in the United King-
dom. — (a) Ownership and administration of prisons.

— The possession, or assumption, of judicial powers, and the use of dungeons attached to their castles and palaces, were formed one of the chief sources of the power of the landed classes, titled and untitled, and of the Church in the Middle Ages. After imprisonment by private persons was rendered illegal, there came the system of small prisons, which, while inadequately inspected by Government officials, belonged to, and were maintained and managed by, local bodies. In 1818, in 59 of the 518 prisons in the United Kingdom women were not divided from men, and in 445 there was no segregation of classes. Some of these prisons were described as scenes of abandoned wickedness. In 1813 Mrs. Fry, on her first visit to Newgate, found 300 women, tried and untried, with their children, crowded together, in rags and dirt, and with nothing but the floor, without bedding, to sleep on. The Act of 1878 already referred to, which vested all prisons in Prison Commissioners appointed by the Crown, effected large savings in cost as well as improvement in the buildings and treatment, without sacrificing the benefit of local inspection.

(b) Prison management.—A writer (M. F. Johnstone) in the Forthnightly Review, new ser., lxix. (1901) 560, says:

"The improvements which have been effected in recent years in prison management are of so radical a nature that they practically amount to a change of attitude towards the offender. It is the general conception that punishment is imposed for the sake of the suffering they entail do not act as a cure. They rather tend to brutalize the subject, and serve to intensify the undue prejudice against both him, in the first instance, to raise his hand against his fellow-men."

The old class of official and prison administrator not unnaturally, in view of his training, considered only what would maintain perfect prison discipline, and was not influenced by the fact that, while flogging and 'the black hole' undoubtedly crushed the prisoner into sullen and revengful submission, these methods rendered him unfit, on release, to be re-absorbed into the decent part of the community. From every relaxation of the last century the old official has propagated disorders, which have in no case occurred. He did so when it was proposed that the use of 'the black hole' should cease, with the crank (denounced by Charles Reade in It Is Never Too Late to Mend) and the treatise which shows diminution in size and dim glass removed so that at least the sky, if not the earth, might be visible; when an effort was made to substitute for oakum-picking interesting and educative work; when flogging ceased, except for mutiny or gross violence on warders, and then only when authorized by a visiting magistrate or a Prison Commissioner; when work in association was introduced; when libraries were started; when, instead of everything being done to weaken the family tie (perhaps the only remaining motive for reform), prisoners were allowed to have their children's photographs in their cells; when a little bit of mirror, to promote tidiness, was fastened into the walls of their cells; when it was proposed to lay wooden floors over the miserably cold cement of which cell floor was constructed; when Swedish drill for women and ordinary drill for men were introduced, instead of, or in supplement to, the weary pacing round a circle in the prison-yard; when work in the fields was tried in connection with flogging; when a variety of foods was substituted for the eternal 'skilly'; when good conduct marks, carrying a money value, were introduced; when magic-lantern lectures, which have been found a valuable aid to discipline, were first started. It is only fair to say that he has, in most cases, admitted that his fears were unfounded; to his amazement he has found that discipline can be maintained better by the stimuli of moderate rewards, judiciously given, than by the deterrence of the most severe punishment. In 1865, in English prisons, according to the first of Mr. Montagu's Reports, 1864, under the so-called 'humanitarian' methods, the numbers had fallen to 37,000—a figure which has been since steadily reduced. Convicts on whom the terrors of the lash or the dark cell produce no effect, will stop their bad behaviour if they know that perseverance will deprive them of the magic-lantern lecture or cut off the right, recently conferred upon them, of spending a small portion of their earnings on caddy or tobacco. An old class of official still clings to the stereotyped prison in or near towns and within high walls, although he has to admit that reformatories for juvenile and borstals for juvenile-adult criminals, not to speak of such startlingly successful experiments as George Montagu's Little Commonwealth in England, are conducted successfully in the country, without high walls, and with only a manageable number of attempts to escape.

Prison management is in the hands of the following officials:

(1) Governor and matron.—Prison rules are uniform all over the country; but the humanity and reasonableness of their execution depend on the individual governor: the tone from him or her more than from the Prison Commissioners or from the chaplain or medical officer. No absolute rule can be laid down for the selection of governors and matrons. Admittedly, the experiments have been most successful in the class of official still clings to the stereotyped prison in or near towns and within high walls, although he has to admit that reformatories for juvenile and borstals for juvenile-adult criminals, not to speak of such startlingly successful experiments as George Montagu's Little Commonwealth in England, are conducted successfully in the country, without high walls, and with only a manageable number of attempts to escape.

(2) Chaplains.—There were made the appointment of prison chaplains compulsory. Previously, and for some time after 1814, their chief work consisted in ministering to the prisoners under sentence of death and attending them to the scaffold. Till 1868 that spectacle continued to be a public disgrace, denounced by Dickens, but successfully upheld by Samuel Johnson.

'Tyburn itself,' Johnson said, 'is not safe from the fury of innovation, . . . The old method was most satisfactory to all parties. The public was gratified by a procession; and the criminal was supported by it. Why is it all to be swept away?' (quoted by du Cane, Punishment and Prevention of Crime, p. 22).

Nowadays the right kind of chaplain becomes the prisoners' friend, and keeps in touch with them after their release. Realizing acutely the chaotic and pernicious character of the prison, he at their undying and misleading, he is at the same time fully alive to the prisoners' own share of blame. The present writer knows a convict settlement where nominally Protestant convicts have entered themselves into a community to have their services of a particularly friendly priest. The chaplain, Protestant or Catholic, is not readily gullible, as the public believe. His disappointments do not arise from the prisoners' insincerity, but from his weakness of will, his want of friends, and the temptations which the State licenses or permits. Prison-effect ed reformation may be quite
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genuine at the time; but it is generally too tender a plant to stand the storm of temptation. Chaplains used to be appointed for life; short terms, with the system of rotation under which the clergymen, now are found to secure greater freedom. The chaplain has in many cases the supervision of the educational work of the prison and of the library, and he organizes prison lectures. Moral and religious instruction now has a place in the library than formerly. Education does not make men and women moral or religious, but it prevents their becoming criminal. In prisons persons of good education are almost as unknown as total abstainers, and the most intelligent in prisons is a prison which preserve a prisoner's individuality. In Mountjoy Prison in Dublin the writer was told that Dickens is the favourite author among the men, and Annie Swan among the women.

(3) Medical officer. — The prison doctor's most important duty used to be to certify, in cases of hanging, that life was extinct, and, in cases of flogging, to see that death did not ensue. Now his observations of the mental condition of a man convicted of a crime is of far greater importance, for he is accused is fully responsible and can be held to account as a normal human being, or whether, as to a certain extent mentally defective, he may have lita crime, if proved, treated as one of manslaughter. The doctrine of the conditions, or whether he is in such a mental condition that he is incapable of instructing a defence and must be committed to a criminal lunatic asylum. Every prisoner is seen at short intervals by the doctor, inside or outside the prison hospital; the doctor, particularly under Scotch administration, has a free hand in the increase or decrease of the prisoner's diet and in regulating his work; moreover, he soon acquires marvellous skill in detecting malingerers. Prison doctors have opportunities of studying medico-legal questions of scientific and practical importance, including the proportion of prisoners who have been from birth, or whose habits have made them, morally and mentally defective—a question which has an obvious bearing on punitive as well as reformatory treatment.

(4) Warders, male and female. — 'The officer who has charge of prisoners has such power, for good or ill, to control their conduct, that his position is of at least as many positions more responsible. Nor are there many in which the officer is exposed to more temptation to neglect his duty, or to misbehave, than in that of the ordinary warder.' (p. 241.) (Pendle and Preventive Principles, London, 1896, p. 278.)

The warders' daily routine, spent in an atmosphere of repression and degradation, is not favourable to the development of human sympathy; but in the general case no complaint can be made of the fairness of their treatment of prisoners. Instances of favouritism are due rather to the good conduct of the prisoners favoured than to any improper preference. As in lunatic asylums, cruel treatment by prison officers, which cannot be entirely prevented even under the best system of selection and supervision, is associated almost invariably with grievous provocation. Attempts in prison to commit suicide, which are seldom successful, are the fault of the system, not of those who administer it.

(5) Prison visitors. — It was not till the Act of 1899 that lady visitors were ordered for all local prisons where there are female prisoners. Religious and philanthropic visitors, who ought in all cases to be encouraged to visit local prisons, should be allowed to visit the classes of the prisoners from which prisoners come, are now welcomed to local prisons, under suitable regulations.

The English Prison Commissioners' report for 1915 heartily endorses the increase of local prison visitors, aid societies, workers, secular and religious, who work day by day with patience and undiminished hope, for the rescue and reinstatement of the criminal of both sexes, and of all ages.

. . . It is to this organized effort of charity and goodwill, which has been so speedily extended with increasing numbers of years to the visitation and after care of prisoners, that the yearly improvement of our criminal records, especially with regard to the younger offender, is due (p. 25).

Devon writes:

'..The visits to prisoners on the part of people from outside are of great benefit; anything is better than to break the solitude of a life devoted to evil. They must have preserved many from desperation, and from suicide. The visits of clergymen and charitable friends show the prisoner that he is not considered an outcast, impossible of redemption' (p. 257). As to prison lectures, 'anything that prevents the inciting and making the prisoners think of the petty incidents that go to make up their lives in prison, from beating against the bars of their cage, is beneficial' (p. 251).

(6) Prison work. — The provision of work in prisons, which is a cardinal principle in the Prisons Act of 1898, is attended with great difficulties, if it is to be (1) sufficiently interesting to preserve the prisoner's humanity, (2) educative, (3) remunerative, or at least not productive of loss, (4) not competitive with philanthropic institutions, like blind asylums, and (5) not hostile to trade union rules and the legitimate interests of free labour. In connection with the present European War, the necessity of having work which will engage prisoners and even enthusiasm, work of a patriotic kind has been done by prisoners, toiling extra hours without remuneration other than the much-esteemed privilege of having the war news of the day read to them.

In connection with prisoners working in association, the question of classification presents great difficulties. An effort is made to keep so-called 'first offenders' separate from so-called 'hardened criminals, but in many cases the first offender's act of fraud, or assault, is not his first offence, but only the first case which has been reported to the police or in which there was evidence to convict; and there are so-called 'hardened criminals', more sinned against than sinning, whose moral nature is by no means totally depraved. It is a widespread and pernicious delusion that an assault implies normal quarrelsomeness or brutality, and that an indecent attack implies normally ungodly, lust; in both cases, apart from any question of provocation, any existing personal grievances, or a converted respectable citizen into a felon may be the direct result of drink taken to such an extent (which may be far short of 'drunkenness') as to destroy self-respect and respect for the rights of others.

The difficult question of the universal enforcement of silence among ordinary prisoners in our local prisons and convict settlements remains for consideration. The difficulty consists in reconciling in practice the two principles, 'It is not good for man to be alone,' and 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.' In this important respect our prisons and convict settlements are more dehumanizing than transportation and the hulks in old days or than modern Siberian and Turkish prisons. But, then, it is said that suppression and not supervision is necessary, because conversation, however carefully regulated, is unavoidable subservive of discipline, and prisoners would abuse the privilege, if not impossible in the strictest system of escape, at all events, for carrying on destructive and seditious conversation, by access to newspapers as well as books after the day's work is over, as is done with good results at Borstals, among female convicts in England, and among male convicts undergoing preventive detention. The hardships as well as the pernicious effects of the present system are
so much felt that the writer knows at least one governor who, when dealing with prisoners' marks, does not count those bad marks which have been caused by the process of passing a harmless observation to his neighbour.

It is right to add, in regard to prison management generally, that no prison administrators, unless the most old-fashioned, are satisfied with the present system and its results. Therein lies the hope of the future.

(7) Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.—If efforts to reform are to be of permanent avail, the prisoner must, before release, be gradually prepared for life out of prison. On leaving the prison, have work found for him and be otherwise befriended. More might be done in both directions, even under the present system. It is not enough to allow the prisoners to grow their hair of a normal length for a few weeks before their release. Additional relaxations would not be abused, because abuse would mean forfeiture of gratuity and of the period of remission. Opportunity is needed to overcome the shyness and timidity of the prisoner as he faces the world which prolonged seclusion produces.

An Act of 1792, enlarged by the Gaol Act of 1823, made provision for discharged prisoners out of public funds. In 1802 the first Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society was founded. Others followed; but it was not till 1862 that these societies obtained statutory recognition. Since 1887 every prison of any size has had a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society working in connexion with it. In 1898 the Prison Commissioners issued schemes for the guidance of these societies, containing provisions as to grants in aid to their funds; and when, in 1899, lady visitors were appointed to all local prisons containing female prisoners, this was stated to be with the special object of aiding in the reformation of the prisoners and finding employment for them.

In 1906, 39,413 discharged prisoners passed through the hands of 62 Aid Societies, of whom 2000 were found worthy and 1100 refused assistance. These societies are doing admirable work despite inadequate funds and an insufficient number of voluntary helpers.

(c) Prisoners with special privileges.—The modern prison contains two classes of inmates who should not come to it. Some are those who have been convicted of actual crime, namely (1) convicted prisoners, who are entitled to furnish their own rooms, wear their own clothes, provide their own food, carry on correspondence with persons outside, and receive visits from their friends, and (2) debtors (now, happily, under modern legislation, few in number), who have somewhat similar privileges. In the case of convicted prisoners in good health there is little respect of persons, in either accommodation, food, dress, or work. It was not so in former days. Just as, in medieval warfare, all officers were, if possible, captured alive, that they might be made a source of profit to the captors, so imprisonment was then used as a means of obtaining what would now be called blackmail but was then known as ransom. In old the only wind was tempered in many ways to the wooldy lamb, clerical and secular. The so-called 'benefit of clergy' was greatly abused; but, on the whole, like the right of sanctuary, it acted beneficially for the criminal as a whole. In old, with the only wind that was tempred from the brutal treatment to which secular persons were exposed. But for the benefit of clergy and the right of sanctuary, both history and literature would be poorer. The medieval Church rivalled the State's brutal treatment of all prisoners, lay or clerical, charged with heresy; but its treatment of non-heretical prisoners was, on the whole, much more humane. Sometimes it was more than humane, if we can judge from Archbishop Bliss's Constitutions (dated in 1367).

The general idea that the prisoner in prison that the prison, intended for a punishment for their crimes, is turned into a refreshment and delicious solace, and they are pampered in their vices by case and the admission of concerns is.

(d) Prisoners in modern prisons who were absent from old prisons.—These are long-sentence prisoners. Long sentences were originally the outcome of the false theological view of sin already referred to. But it does not follow that prolonged imprisonments must cease. Under totally different conditions, with different social circumstances, the prisoner may be reformable, until the offender has shown that he may be released with safety to the interests of his fellow-citizens. In the case of those who have been proved, by repeated and prolonged trials, to be un reformable imprisonment for life will be substituted for the present absurd system, under which a prisoner, who has shown after a short period that he may safely be released, has to be maintained in prison, and his family in the poorhouse, for the rest of their lives; a prisoner, who, after sentence; and a prisoner is released at the end of a fixed sentence, even although he openly boasts that he means, on liberation, to resume his Ishmaelite trade, his hand against every man.

(e) Prisoners who are to be found in modern prisons.—(1) Children convicted or untried. For centuries prisons were nurseries of crime. Children, some of them born and brought up in prison, were sent, for trifling offences, to the gallows, to Botany Bay, or to prison. In prison they became accustomed to the prison atmosphere and indifferent to it, and they left it 'goat-birds,' with the prison-brand on them figuratively, and in some cases literally. The establishment of industrial schools for children under 14 in danger of falling into crime, and of reformatories for children under 16 who had been convicted of crime, and the marked success of these establishments had gradually reduced the number of children in our prisons. But, as already pointed out, it was not till the passing of the Children's Act in 1908 that it was declared illegal to send any boy or girl under 14 in any circumstances to prison; and it was provided by the same statute that no sentence of imprisonment, except in a very limited class of cases, could be imposed on any offender under 16.

(2) Debtors. Literature has made great use of the abuses connected in old days with debtors' prisons, especially in England. The whole iniquitous system was terminated by the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt Act, 1880. The modern prison is not imprisoned for debt is negligible. They consist, in England, of debtors who are able to pay, but will not, and, in Scotland, of debtors for Crown taxes and for aliment, these cases forming exceptions in the English and Scottish statutes abolishing imprisonment for debt in the two countries.

(3) Prisoners waiting for trial. In England it is a rule that the king's judges would not visit the place of trial for several years, during which time prisoners who were accused of the most insanitary kind, and their families, being deprived of their bread-winners, starved. Now, if a prisoner is not tried within a short time after apprehension, he is entitled to release.

(4) What prisoners are imprisoned for which they have been apprehended, but unable to pay the gaoler's fees, which were always extortionate, and often illegal. Now all gaolers' fees are abolished, and instant and unconditional liberation follows a verdict of acquittal.

(f) Security of modern as distinguished from old prisons.—In former times the facility of escape
from prison helped to explain some of the practices mistakenly quoted in evidence of our ancestors' brutality. Nowadays the safety of the community can be increased by depriving the law-breaker of his life or mutilating him by blinding or by cutting off a limb, and, at the same time, punishment can be inflicted by imprisonment in place of the old sentences of flogging, the pillory, the stocks, or branding. Gaol life was constructed on the high principle, ponderous doors, and weighted fitters. It is now achieved by properly constructed buildings, constant personal supervision, and reliable warders. Our ancestors should not be blamed for practices which were forced upon them by necessity.

(g) Hygienic conditions.—Until the 19th cent. these were bad, beyond our power to realize. The inmates were starved, housed in a manner incoherent, sordid, and dissolute, and as for their habitation, it is evil enough for doggys, and yet, the Lord knoweth, they have not enough thereof!' (ed. J. M. Cowper, Early English Text Society, London, 1854, p. 37).

In the third edition of his great book, published in 1784, John Howard says:

"Many, who went in healthy, are in a few months changed into belittled beings, and become objects of sympathy. Some are taken by a new infection under diseases, "sick, and in prison," expiring on the floors, in loathsome cells, of pestilential fevers and the continual smallpox."

Gaal fever was one of the commonest as well as most deadly maladies.

Lord Bacon (quoted by du Cane, p. 43) spoke of "the smell of the gaol the most pernicious infection next to the plague. When prisoners have been long and close and nastily kept, whereas we have in our time experienced twice or thrice, both judges that sat upon the trial, and numbers of persons that attended the business, or were present, sickened upon it or died."

Nowadays gaols are models of sanitation; prisoners are well fed; the death-rate is below that of the outside population; and the old moral evils, arising from the absence of separation between the sexes, are almost unknown. The disease for which John Howard and Elizabeth Fry and their coadjutors have worked so thoroughly accomplished, and the crying abuses, physical and moral, which they denounced have been removed. Great attention has been paid to the cleansing of the outside of the cup and platter. But whether the proportion of prisoners who leave our prisons more inclined and better fitted to lead law-abiding lives than when they entered is greater or smaller than under the brutal systems of the past is by no means so clear. Dickens exaggerated the disastrous effects of the separate cell, and, since his day, it has been ameliorated by good libraries, the friendly visits of the chaplains and prison visitors, and in other ways. The idea of the brutal prison, in that dehumanizing effect modern prisons, with so their vast cost, their perfect discipline, and the good intentions and endeavours of the Prison Commissioners and the officials who manage them, are little dreamed of.

(4) Reformatory methods.—The modern definition of punishment by imprisonment is founded on the idea (1) of discipline so severe as to act as a deterrent, and (2) of such reformatory influences as religious and moral teaching, and good example and training in self-control, promoted by offering advantages to industry and good conduct, as well as punishment for the reverse. However inadequate this conception may be, it is at least a great advance on old ideas and methods. At first chance was employed for the detection of criminals, and one of many methods of punishment, and, ultimately, the only method of punishment, except hanging, flogging, and fining. What is said by F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland applies to the abuses of our modern prisons:

"Imprisonment occurs in the Anglo-Saxon laws only as a means of temporary security. . . . Imprisonment would have been regarded in their old times as a useless punishment; it does not satisfy revenge, it keeps the criminal idle, and, do we what we may, it is costly." (Hist. of English Law before Edward I., p. 490.)

H. de Brecot, who wrote in 1268, expressly states that prisons were to confine and not to punish:

"Carcer ad continendas et non ad puniendas haberi debet" (de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae, London, 1509, fol. 105).

Persons were often kept in prisons for lengthened periods and even for life, not as a punishment, but as a means of avoiding the prisoner's right to trial or in order to compel payment of fines or ransom, or to elicit testimony.

It must be supposed that the idea of deterrence, which, along with expiation, is at the root of our modern system, was unknown in former times. Indeed, the principle of deterrence must have a place, large or small, in every criminal system and be the cherished idea of some of our ancestors. But its importance is usually exaggerated. Tested by the criminal records of all ages and in all countries, even the most savage punishments are conclusively proved inadequate either to stop the supply of offenders or to turn criminals into law-abiding citizens. On crimes of passion deterrence has not time to operate; in cases of deliberate crime the fear of detection and punishment only makes the criminal more wary. The question in the end must be, Are the results which the expenditure on the prison system is likely to afford the best worth the expense? And the best of these are at present carried on, that is to say, under a system so identified with exploded theories of punishment that the reformative elements which have been engraven on it do not have a fair chance of success? No doubt it would be dangerous to the State if at large are withdrawn for periods more or less extended. On the other hand, thousands are housed, fed, clothed, and doctored by the State who, if at large, would be supporting themselves by their work and adding their labor to the production of the wealth of the State. Some are benefited by good influences under which they come in prison, but, for one of these, there are scores who are brutalized by prison life and who come out worse than they went in. There are cases where, in their results, notwithstanding the best endeavours of their managers, our prisons may come under the condemnation pronounced by Mme de Staël on the Old Bicêtre, which she called "a prison to propagate crime and a hospital to propagate disease."

It may be said that these are grave statements to be made by an administrator of the present system; but they are in accord with a growing section of expert opinion.

"It may be at once admitted," writes A. G. F. Griffiths, H.M. Inspector of Prisons, "that the system of isolation has produced some remarkable results, and no conference has ever conferred more appreciably diminished crime. Cloistered seclusion is an artificial condition quite at variance with human nature, and has, in all experience, and the evidence on the subject continues, has proved injurious to health, inducing mental breakdown. A slow death may be defended indeed on moral grounds if the individual has been "‘taxed’ without a further form of capital punishment" (E.B., xxv. 369).

In 1855 a Departmental Committee reported:

"The great, and, as we consider, the proved danger of this highly centralized system has been, and is, that, while much attention has been given to organization, finance, order, health of the prisoners, and prison statistics, the prisoners have been"
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treated too much as a hopeless, or worthless, element of the community, and the moral, as well as the legal, responsibility of the prison authorities has been held to cease, when they passed outside the prison gates. The satisfactory sanitary conditions, the unbroken orderliness of prison life, economy, and high organization are held and justly held to prove the administration. But the moral condition, in which a large number of prisoners leave the prison, and the serious number of recidivists, has led us to think that there is ample cause for a searching inquiry into the main features of prison life (p. 7).

II. THE PRISON OF THE FUTURE.—The word prison is used in this title. But in the criminal institutions of the future many of the features associated with the word will be eliminated. In the Children Act of 1868 'places of detention' (not 'prisons') are, by sections 102, 106, and 108, to be provided for certain classes of juvenile offenders. The criminal institutions of the future will be places of detention and reformation for the reformable, and places of detention for the unconvertible. But this can be done only by the reconstruction, generally on new sites, of existing prisons, which were built to carry out erroneous ideas by methods now discredited. Instead of being situated in the country, with ample ground inside the bounds for the erection of workshops as occasionally used, and ample ground out for farm work and for exercise, existing prisons are generally situated in or near towns; the ground, originally insufficient, has been gradually encroached upon for the erection of workshops and other buildings. In the present system, the measure of demand on prisons and on reformers; and the only exercise possible is in Indian file, round and round a circle marked by stones on the ground—a ghastly tramp, euphemistically referred to in an English prison report as 'the prisoners enjoying exercise the air'.

It is true that there are important respects in which the prison of the future cannot hope to excel the prison of to-day. The large areas of ground that will be required and the ampler buildings will make the initial expense greater than the continuance of the present system; but thereafter, when the reformatory methods get a fair chance to tell, the expense will rapidly lessen, until the premises are used only to detain those who are criminal, and those, having proved themselves hopelessly unable to be at large with safety to the community. The future prison will be less rather than more secure against escape, although the motives prompting escape will be materially lessened. No ingenious devices will be employed to prevent the inmates catching even a passing glimpse of earth and sky and sea; but in cleanliness, heating, and ventilation its buildings cannot improve on those at present in use. The prisoners of the future will not work for the benefit of the State, but for those whom they have defrauded and for the support of their own wives and children. There will be greater variety in food, but there can be no possible advance on the quality of the excellent, but unvaried, diet which at present prevails. The prisoners' clothes will be quite as good as the present uniform, but they will not be such as to prevent any man with a shadow of self-respect from allowing his wife and children to visit him. The discipline may be less mechanically justifiable than the present, but is no longer preventive of the escape to which it is necessary to keep the inmates human, nor will it be thought essential, in every ordinary interview between husband and wife, to interpose two sets of iron bars between the visitor and the wife, so that they may not meet in the same sitting and sleeping space. The discipline will not be lax, but it will allow some opportunity for the exercise of volition and initiative, the complete stifling of which under the present system renders prisoners on release unfit to stand alone and fight their own battles.

Generally speaking, discipline will be maintained by just treatment and human kindness. ‘Even a donkey will go farther after a carrot than when driven by a stick.”

The main difference between the present prison and the prison of the future may be thus stated: in the prison of to-day the system is not wholly directed to detention and punishment, as it was immediately before Howard's time, yet it is primarily punitive and hardening, and only secondarily reformatory, whereas in the prison of the future the whole effort will be directed to secure that, when the offender is released (if he ever is released), he shall be at least so far reformed as to make it safe that he should return, under friendly supervision and help, to be a free member of the community. Whatever be the precise system, it must be based on the comparatively modern discovery that a healthy open-air life, interesting and educative work, and wholesome moral and religious influences are the chief panacea for human maladies—physical, mental, and moral. A Dutch proverb was a favourite of John Howard, ‘Make men diligent, and you will make them honest.' Griffiths' well-known epigram—a man is but a man as long as he be an prisoner—emphasizes the fact that all epigrams and generalizations are exposed; yet there is some foundation for his statement that half the inmates of our prisons should never be let out and the other half should never have been.

There are certain classes of persons at present forming part of our prison population who will not be found in the prisons of the future, but in separate establishments:

(a) Persons accused of crime who have been either refused, or who have been unable to find, bail.

(b) Persons for whose offences fines are deemed sufficient, and who, are, under the present system, sent to prison in default of payment. By recent legislation time is now given for payment of fines, and part payment of fines can be made, thereby reducing pro tanto the period of imprisonment. The result has been to lessen greatly the number of prisoners of this class. Such prisoners, whose only offence, generally speaking, are not crimes, but only breaches of social discipline, are really detained for non-payment of debt; and, so far as it is necessary to deprive them of liberty, they ought not to be kept in an ordinary prison, but in an institution in which they could earn, by their work, the balance of the fine imposed upon them, without being branded for life as criminals.

(c) Mental defectives. These are now sent to prison because judges have to deal with all criminals, except lunatics and imbeciles, on the false basis (1) that they are normal, physically, mentally, and morally; (2) that they have had, and have made, a deliberate choice between good and evil; and (3) that they were in a normal condition when the act was done, the fact generally being that they went to be questioned under the influence of drink, which, like other drugs, can, during the time of its operation, completely transform the most law-abiding disposition. These persons are unable, with the facilities and temptations authorized for them, by the law, to control the impulses of which they are subject, and are driven by their weak wills to violate the laws of society.

When there is risk of injury to themselves or others, they ought to be confined in asylums; when there is neither homicidal nor suicidal tendency, their proper place is in farm colonies.
where, while prevented from committing crime and from perpetuating their degenerate stock, they will be saved the needlessly rigorous treatment to which they are at present subjected. Much in our present system contravenes the maxim that ‘all unnecessary pain is cruelty.’

(4) The best and most certain means of effecting the purposes here sought can be accomplished by placing them on probation under the supervision of probation officers, in accordance with the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907. This is known as ‘conditional liberty, on probation,’ first introduced in Massachusetts, and has been further developed in various places. The system is capable of great developments; and sooner or later the State will find it economical to employ, and adequately remunerate, probation officers. If people can be got to take charge of lunatics, it should be possible, for adequate remuneration, to provide for the guardianship, outside of prison, of criminals or other persons suffering from mental disease. In England, among those who are known as juvenile-adults—those between 16 and 21—the commitments fell from 12,178 in 1900 to 3663 in 1915. Before long all committals to prison of persons under 21, when the offence is trivial and the antecedents of the offender are good, will be avoided by the extension of the system of supervision.

(c) Those who receive short sentences. The Borstal Committee for Wakefield Prison, reporting in 1915, stated:

‘There is not a single redeeming feature in a short sentence. It carries with it all the social stigma and industrial penalties of imprisonment, with no compensation to the offender or to the community. If there still survives in the minds of administrators of justice the obsolete and exploded theory that prison is essentially a place for punishment—and for punishment alone—for the expiation of offences in dehumanizing, senseless tasks, and arbitrary discipline, truly there could be developed no more deplorable form of punishment than the short sentence oft repeated (English Prison Commissioners’ Report for 1915, p. 18).’

Yet, in spite of such views, which represent the opinion of criminologists, there were in England, in 1914, 1106 sentences of one day.

Whatever improvements may be effected in the future in the system and methods employed to deal with crime in prison and to reform the criminal during detention there, to the extent at least of making him on his release a safe member of society, it must never be forgotten that these are merely palliatives to reduce the effects of a disease. It is an undoubted fact that the present system and the present methods have failed, and are failing, to rid the country of crime. If it is also true that no effective system of reformation is compatible with the conditions necessarily involved in imprisonment—because effectual reformation, to be permanent, requires reformation of the individual, and reformation of the individuality involves innocent and wholesome social intercourse, which is practically impossible in prisons—then the claim for preventive, in preference to curative, measures becomes all the more manifest and urgent.

It cannot be said for that view, and, if it is sound, the main effort of the statesman and the philanthropist must evidently be to go to the fountain-head and to cut off the supply.

Adopt, so far as possible, other means than imprisonment for the reformation of the delinquent. The conviction of a person as of the 5th century, and throughout the Middle Ages, and the repressive effort must be that which reduces incarceration to the lowest extent compatible with public security, and which seeks to limit the evil by moral treatment; and the treatment of the offenders is to be supplemented outside the gates of jails, rather than within them. . . . Even the best

prisons are in a certain sense evils. One of the chief aims of a wise penology is to devise means for advantageously and safely dispensing with them (Tulloch’s, p. 290).

Every movement calculated to improve the social well-being of the people is a step to empty prisons and convict settlements and to reduce and extinguish crime. So far as trivial offences go, it is better not to punish at all than to send to prison. If prisons are to be emptied and crime is to be prevented, it must be done by the State securing:

(1) that no citizen shall, without fault or physical or mental feehness on his part, be unable to earn a continuous living wage for himself and his family;

(2) that every citizen shall be able to obtain such housing and surroundings as shall make it possible for him and his family to live decent law-abiding lives;

(3) that every child capable of education shall receive an efficient physical, mental, and moral training; and

(4) that, whether or not, in the interests of personal, social, and national efficiency, the sale of alcohol, like the sale of opium, should be prohibited except for medicinal use, the existing temptations to use alcohol either in moderation or in excess—such temptations being often found at the maximum of the power of resistance in the young criminal—shall be ended.

An eminent criminologist has said:

‘The immense majority of cases that pass through our Courts arise out of sheer need, or wicked education and surroundings, and without which the delinquents could not exist—social conditions’ (Edward Carpenter, Prisons, Police, and Punishment, London, 1905, p. 5).

Judges have often declared, as the result of long and varied experience in dealing with criminal cases coming from all parts of the United Kingdom, urban and rural, that for the use of alcohol (although not necessarily to excess in the ordinary sense of the word) certain classes of crime would cease to exist, and all classes of crime would be greatly reduced.

If the State does its duty in these essential particulars, the Christian Church will not be slow to avail itself of the opportunity, which it has never yet had, of bringing to bear the power of the gospel of Christ, without the hindrances and pitfalls which at present, to so large an extent, render nugatory the best efforts of religion and philanthropy. The present generation will not see it; but the day will come when the civilized world will be able to say to any judge what a criminal, young in years but old in crime, once truthfully said, before sentence, to the writer of this article, ‘My lord, I never had a chance!’

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout the article.

CHARLES J. GUTHRIE.

PRIVATE JUDGMENT.—‘Justification by faith’ and ‘the right of private judgment’ are the two watchwords of the Reformation. Neither, of course, was new, but each expressed an old truth in a new way. And what gave them their power to open a new chapter in man’s history came through the personality of Luther, from whose fiery soul faith burst forth as the destroyer of hierarchical religion. Paul and Augustine had felt before him the same urgency towards the assertion of the ultimate authority of the individual, but it remained for Luther to rea where they had sown. Pleiderer has expressed the relations thus: ‘The three in the Church. The Augustine was a Romanized and Luther a Tenentized Paul. But Paul, in his turn, was a Christian individualist partly Judaized and partly Hellenized. The two tyrannies which pressed on the religious man of the 16th cent. were those of the practical system of religion controlled by the hierarchy and of the scholasticism (q.v.), which had

1 Philosophy of Religion, ii. 229.
been adapted from Aristotle to serve the theoretical ends of the Church's dogmatic system. The weight of these became more and more intolerable when the civil power interfered with the Church in matters that the Church by right of its own, had claimed liberty to judge for themselves in matters of religion. It is true that in no century were there wanting men and groups of men who to some extent sought to think and speak with freedom. The names of Abelard (q.v.), Wyclif (q.v.), Roger Bacon, John of G Oscle, John of Wessol, John Hus (see Hussites), Jerome of Prague, and the Brethren of the Common Life (q.v.) will all come to mind. Moreover, the protagonists of another movement, mysticism (q.v.), contributed parasitically to the formation of a deep subconscious belief in the inherent right of the individual to formulate his religion for himself. Of the predecessors of the Reformation men like Hus and Savonarola assailed current ecclesiastical practice; John of Gosclos, Gerson, and John of Wessol devoted themselves to theological thought, while mystics such as Ruysbroek, Eckhart, Tauler, and Suso aimed directly at transcending in individual experience all the externals of Church form. While tracing these as convenient expressions of the independent life that they lived immediately with God.

In Martin Luther (q.v.) these three streams ran into one. A student of St. Paul and Augustine, he had been the disciple of the doctrine and the scholasticism which had trained him. As an Augustinian he knew and practised the austerities associated with the monastic life; in Rome he performed all the exercises appropriate to pious pilgrimage with a readiness which might have been the match to his latent zeal for reform. And Tauler and the Theologin Germanican taught him what spiritual power mysticism could exercise. The result of the three influences thus brought to bear on him was the assertion of the Christian principle of justification by faith—a phrase which was but a theological variant of the philosophical principle of 'the right of private judgment' (see ERE vi. 619).

It is not in the realm of physics alone that the law of the identity of action and reaction holds good. In the forces which constitute history it also asserts itself. A powerful hierarchy and an authoritative dogmatic system had set themselves in the Middle Ages to crush all spontaneity of individualism and personal practice which might seem dangerous to the ecclesiastical system. Luther thereupon did but give expression through his forceful personality to the inevitable reaction for which the minds of all in different degrees were ready. And in doing this he built up more wisely than he knew. The three factors which had gone to make him what he was again separated when his work was done. One gave the principle that lies explicitly or implicitly at the heart of all the Churches of the West which are out of communion with the pope, and is the source of the idea of the democratic State. The second has been the fruitful mother of all later science and philosophy, and has profoundly influenced theology. The third reappears in the lives and writings of all subsequent Christian mystics. But it is one and the same principle that appears in all three—the right of private judgment.' A few words will suffice to set out the filiation.

1. Social polity.—The chief difference in the conception of the Social order was the basis of all social order which ruled before and after Luther is that in the former the individual was the passive recipient of rights at the hand of the authority which ruled him jus divino in Church and State alike, while in the latter he is the active creator. Not is the distinction more than obscured by the fact that to establish his rights he must co-operate with his fellows, for such co-operation is only a means to an end, and that end is the establishment of the right of private judgment alone man attains his proper self, the Protestant Churches and in all liberal States this principle has now 'stormed out into reality.' It is true that it did not triumph all at once; that Luther himself did not always give it its dominant position; that the struggle for the authority of the Bible as the written Word of God has for three centuries been every whit as tyrannical in its application as the older Inquisition (q.v.); that autocratic empires are but now being got rid of at the hands of democratic parties; that the ideal of a free Church in a free State is not fully actualized; and that democracy is yet on its trial. But in spite of these short-comings the principle has so far triumphed that a return to the medieval ideal is to the modern mind unthinkable, and survives only in relatively obscure coteries which are of the nature of atavistic survivals in bodies under the otherwise undisputed sway of the principle of the right of private judgment. 'A people's Bible, then, is a necessary thing. Only we have ever had these fierce and almost exclusively physical is characteristic of the modern Church.' 'One man, one vote,' and 'manhood suffrage' form their civic equivalent. Robert Browne's Treatise of Reformation without taying for anie Protestantism (Milde) has been the watchword of the principle in English religion (see BROWNISM). The hanging of two men at Bury St. Edmunds in 1533 for circulating it was the counter-blow of the civil government, which had assumed the opposite point of view the Lutheran position.

2. Modern thought.—Though the free thought of to-day was prepared for by events prior to Luther, such as the invention of the printing-press, the rediscovery of Greek, and the opening up of the New World, yet to Luther still falls the credit of bringing to its support the forces of religion. The survival of medieval dogmatism in the churches of the New Learning only serves to show how much harder would have been the progress of thought towards freedom had not Protestant Churches appeared to counteract the reaction known as Jesuitism. Milton states the case fairly when he says that it is a general maxim of the Protestant religion that 'no man, no synod, no session of men, though called the church, can judge definitively the sense of scripture to another man's conscience.' Hence, where the right of private judgment is explicitly maintained, heresy is impossible, and a trial for so-called heresy is at bottom merely an action for breach of contract. In the room of the inquisitor now sits the schoolmaster.

Erasmus, in his controversy with Luther on the question of free will, asserted caustically that 'where Lutheranism flourishes the sciences perish.' This could hardly be maintained to-day, especially of Luther's fatherland. The Church should have to say that where Luther's principle of private judgment obtains there is the door opened for the full life of science and philosophy. Not that thought was inactive through the earlier period. The great names which were not then in what they thought in blinkers. The end of their journey was prescribed at the start, and hence free thought was denied them. And thought

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1 T. H. Green, Works, iii. 385.
3 Distracts, p. 4.
which is not free runs the risk at least of not being thought at all. It may under the guise of thought deliver us over to the ‘double truth’—that of philosophy and that of theology—or rest in a delimitation of boundaries which is made by assertion. This dogma is not country, race, or reason, but above reason. But the principle of the right of private judgment cannot stop short of the demand that ‘fact and reason,’ ‘religion and science,’ shall resolve their antinomies at the bar of reason, and extend the right of reason to non-moral judgment over the whole domain of faith.

How far we have travelled along the road of private judgment, and with what difficulty, may be conveniently seen by comparing a declaration of 1633 with another of 1900. The Congregation of Prelates and Cardinals ruled in the case of Galilei that ‘the doctrine that the earth is not the centre of the universe, and is not immobile, but is moved with a motion that is daily, is not only an absurd proposition but false in philosophy, and theologically considered at least erroneous in faith.’ On the other hand, Karl Pearson makes the assertion (Grammar of Science, London, 1900, p. 308), while deprecating its one-sidedness and exaggeration, shows that modern science with all its really great achievements has been sought—and perhaps not unreasonably sought—in the individualistic instinct. And, though this instinct may need to be balanced by those of socialism and humanitarianism, its effect, which is striving to promote individual or national cooperation in the place of competition, does so avowedly in the interest of the highest good of the individual, of all individuals.

It must not be assumed, however, that the right of private judgment, when asserted, triumphed at once or even in a short time. At first the civil power stepped into the place of the papal, and adopted its spirit. ‘Where the individual appealed to the powerful (individual) spirit within him, Luther would have none of it. Further, in politics nothing was heard of save the good of the State, or the general weal.’ The National Church sought to clothe itself with the autocracy of the rejected Roman Church; little respect was paid at first to the point of individual personality or individual communities. This transition spirit persisted in philosophy until Descartes (q.v.), by rejecting all authority and starting de novo from the thinking ego as the basis of all philosophy, laid the foundations of modern philosophy, which is aspired to call itself modern. While philosophies are in conflict from generation to generation, they are agreed on one point, and that is, that the appeal of all philosophy is in the end to reason speaking through the individual thinker. In philosophy the right of private judgment is irrefragable. The most striking proof of this is given indirectly by the long sway of the political theories of Bentham and by his maxim that the end of government is to secure the greatest good for the greatest number. The liberty existing to affect the individual, and, if the individual is called on from time to time to sacrifice himself to society, it is only that he may find his life enriched by losing it.

3. Mysticism.—This third element has not enjoyed in modern times the same popular vogue as empiricism or rationalism, and indeed it may be questioned whether it ought not to be regarded as the inspirer of thought rather than as an independent and co-ordinate factor. In philosophy indeed in modern times the same popular vogue has not been enjoyed by the mystics of the early church, the foundresses of the German mysticism, and the more or less Popish mysticism of the Alexandrians; and Henri Bergson’s justification of the following proposition: ‘non licet sequi opinionem probabilissimam.’ If we can follow the opinio probabilissima, which always implies a minimum of doubt, it follows, according to him, that we also follow to the contrary, namely opinio probabilis opinio without the doubt which it leaves in existence sufficient to render it suspect. He demands, however, that the reasons for probabiliorism should be very genuine. The resolutions of the assembly of the French clergy in 1600 also seem to him favourable to

1 See Karl von Gebler, Galileo Galilei und die römische Curie, Stuttgart, 1876, p. 258 f.
2 Erdmann, Hist. of Philosophy, ii. § 294, p. 6.
3 Emerges in literature in poets such as Wordsworth and Shelley, and in writers such as Novalis, Amiel, Emerson, Walt Whitman, and Coventry Patmore. It inspires the pre-Raphaelites, and art-symbolists in some cases, of every type. The Dutch, Prussian, and Italian schools of thought is. It is paramount in thinkers like Schlegel (alike in his ‘ironic’ stage and in his latter, where he treats the individual as insufficient to himself, but progressing towards divinity), in the early Schelling, and in the ‘Scottish school,’ which identified philosophy with the observation of the facts of consciousness, in Rousseau, in the Wofensteinbittel Fragments of Reimarus, in Jacobi, and in Jacob Boehme.
4 Finally, it should be observed that private judgment is properly or directly concerned not with matter of fact but with values. The discussion of matter of fact belongs to science, where private judgment has no legitimate place, but the values of things, whether partial or ultimate, are values for the individual. Interest in them is personal, and hence private judgment must in them assert itself. A good, to be a good to me, must be a good for me. But this is not to say that my private judgment is self-originated or self-sufficient. The social context in which I live takes a large part in supplying the content of that self-consciousness of which private judgment is an inevitable expression. The perfect correlation, however, of the individual and the society remains one of the gravest problems which man has yet to solve.


PROBABILISM.—Probabilism is a form of probabilism (q.v.). The principle may be stated thus: the opinio minium tuta qua libertat' favet may be followed to the detriment of the opinio tuta qua legi favet when the former is more probable than the latter although it is not quite certain, i.e., when the reasons militating in its favour have more weight than those militating in favour of the opinio tuta. There have always been probabilist casuists, but probabilism was peculiarly in favour during the first half of the 19th century. Among its defenders may be mentioned Thielis and Billuart. Thielis wrote a treatise in which he refutes the so-called reflex arguments upon which mainly the partisans of simple probabilism rest, viz. (1) ‘lex dubia nolite dubitare’ (2) ‘lex dabit invincibiliter temperatur’; (3) ‘melior est conditioni possidentis.’ Billuart, after severely condemning simple probabilism and equiprobabilism (q.v.), declared himself in favour of probabilism with the help of arguments drawn from reason and faith. Alexander and Henri Bergson’s justification of the following proposition: ‘non licet sequi opinionem probabilissimam.’ If we can follow the opinio probabilissima, which always implies a minimum of doubt, it follows, according to him, that we also follow to the contrary, namely opinio probabilis opinio without the doubt which it leaves in existence sufficient to render it suspect. He demands, however, that the reasons for probabiliorism should be very genuine. The resolutions of the assembly of the French clergy in 1600 also seem to him favourable to
PROBABILITY

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Ordinarily cannot, for nevertheless In E., principle are !. in instances the circumstances contrary eating needed, probabiliorism. forsaken. we the is distinction between the honestum and the licitum is to limit simple probabilism in appearance, by leaving consciousness in reality free to adopt it.

The probabiliorists apply this principle only to the question of law, not to that of fact. In theory, we may follow the opinio minus tuta because it is more probable than the opinio tuta, but in order to make sure whether the concrete conditions, under which alone the surplus of probability exists, are realized to be had, more than probability is needed, viz. certainty; e.g. the law forbids the eating of meat during Lent; nevertheless the contrary is more probable, viz. that in certain circumstances I can eat meat even then; from that time onward I can eat meat; and the contrary circumstances I can eat meat during Lent; I cannot, however, do it in a given case unless I am absolutely sure that I am in these circumstances.


E. EHRENDRT.

PROBABILITY.—By probabilism is signified the moral system according to which, when there are divergent views as to the lawfulness of an action, for each of which solid arguments may be not, and the law being that, we are under no obligation to follow the more probable of the two views, but are equally free to adopt either course.

It is the teaching of all theologians that no one may act except in case he is sure it is right. If a man acts with a doubtful conscience—not knowing whether the thing he is doing is right or wrong—that alone suffices to make his action sinful; for it proves that he is willing to do it even though it should be wrong. He is deliberately exposing himself to the risk of committing a sin. And to expose oneself to the risk of sinning mortally is by common consent a mortal sin. Yet in the conduct of life cases are constantly arising in which we are uncertain whether a given course is forbidden or not. The problem, then, is to determine the conditions in which, notwithstanding this uncertainty, a man may act as though no prohibition existed, with full assurance that his action is morally right. The various moral systems, tutiorism (or rigorism), probabilism, equi-probabilism (qq.v.), probabilism, and laxism give the different answers to the question. Since immediate and direct certainty as to the lawfulness of the act is impossible, each system proceeds to substitute a principle of morals to provide the required assurance. In this connexion these are termed principles of reflex certainty or, occasionally, reflex principles.

In all the cases which we are considering there is said to be, on the one hand, a probable opinion in favour of the law, and, on the other, a probable opinion in favour of liberty, the respective probability of the opinions being determined according to the weight of the reasons which can be advanced on either side. In order to avoid misapprehensions it seems desirable here to call attention to the fact that the meaning of the word 'probable' in theo-

logy differs somewhat from that now commonly attached to it. In the present sense of the term this is to be understood to mean that the probable only is claimed a greater likelihood than the other alternatives. These are not said to be probable at all. Moreover, the idea suggested is in many minds linked up with the mathematical theory of probabilities (i.e. chance-happenings). In theology, on the other hand, extending to certain we are getting to a local sense. An opinion is probable which commends itself to the mind by weighty reasons as being very possibly true. The idea of chance is altogether absent. Confining our attention, then, to the three systems which alone can be said to have had any actual importance in the theological schools, the probabiliorist theologians hold that we are free to follow the opinion in favour of liberty when and only when it is the more probable of the two. According to the equi-probabilists, in order that we may take this course it is necessary that the two opinions should have at least an equal degree of probability. The probabilist system teaches that, should there be a solid reason to suppose the other, then we are bound to adopt it. The probabilist maintains that opinion, even though the reasons on the other side are more weighty, provided that the difference is not such as to render the existence of the law not merely probable, but morally certain.

Believing that the arguments which on this system is based, it will be well briefly to explain two points of importance: (1) what constitutes solid probability, and (2) the limits within which the system of probabilism is applicable.

(1) An opinion is said to possess intrinsic probability when the grounds on which it is based are such as to have serious weight with men of competent judgment. Moreover, the grounds must be such as to retain their value even in face of the reasons which can be adduced on the other side. By this test, many of the objections of the system are cogent. But they must be such that the opponent arguments do not render them nugatory. When the arguments on the two sides are drawn from different, and even from disparate, considerations, it will be seen that the less probable cause is in no sense invalidated by those which support the more probable. Extrinsic probability is that which belongs to an opinion by reason of the authorities who can be cited for it. Ordinary speaking, it is held that, if five or six writers of recognized weight in the theological school can be reckoned as independently supporting a view, that view may be safely followed. The condition that the authorities quoted must be theologians of real weight is to be noted. An opinion does not acquire extrinsic probability because it is found in a few works which at one time or another have enjoyed some popularity.

(2) There are certain well-defined spheres of human activity in which probabilism has no place. If we are under obligation to ensure the validity of some act, it would be altogether unlawful to adopt means which will only probably be efficacious, should a safer course be open to us. In such cases one must be certain already or must make the necessary dispensation in order to avoid a grave charge of negligence.

Thus, probabilism is excluded (save in a few exceptional cases) in regard to the administration of the sacraments. If, e.g., a man had some doubt as to whether there was not an ecclesiastical impediment of some sort to the marriage contract, he would be bound to procure the necessary dispensation to proceed. The mere fact that there was a sound probability
against the existence of the impediment, and that
the question would certainly never be raised, would
constitute no justification for neglecting to take
these precautions, or for neglecting to consider
whether the rights of another person are con-
cerned. We are under strict obligation not to
wrong our neighbour, and it is unlawful to put
ourselves in danger of so doing. There may be
excellent reasons for thinking that a match thrown
at random over the hedge will not fire the hayrick
on the other side. But a man would be acting
wrongfully if on the strength of those reasons he
should take the chance of causing the damage. Fin-
ally, probabilism is not a mere precaution, but a
binding force on the conscience, since there is
question of some end that one is absolutely
bound to attain. No man may use merely probable
means to ensure his eternal salvation; he is bound
to take measures which he knows to be sufficient.
It would be erroneous to speak of these as excep-
tions to probabilism. Probabilism is applicable
only where the obligation itself is dubious. In
all these cases, although there is a doubtful element
in the situation, the obligation is certain.

The inexactitude of probabilism was stated very
briefly. Whenever there is a solid reason for
questioning the existence of a law, that law is ipso
dato doubtful. But a doubtful law imposes no
obligation on the conscience ("lex dubia non obli-
gat, and must therefore be treated as non-existent.
This principle, that a doubtful law has no binding
force on the conscience, seems scarcely to require
proof. But two considerations may be advanced
in its support. In the first place, a law binds only
in so far as it is known. If, therefore, after taking
all reasonable means to make certain, a man still
does not know whether a given law exists, he is
not yet under any moral obligation in its regard.
For practical purposes, he is in the same position
as a man who has never heard of it ("lex dubia
invincibili ignarum"). Secondly, it is urged that
an obligation is always to be viewed as a
restriction on a previous state of liberty. Liberty
is in possession till the obligation is imposed.
Since this is so, and since "melior est conditio
possessoris," unless the obligation is absolutely
certain, a man remains free. But in the cases
which we are considering the obligation is not
certain but dubious.

These reasons, it is urged, are conclusive, and
put probabilism as a non sequitur beyond
question. Hence, whenever there is a
reason for doubt as to the law, a man may adopt
the opinion in favour of liberty with absolute assur-
ance that he is justified in doing so, even though
there be greater probability on the opposite
side.

Probabilism, it is manifest, is concerned solely
with what is of obligation, not with what is the
most perfect course of action. In other words, it
belongs to moral, not to ascetical, theology. It is
of little importance to avoid confusing the two
issues. A man is not bound to adopt the more
perfect course in all his actions, and the attempt
to impose what is most perfect as a matter of
obligation always results at last in the total re-
jection of this moral law, as being too burdensome
for flesh and blood. It seems necessary to call
attention to this point, as probabilism has often
been attacked on the ground that it proposes a
low standard of perfection. The fact is that it is
most perfectly in accordance with the pedagogical
principles of Christian perfection belongs to ascetical
theology.

The first to enunciate clearly and to defend
the principles of probabilism was the Dominican,
Bartholomew de Medina, in his Expositio in 1st
D. 2, 3, 1898-99. Paderborn; J. M. Hardt, C.E.,
"Probabilism," T. Slater, Short Hist. of
Moral Theology, New York, 1908.

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PROBABILITY. — There are certain pheno-
mena of such a nature that their antecedents,
being extremely complex, cannot be adequately
comprehended by observation, however search-
ing it may be; nor can they be subjected to any
analysis that will disclose the causal elements
to which the effect in question is due.

In the throwing of dice, e.g., the antecedent
shaking of the box and tossing the dice upon the
table is about the same each time—at least the
difference cannot be determined—and yet
the results vary with each successive throw. The causal
determination in each case is so complex as to be beyond computa-
tion; the determination of the total die, that of the top
of the box, the height of the box above the table when they
leave it, the inequalities of the table itself, a variation between
the physical and geometrical centres of gravity of the
die, etc.—all make the antecedent so complex that a slight varia-
tion in any one of these conditions will affect the result. We
find, therefore, double sixes at one time, a three and a four
at another, and so on indefinitely.

Again, it is certainly certain that with perfect sanitary
conditions an infectious disease will appear that has always
been regarded, as well as valued, by prelates, as well as
theologians, whereas an entire disregard of sanitary requirements and of all
the laws of health may yet give rise to no disease of special
moment. Certain combinations of temperature, humidity, pres-
ture, velocity and direction of the wind, may one day bring
storm and rain, and another, clear skies; yet the observed
conditions remain just the same and bring fair weather. So
also the rise and fall in stock and money markets is extremely susceptible to the
varying conditions of indefinitely complex forces wholly beyond
all powers of determination or of prediction.

LITERATURE. — A. Lehmkühl, Probabilismus Vindicatus,
Freiburg, 1906, Theologia Moralis, do, 1910; F. ter Haar,
Vindiciae Inferiorum, 1677; Paderborn; J. M. Hardt, C.E.,
"Probabilism," T. Slater, Short Hist. of
Moral Theology, New York, 1908.

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Such phenomena present a problem with which the methods of inductive inquiry cannot deal. Observation is not far-reaching enough to provide the data for the solution of the problem, and, even if it were, our methods of computation and determination are not adequate to solve problems of so many terms and of so complex a nature.

The causal connexion may be established beyond all reasonable doubt, and yet the cause obtains in the midst of so complex a setting that the problem is one of the antecedent and consequent where the exact nature may be known or unknown, will prove operative or inoperative. The cause may be always present and even its exact nature may be known, and yet the complex circumstances attending it may be of such a character that one alone, or two or more combining, may neutralize the operation of the cause, and, on the other hand, a slight variation of the combined circumstances may promote and even accelerate the operation of the cause in question. The problem then is to determine how often the event happens and how often it fails of happening, the complex and indeterminate antecedent being present in all the instances examined.

When we begin to count instances, we are reminded that there must be in the neighbourhood of the sphere of enumerative induction. Enumerative induction treats instances by noting the number of observed coincident happenings of the antecedent and consequent under investigation, no attention being paid to an analysis of their respective contents or to determine a causal connexion more definitely by means of any one or more of the inductive methods of research and verification. The result of such an investigation may be formulated in a proposition of the form, "Every A is B." This, strictly interpreted, has the force of "Every A that has been observed is B." There are cases, however, in which observation leads to a twofold result—a set of instances in which it is observed that the A's are B's, and another set of instances in which the A's are not B's. These instances are of such a nature that the observed A is an antecedent so extremely complex that the element within it, which is a cause capable of producing B, either may be combined with another producing change in the general nature of A, or, being present, may be neutralized by some other element of A itself. The result gives a basis for a probable inference only; and the nature of that inference will depend upon the preponderance of the observed happenings or of the failure of the event under investigation.

The probability attached to such an inference, however, is different from the probability which characterizes the nature of enumerative induction. In the latter, when the observation has been widely extended and no exceptions noted, it is usual to say that the result expressed in the proposition, "Every A is B," has the force of a high degree of probability. But in the instances whose investigation shows the result that some A's are B's, and some not, and yet where the former far outnumbers the latter cases, it may be inferred that the A's in which future we may meet will probably be B's; and the degree of probability expressed in such a case, in the mere preponderance of the number of observed affirmative instances over the negative. Here the probability refers to the validity of an inference concerning certain particular instances, be they many or be they few; and depends upon the present knowledge; in enumerative induction the probability is attached to the universality of the proposition affirmed as a result of observation that has not so far detected an exception. In the former case the question of the universality of the result is conclusively answered, as there can be no universal proposition possible, as some instances give A and B together, others give A with the absence of B; and the question of probability that here arises, therefore, refers to individuals not yet examined, to what extent they severally will more likely correspond to the set of affirmative or to that of the negative instances already noted.

The comparison of the number of happenings with that of the failures of an event affords a basis for several kinds of inference, all of them in the sphere of probability. We find in such a comparison a basis for the calculation of the probability of a particular event happening when there is a repetition of the circumstances which, in former cases, have sometimes produced the event and sometimes failed to produce it. If, according to former observation, the event has happened, let us say, seven times, and failed three, the probability, expressed numerically, will be 7:10, which is the ratio of the number of the probability to the number of the failure. And if we wish to express the probability of an event, take as numerator the number of times which the event has been observed to occur, and as denominator the total number observed, both of happening and failure. Thus expressing the probability of the event, we have an indication of the probability of the event happening. The counter-probability may be represented by the number of observed failures of the event divided by the total number of cases observed. The counter-probability plus the probability evidently is equal to unity. If, therefore, the probability is unity, the counter-probability will equal zero; i.e., the probability in that case has merged into certainty. Zero, therefore, represents absolute impossibility. All fractions between the limits 0 and 1, represent varying degrees of probability, from impossibility at one extreme to certainty at the other.

Not only may there be this inductive basis for the calculation of probability, arising from actually observed instances; there may be also a deductive calculation of probability based upon the known structure or nature of the phenomena themselves in advance of any observation as to their actual behaviour.

We may assume, that the probability of a penny turning up heads is 1/2. Knowing the form of the penny and that there are but two possibilities, heads or tails, there being no reason why one is not as likely as another, we may say that the chance is one chance favourable to heads against the two chances which represent the total number of possibilities under the existing circumstances. With a die, in the form of a perfect cube, we say there is one chance of its turning up the face marked 1 against the six chances represented by the six faces—the total number; here the probability is 1/7. Thus the basis for the calculation of probability may be a theoretical as well as an empirical one.

In the estimate of the probability of an event in the actual conduct of affairs we seldom express that probability numerically; we express a degree of probability adverbially rather than numerically; i.e., we say an event is quite probable, very probable, or extremely probable. The facts are that, as regards most phenomena, we do not keep an exact or even approximate memorandum of the number of happenings compared with that of the failures. We rather classify our observations in terms of more or less, rather than in more precise terms, and observe produce about as many failures as happenings of an event, other circumstances produce far more happenings than failures, others far less, and so on. Consequently we receive certain psychological impressions, the degree of certainty according to the preponderance of happening over failure, or vice versa; this impression becomes the basis for estimating the probability in question, and the degree of that probability is commensurate
with the intensity of the original psychological impression arising from concepts of more or of less. In fact, probability is defensible, however, as that devoted to the interests of betting, gambling, pool-selling, book-making, etc., probabilities are estimated according to observations and theoretical considerations whose conditions are expressed numerically; and there is no one similarity in the case of counter-probability according to the exact ratio of probability to counter-probability under the existing circumstances.

The estimation of probability in terms of a greater or less degree is, however, more usual, and applicable to the conduct of human life generally (for the theory of probability as the guide of life see art. Butler). It has special force and utility as a mode of inference when the observed instances far outnumber the exceptions as to create an impression of such a high degree of probability as to approximate practical if not theoretical certainty.

It has been noted over a wide field of observation that a second attack of scarlet fever is extremely rare. Exceptions have occurred and, therefore, by enumerative induction it is inferred that in a group the deviation is not so great; in a group of 1000, still less; and in a group of 100,000 the ratio as above given would be substantially realized. The approximation would be so near the error would be insignificant as compared with total number of cases.

The comparison of failure and happening of events based upon observation or theoretical considerations of structure and nature leads also to inferences concerning large numbers of instances considered together. If a memorandum is kept of the number of times an event has happened and of the number of times it has failed, and the total number of instances examined be sufficiently great, then the resulting ratio of favourable instances to the total number would be found approximately repeated if a second set of an equal number of instances be likewise examined. There is a law of tendency whereby Nature seems to repeat herself even when the attendant circumstances of an event are most complex and beyond all powers of accurate determination.

As the result of observations extending over thousands and thousands of instances, it is affirmed that about 1 of the children born in the world die before the age of sixteen. In a group of 19 children the ratio would perhaps be deviated from very materially; in a group of 100 the deviation is not so great; in a group of 1000, still less; and in a group of 100,000 the ratio as above given would be substantially realized. The approximation would be so near the error would be insignificant as compared with total number of cases.

The following law, therefore, expresses this tendency—that, while in a small number of instances there is irregularity in the observed ratio between the number of times a given event has happened and its failures, still in a large number of instances this ratio tends towards a constant limit.

This clear seen in the pitching of a penny: 10 throws might very possibly result in 7 heads and 3 tails; in 100 throws, however, the ratio expressing the result as to heads and tails observed will be much nearer 1 than in the former case; while, if 1000 or 10,000 throws be observed, the result will approximate the ratio 1. The comparison of observed cases with the number of instances, the calculation of the probabilities in question has been made by Quetelet, and also by Jevons. Their results are most significant and interesting.

Quetelet made 4096 drawings from an urn containing 29 black balls and 71 white balls; the actual results were 2393 black and 1703 white balls. Jevons made 20,480 drawings from a penny: 4500 heads; 1500 tails. The result was 10,540 heads; the actual result was 10,533 heads.

In the case of a table of life insurance companies, in which the number of lives represented contained a considerable number of instances is strikingly illustrated in the record of haptisms taken from an old parish register in England. The number of haptisms registered to every 1000 females ran as follows for the respective years from 1814 to 1846: 1040, 1066, 1047, 1045, 1043, 1049. We see with what uniformity the constant ratio was repeated substantially year after year.

A like regularity seems to pervade every department of life. The total number of crimes is approximately the same, year after year; the annual death-rate of the population of London for the last 150 years, or to the several diseases as their evident causes, the number of missent letters each year, the annual number of suicides, of divorces—all these diverse events indicate a regularity in the long run, as regards the numerical and practical value of such an event.

The results which are thus attained regarding aggregates cannot be stated as probable results. If a sufficiently large number of instances are taken, the result will be certain within a very small, and in many cases within a negligible degree of certainty. In estimating the probability of a single event the question is whether it will happen or not happen, and the element of uncertainty is therefore prominent. In dealing with aggregates, however, no such element of uncertainty enters; the question is not whether or not there will be certain results, but concerns rather the degree of exactness with which the results will approximate a definite ratio. And the law of tendency is that the larger the number of instances, the greater will be the approach of an accurate and definite result.

This is especially illustrated in the numerous insurance companies whose business is conducted upon the basis of an approximately constant death-rate. The general procedure is somewhat as follows: Suppose 10,000 persons insure their lives at £200 per individual, and the annual death-rate observed over a wide extent of territories to be 1 in 400; the company, therefore, will form an annual loss for the next year of £10,000, exceeding the sums insured in the company, would amount to £4000. It is true that the law, therefore, thus calculated is not the true basis for the determination of the premium which each person must pay in order to cover the annual losses and to provide an assured revenue for the company.

The problem has been stated in round numbers merely to illustrate in general the principle involved; the actual calculation is more complicated, because, in each particular case, the age of the individual and the varying death-rate for different years must be taken into account. The substantial standing of the innumerable insurance companies in our country bears witness to the fact that these enterprises are based upon a practical certainty regarding death-rates when applied to large aggregates. Chance is thus eliminated almost entirely; which would be a serious risk as regards an individual, who would eventually avoid all risk when large numbers are concerned.

Moreover, phenomena indicate a marked departure from the ratio of frequency as determined by prior observation or by theoretical considerations; then it is ordinarily inferred that a new cause has become operative, not before existent, or, if present, with its effect neutralized.

We would naturally expect a die to show the face 3, on an average, about once in six throws. But, if it repeatedly turns up 6 in succession, and if no other number appears, or appears but rarely, we are warranted in inferring that the die is loaded. The number of instances that are observed, far exceeded the annual number observed for the several years preceding. This discrepancy is easily accounted for by the fact that the natural number was weakened by the deaths caused by the strikers and rioters in the month of July of that year. So also a large number of deaths from the typhus fever of a large city is at once an urgent suggestion to the public health authority to start investigations that will unearth the hidden cause that has turned it into a large scale epidemic. Such causes as defective drains, prevalence of epidemics, etc., are again and again found to accompany an increase of the average death-rate.

Under such circumstances the method of investigation which should be pursued, when practicable, is to endeavour to break up the total into smaller groups of a specific nature. Thus, if the death-rate for a given city is at exception to the death-rate per month. See if any month shows a marked departure from the average. If so, this will suggest a careful investigation of the circum-
stances and characteristics of the month in question. Or it may be possible to make a geographical distribution of the amount of the activity under investigation. Some special locality may indicate an unusually large death-rate. Investigation, therefore, at that point may reveal a lurking cause of disease, otherwise unnoticed.

If we found indications of it being possible to distinguish between a chance coincidence and a determinate cause which has produced the event in question. For, if the possibility of some one definite cause is considered out of the question, and the event in question consists of a complex phenomena of such a number and variety that they may form an indefinite number of combinations only one of which can possibly produce the event in question, then the probability that the event has actually been produced by such a chance combination is extremely small. We are then thrown back upon the other hypothesis, that, instead of one out of many possible combinations, there is some one definite cause operative in the case. Its nature may not be definitely indicated, but at least the possibility of its presence is suggested.

This line of reasoning is illustrated in the following account of the discovery of the existence of iron in the sun, in the researches of Bunsen and Kirchoff:

"On comparing the spectra of sunlight and of the light proceeding from the immense vapour of iron, it became apparent that at least sixty bright lines in the spectrum of iron coincided with dark lines in the sun's spectrum. Such coincidences occurred within and without the limits of another, on the map of the spectra, they could not be pronounced distinct. Now the average distance of the solar lines from Bunsen's map is two millimetres, and if we throw down a line, as it were by pure chance, on such a map, the probability is about \( \frac{1}{60} \) that the new line will fall within one-hundred millimetres on one side of the other side of some one of the solar lines. To put it in another way, we may suppose that each solar line, either on account of its real breadth, or the defects of the instrument, possesses a breadth of one-hundred millimetres, and that each line in the iron spectrum has a like breadth. The probability, then, is just \( \frac{1}{60} \) that the centre of each iron line will be touched by chance within one-millimetre of the centre of a solar line, so as to appear to coincide with it. The probability of the actual coincidence of each iron line with a solar line is in like manner \( \frac{1}{60} \). Coincidence in the case of each of the sixty iron lines is a very unlikely event, if it arises capriciously, for we would have a probability of only \( \frac{1}{60^6} \) or less than one in a trillion. The odds, in short, are more than a million millions millions against each line of the iron spectrum being coincident with a solar line. But as the sixtysix iron lines, each of which exists in the sun, it is highly probable that such coincidences will occur: it is likewise highly probable that sixty coincidences would be observed if iron existed in the sun, than that they should arise from chance. Hence, by our principle, it is immensely probable that iron does exist in the sun."

This principle is also illustrated in instances of circumstantial evidence. In such cases the observed combination of so many diverse circumstances, even as regards an indefinite number of minor details, precludes the hypothesis of casual coincidences, and suggests some one definite cause that will prove a unifying principle of explanation of all the attendant circumstances. As Bullett says:

"A presumption is very often more convincing and more satisfactory than any other kind of evidence. It is not within the reach and competence of human abilities to invent a train of circumstances which shall be so connected together as to amount to a conclusive evidence. The human mind, without opportunities to contradict a great part, if not all of these circumstances."

In the various illustrations which have been given we find that the theory of probability provides a method of dealing with phenomena which cannot be accounted for by the inductive methods. The phenomena are so complex that a specific cause cannot be determined, for the reason that in question is a corollary of many diverse forces, and, if only a few instances are examined, of which it can be seen that there will be discrimination is necessary, therefore, to deal with large numbers, statistical averages, etc., in order to detect an emerging relation of a casual character, expressed by a constant ratio. This ratio once determined, it becomes a further test, and we have already seen when the results widely depart from it, to suggest the presence of a new force outside of the combinations to which the effect would be naturally referred according to the indications of the probability-ratio. The method of inductive reasoning is brought to the method of residues, for the inference in question is based upon the fact that the probability-ratio will account for only a certain frequency of occurrence of the event under investigation; a marked excess must be accounted for by hypothesis of a definitely operative cause. And, if an antecedent of such a nature is known to be present, the suggestion at once arises in our thought that this excess in the probability is that causing the event in question."


PROBATION.—One of the most obvious and striking aspects of experience, one which forces itself upon a man's mind as soon as he begins to reflect at all, is its incomplete and fragmentary character. In the pursuit of truth he finds himself considering cases, and not laws; or isolated questions, face to face with insoluble mysteries. Knowledge may be real as far as it goes, but finally is not to be found. In the pursuit of the good, again, there is a perpetual discrepancy between the actual and the ideal, a constant failure of achievement. And the passion for the beautiful is never really satisfied, though its hunger may be partially stayed. In all these directions neither the mind nor the heart of man ever finds absolute satisfaction; his capacity finds neither limit nor adequate response.

The questions, then, are inevitably thrust upon us: Why is aspiration so far in advance of attainment? Has it always been so? Will it always remain so? The incomplete, the inadequate, the fragmentary, the discontented tend to us, with exasperating and perplexing questions, face to face with insoluble mysteries. Knowledge may be real as far as it goes, but finally is not to be found. In the pursuit of the good, again, there is a perpetual discrepancy between the actual and the ideal, a constant failure of achievement. And the passion for the beautiful is never really satisfied, though its hunger may be partially stayed. In all these directions neither the mind nor the heart of man ever finds absolute satisfaction; his capacity finds neither limit nor adequate response.

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has? The world, as we perceive it, may be only a part of a larger universe; our temporal existence may be but a transient phase of a larger pattern. The notion is not to be numbered by years; in a word, this present world may be but a period of probation, a period, that is, whose explanation and justification lie beyond itself in the idea of an end to which it may serve as means, of a purpose of which all the change and chances of this mortal life may be but many ways of fulfilment.

Now the probation of which this life is the scene is to be conceived not as a process that goes on indefinitely, but were, but as the direct work of the God and Father of mankind. The theory presupposes, then, that there has already been formed the conception of a personal God, with whom the spirit of man is in immediate contact. For probation is a teleological concept, and a purpose or end is the expression of the will of a person, and cannot have its source in a mere 'tendency, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness.' Hence it is an idea that seems very closely bound up with the belief in a personal God. Probation is a distinctively religious, not only a moral or philosophical, theory.

The ideas of discipline and purification are to be found in any religion which has any ethical quality at all. It was, therefore, that man has been fully developed except among the Jews, of whose theology it is an important element, and whose history is interpreted by the prophets in the light of it. The history of the Jews, broadly speaking, is that of a people whose high calling, to be in a special sense the medium of Divine revelation and blessing to the world, was equalled only by their failure, as a nation, to discern its import and to rise to its fulfilment. For this reason, as all the vicissitudes of their history, as that of a 'chosen people' par excellence, were meant to fit them; all was meant, in Scripture language, to humble them, and to prove them, whether they would keep God's commandments or no (cf. Dt 8:4). 'Elect peoples,' it has been said, 'have tragic careers,'1 and the tragedy is never more deep and complete than when the nation is spiritually blind to the meaning of its destiny, which is throughout recognized, by those who have eyes to see, to be of Divine appointment and place. When the real relation of the probationary scene to a personal God, known as such, that is, as a Being of moral nature, that gave their failure the further character of sin.

To regard this world as the scene of probation is to regard it from a point of view that throws light on much that is otherwise hopelessly obscure and inexplicable in experience; for instance, some such conception as probation, that is, of life as a time of testing and training the will rather than of complete moral achievement, seems the only possible direction whence the nearest approach to a solution of the problem of evil could come; it is along these lines only that we can justify the twofold deliverance of the religious consciousness, that evil and sin are temporarily real, and yet that God is good and that He is almighty. The only justification for even the temporary existence of evil would lie in its being an essential condition of the attainment of an end which could not be attained otherwise. If we may attempt to define the end for which this world and its probationary scene were meant, it is being as the realization of the conscious communion of every soul with the God and Father of that soul, then it at once becomes plain that the probationary scene of which we have been recognized, and recognized as worth while. For man can attain the Divine likeness and become in the fullest sense partaker of the Divine nature only by a process of probation, in which temptation plays an essential part. Character is an acquired product; no virtue or goodness is given to man that has not been put to the test in some way or another, and such trial or probation is accomplished through an experience in which the necessity of a choice between good and evil is constantly presented. One of the most profound truths of the OT narrative of the Fall is that man, though originally innocent, i.e. ignorant of the distinction between good and evil, can attain holiness only through such a process of probation and temptation.

'Goodness as a moral experience is for us the overcoming of experienced evil. . . . So, in the good act I experience the good as likeness, as a rebellion against the good conquered in the moment of its birth, as a peace that arises in the midst of this triumphant conflict, as a satisfaction that lives in this restless activity of inner warfare. This child of inner strife is the good, and the only moral good, we know. . . . No genuine moral goodness is possible save in the midst of such inner warfare. The absence of the evil impulse leaves naught but innocence or instinct, morally insipid and colourless. Goodness is this organism of struggling elements' (J. Royce, The Religious Aspects of Philosophy, Boston, 1885, pp. 455, 456, 499).

Goodness is not forced upon us; we make it our own by willing identification of our will with the good. Hence probation implies freedom, power to choose. It is the 'chaos' of man, or rather the place not the room for a discussion of the interminable Free Will versus Determinism controversy. It is enough to point out what will be denied by none, that those who regard this life as a period of probation make the implicit assumption that man is free—an assumption which receives most emphatic confirmation from the witness of the moral consciousness. It would be futile to speak of the 'probation' of a being who could not be otherwise than unfallen, or of the man's performance of duty; in fact, such an one could scarcely attach any meaning to the word. Freedom, as Kant pointed out once for all, is a fundamental presupposition of morality, and the belief in probation lays great stress on this side of truth. Hence probation is not consistent with determinism, Calvinistic or otherwise. This world is no scene of probation for Johannes Agricola in Meditation.

If this life is a period of probation, it makes a constant appeal to our will; it takes sides with a cause not yet won—that is the condition of the moral consciousness, while yet the religious consciousness possesses the fundamental assurance that the victory is already accomplished. God's will shall be done; that cannot fail. But then arises the question as to the attitude of the individual, whether he will co-operate in its fulfilment or not. The constant pressure of this question is his probation.

And, just because the probation to which man is subject is an appeal to his willing spirit, it is no merely theoretic experiment to see what he will or can do, but is essentially practical, leading to definite issues for conduct, which can then be dealt with by way either of correction or of confirmation. If a good or evil event be allowed not simply to increase the knowledge of the one who makes it, but continually carried on to affect the nature of the world itself. This leading to a definite issue, whether for good or for evil, is an important aspect of probation, and its moral issue. For the world calls for the remedy of 'a piercing pain.'2 Acts may be forgiven, but not even God Himself can forgive the hanger-back. 'At every instant, at every step in life, the point has to be decided, our soul will, our saved. Hence there is to be gained or lost.'3 Hence probation, even though it may

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3 E. L. Stevenson, Law Morals, ch. iii.
result for the time in the choice of evil, is the first step of the way that leads through purification towards perfection.

The belief that this is the divinely appointed way by which man finds its classic expression in the words of Job: 'He knoweth the way that I take; when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold.'1 It may be objected that, in the case of Job at any rate, we see an instance of probation for purely theological interests. The drama represents Job's trials as being sent to supply an answer to the cynical question, 'Dost Job fear God for nought?' Here mere knowledge seems the end in view. But this is not really so. Two things must be remembered. First, Job's real devotion to, and trust in, God were practically tested, and the issue of his probation was a far higher, more deeply rooted, type of goodness than was possible to the merely prosperous, God-fearing man who is first depicted. His choice of the good becomes a perfect passion for right. Besides, 'the more righteous the man, the more urgent the demand for a testing experience.'2 And, secondly, even if the testing had been unnecessary for Job himself, the results are necessary for the individual, and perhaps for society. Reality must sometimes be dissociated, if it were only to let piety have an opportunity for evincing its sincerity, and to 'silence doubt as to the reality of goodness.'3 And the effects go even further than this; the language of St. Paul makes abundantly clear.4

We have seen, then, that this life is meant to be a stage in the progress towards perfection, through probation and purification of the will and character.

'IT looks as if this strange life of ours were made only for character. . . . For all other purposes—the making of fortune, the enjoyment of society, the attainment of wealth or position or fame—this is life ill-adapted. The flux of things, the uncertainties of fate, the varied unforeseen combinations of circumstances adverse or destructive of health or wealth or happiness—all these make life a place obviously not formed primarily for these ends, the attempt to gain which is so easily and often thwarted, and which, even when gained, are held on so uncertain a tenure. This is really not the world for worldliness. But. . . all these conditions—this flux, this uncertainty—are the very conditions that help to form character. They make just the discipline by which a man may become father and spiritual, patient and humble, unselfish and loving. The circumstances of life may defeat all other ends, but they cannot defeat the end; they cannot even neutralize the purpose. Towards the end' (P. Carnegie Simpson, The Fast of Christ, London, 1909, p. 287).

But we do not yet see probation taking effect in the complete purification of character, much less in its perfection. 'Life, as we know it, does not give full scope for the working out of individuality, ethical or intellectual.'5 The gradual perception that this is so leads to two alternatives: either to a form of pessimism which stops short with the conviction that 'All my life seems meant for falls,' or to a belief in immortality—a belief that is due not to a selfish desire to 'call into being a new world to repress the balance of the old,' or to a mere craving for continuance, but a belief that is seen to be a postulate of spiritual implication of morality. A spiritual being cannot be a mere temporary phenomenon. And probation, taken in its deepest implication, seems essentially a process that demands a sphere of completion. We can scarcely conceive that it should stop short of it, though the bare judgment that the subject of the testing, having failed to discern its true meaning, is useless and unfit for the purpose it was meant to serve, and is therefore to be left as a "castaway." It is possible, of course, that the probation of a nation does stop short at such a point. But the case of the individual is scarcely parallel; here we do not judge that his value consisting in his capacity to be an instrument, and that, if at a given point he is a failure in this respect, no further effort will be made by his Creator. The relation of man to God is not exhausted by the category of the clay and the potter. Each individual is in himself an incalculable worth to God, at least from the Christian point of view. Probation, then, demands a future life for its completion, both for those in whose case the results are already evident and for those who as yet are still blind to spiritual issues.4

Furthermore, with regard to such, 'life beyond death holds hope, the hope that under other conditions, through other experiences, the awakening may come, evil be renounced, and good chosen.'6

Such speculations, such deepest hopes, only serve to emphasize the very supreme significance of that probation which is the key to temporal experience. After all, it is first for its illumination of the present that the theory has value. The belief is a marked characteristic of Browning's philosophy of life. A brief reference to his "Easter Day," which is typical in this respect may help to throw some light on the doctrine itself.

'How very hard it is to be a Christian!' is the exclamation which opens the dialogue. In the admitted harshness lies the test; were it easy to be a Christian, easy to the flesh, to the mind, or to the spirit, it would be comparatively valueless. The teaching is to see viscosity and acutely grasp once for all, the relation between the finite and the infinite. Hence the need for faith. Now faith demands, not proof, but probability; it is satisfied 'So long as there be just enough / To pin my faith to, though it hap / Only at points: from gap to gap / One hangs up a huge curtain so, / Grinning, nor seeks to have it go / Foldless and flat along the wall.'

But the 'faith' that is a mere balancing of probabilities and choice of that which in the long run may prove to be the most profitable is by no means the true faith consisting in that strenuous attitude of will which is demanded by the facts of life as we find it. It is not to elicit a merely intellectual and cold selection of the 'safe side' that we are set in the midst of all that the world has to offer. To one who can penetrate beneath the masks of things, issues the most profound disclosure themselves. To the purged eye-sight it becomes a marvel.

'Why we groaned
Our labour here, and idly judged
Of heaven, we might have gained, but lose!'

Such an one, in a moment of intense illumination, that the failure to choose heaven means choice of the world, that the refusal to renounce the finite and transitory is the rejection of the Infinite and Eternal, of which they are the shows and symbols.

'This world,
This finite life, thou hast preferred,
In disbelief of God's plain word,
To heaven and to inutility.'

Here the probation was for thee,
To show thy soul the earthly mixed.'

He finds that neither nature, nor art, nor culture, nor even love itself, taken as complete in itself, is enough to satisfy the spirit's hunger. The infinite hunger of a soul cannot be satisfied with the things of sense.2 God alone is great enough to satisfy the heart of man. As St. Augustine says, 'Tu fecisti nos ad Te, Domine, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in Te.' But God does not force this truth on any one; he sets us the figures of life and lets us work through them, and then, through a medium experience, upheld by the confidence that He is dealing with us as with sons.

1 Job 22:11.
2 Cf. Calhoun, p. 29.
3 Henry Jones, Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Poet, Glasgow, 1872, p. 58.
4 Cf. He 2:17.

3 Cf. 1 Co 10:4, 2 Co 14:15-19, Ph 1:14, Col 1:19-24.

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3 Cf. He 2:17.
PROCESSIONS AND DANCES

1. Types of procession. — Procession being employed for practically all social ceremonial, it is unwise to enumerate every ceremony served by it, but some types may be mentioned in which procession as such is emphasized.

Ceremonies which bind the individual life to the social, by making solemn the various physical crises, usually accompany in all cultures circumcision, marriage, burial, and the like. The lowest cultures, however, such as that of the Central Australians, do not celebrate these to any considerable extent, if at all. But at the stages represented by the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, in medieval Europe, and modern Egypt, these and other occasions are emphatically celebrated, and the procession is an important feature. Some of these peoples may be said to live processionally. Very complete examples may be seen among the high grade ceremonial of the Mediterranean area. Among funeral processions that of the ancient Roman nobles is remarkable. The dead man was accompanied by all his ancestors, represented by persons resembling them in form and stature and wearing wax portrait masks (sacrifices). In Western civilization the funeral and the wedding processions survive in some completeness, while those celebrating other life-crisis are more or less obsolete.

As social organization develops, the solemnity of the procession is applied (1) to the economic operations on which the existence of man depends — agriculture, owing to its sedentary character, being conspicuous for this feature of celebration; and (2), as social operations are gradually differentiated, to the various subdivisions of activity — religious, legal, social, royal, and even athletic.

2. Earlier processional forms. — The earlier forms of these applications throw light upon the meaning and purpose of processions. To understand the demon of cholera, a Chinese population marches in procession, with music and dances. In such a case the idea is probably that of a demonstration in force, to show the strength of the community. In a more elaborate form we have the procession of the Roman soldiers. The participants were armed with peculiar helmets, shields, and lances, and their processional ritual was obviously a military pantomime, intended to awe the demons of blight and infertility. The processions of the ancient Egyptians are typical of the character. It is possible that, besides their minatory aspect, such mobilizations of the people were intended to disseminate the virtue of vegetation-spirits, which may have been represented by certain living performers. Many processional rites have the object of exhibiting sacred things and distributing their potency.

Thus, in the ancient Greek world, the 'gardens of Adonis,' a vegetation-charm, were carried in procession. 1 In Egypt at the festivals of Isis women carried in procession pascal images of the god, perhaps as 'a charm to ensure the growth of the crops.' 2 Greece and India have similar phallic processions.

But the meaning of the symbol may be simply minatory.

The human sacrifice of the Khonds of Oriasa, the merth, is clearly an example of its kind, and his votaries, the charnel houses, the inhabitants in solemn procession. 3 What Frazer terms 'the form of communion in which the sacred animal is taken from its abode to house to house, and is exposed to the gaze of the multitude,' is well illustrated by the rite of the Gilyaks. The sacred bear is taken from its abode, and its entrails are exposed to the gaze of the multitude, while fish, brandy, and so forth are offered to him... His entrance into a house is supposed to bring a blessing. 4 The Hebrew Ark of the Covenant carried in procession served both as a protection and as a blessing.

The carrying of sacred sheaves, trees, and other innumerable symbols of corn and wine is a regular practice of agricultural ritual, which Frazer has abundantly illustrated.

3. Civic and religious processions. — The processional 'beat of the bounds' seems to have had primarily a purification intention. Processions of a disciplinary character, to inspire respect for law and custom, and so forth, are frequently combined with pantomime and mask-performance — e.g., by such 'societies' as the Duk-duk and Mumbo-jumbo. In such cases as the fall of Jericho in early Hebrew story there seems to be implied a belief that procession round an object not only hem's it but also dominates it. The converse idea, illustrated by some uses of the magical circle (q.v.), is that procession round an object protects it. This idea may perhaps exist in the customs of cutting the bounds of the procession into the city area. Of this character are mayoral shows, though originally derived from guild-processions, celebrating both the city and its patron, and the Panathenaeic procession of ancient Athens, in which the sacred peplos of Athene served as the sail of the ship carried or drawn on rollers through the city, perhaps symbolizing the maritime power of the Athenian empire.

Magnificent processions of athletes, horses, and chariots introduced the performance of the great games of Hellas; and the modern revival of Olympic games includes the procession. When crime was still expiated in public, a procession attended the malefactor to the place of punishment and execution. In this case there was a striking contrast between the outlying rabble and the procession itself, which should be 'an organized body of people advancing in a formal or ceremonial manner.' 5 In modern times the procession is retained to dignify the law, royalty, parliament, military, public and municipal functions and is a special

2 ib. p. 256.
3 'ib. p. 256.
5 'ib. p. 112.
7 'ib. lxi. 199, 316.
8 'Edwards, s. c., 'Procession,' xvi. 414.
PROCessions AND DANCEs

instrument of public appeal by bodies with a grievance or desires of demonstrating this or that political view. Friendly Societies and similar bodies make great use of it, and it is one of the chief instruments of the Salvation Army.

1. The making either of honouring or of degrading a person. The triumphal entry of Jesus balances the procession to Calvary. The 'triumph' of Roman generals was a very elaborate procession, including captives and spoils. It was really a triumphal sacrifice. In the opinion of Frazer, constitute an impersonation by the victor of the Jupiter Capitolinus to whose temple he was borne in procession. He wore the robes of the god, and his face was painted with vermillion. The custom survived the regal period to the republic.1

4. The procession in Roman Catholic ritual.—The procession and the procession, as modes of proceeding and receding from a ceremony, and also as acts of worship in themselves, have always been of great importance in the Christian Church. An exception is the Churches of the Reformation, which practically abolished, along with other ritual, every procession but the funeral; and this is more or less extemporaneous, and not arranged by the church for the benefit of the faithful. In as much as the 4th cent., adopted the procession from the existing religions, pagan rather than Jewish, and primarily for the funeral, the Roman Catholic Church has exploited it thoroughly. Litanies, rogations, and supplications were traditional functions.2 After the time of Gregory the Great the procession entered the celebrant and the procession to the station became regular. In processions to the stations of the Cross the Saviour's route to Calvary is represented and symbolized. The procession of the blessed sacrament is an old Roman Catholic function.3 The rulings of the RituaJ Romanum (tit. ix.) must be noted, as showing the continuity of processionai ideas.

There are (1) processiones generalis, in which the whole body of the clergy takes part; (2) processiones ordinarii on yearly festivals, such as the Feast of the Ascension of the Virgin, the procession on Palm Sunday, the Stations of the Cross, the Easter Matins and Whitsune, the Feast of Corpus Christi, and on other days according to the custom of the churches; (3) processiones extraordinarias, or processiones on special occasion. E.g., to pray for rain or fine weather, in time of famine, plague, war, or in other emergency; (4) processiones as the dedication of churches, thanksgiving, translation of relics, the dedication of a church or monastery. There are also processions of honour—e.g., to meet a royal personage, or to pay a visit to one who has come into his country.

5. The 'pardon' of Brittany.—Processions of a special character or unusual interest are numerous. Purificatory processions through fire, or in which the people walk upon fire, occur in agricultural ritual.5 To the same sphere belong the processions of giant figures, carried to the burning, processions to the midsummer bonfires, and those in which torches are waved over the gardens and fields.5 The carnival processions of France and the pardons of Brittany are remarkably developed. The latter processions are those in the towns and some districts of the people.5 In Normandy such festivals are rare; in Flanders they survive partially in the Kermesses, e.g., of Brussels. It has been suggested that the Breton pardon is a survival of pagan festivals.6 But in the agricultural ritual, that of Notre Dame de Bon Secours at Guingamp, held about midsummer, there is certainly a connexion with the agricultural ritual of fire, the central act of the night procession being the lighting of a huge fire in the chief place of the town.1 The pardon aptly links together pilgrimage and procession. It illustrates equally well the early connexion of religion with all spheres of social life. Fairs of all kinds are held during the pardon, and merry- making with dancing and bet between solemn functions.

'From far and wide the people crowd to this festival' (the Pardon of Guingamp). The chief procession is by night, the townspeople's procession on Sunday, the following procession on Monday. In the opinion of Frazer, constitute an impersonation by the victor of the Jupiter Capitolinus to whose temple he was borne in procession. He wore the robes of the god, and his face was painted with vermillion. The custom survived the regal period to the republic.

6. Procession and the drama.—Before referring to the use of the procession in the development of the drama, it is necessary to give some idea of the nature of the procession. The Romans had a type of procession which was not unlike that of the Greek. It was more formal, and the Romans did not use it as freely as the Greeks. The Romans did not use the procession for religious purposes, but for political and social purposes. The Romans did not use the procession for religious purposes, but for political and social purposes. The Romans did not use the procession for religious purposes, but for political and social purposes.

Each parish procession is accompanied by its clergy, who lead the singing of ancient canticles. The several processions, as many as can be accommodated in the available space, half round the great wood-pile, which is solemnly set alight for the beating of the Trumpet. The Beat of the procession, of course, is a pagan festival, and in these is a representation of the procession and the procession, as modes of proceeding and receding from a ceremony, and also as acts of worship in themselves, have always been of great importance in the Christian Church. An exception is the Churches of the Reformation, which practically abolished, along with other ritual, every procession but the funeral; and this is more or less extemporaneous, and not arranged by the church for the benefit of the faithful. In as much as the 4th cent., adopted the procession from the existing religions, pagan rather than Jewish, and primarily for the funeral, the Roman Catholic Church has exploited it thoroughly. Litanies, rogations, and supplications were traditional functions.2 After the time of Gregory the Great the procession entered the celebrant and the procession to the station became regular. In processions to the stations of the Cross the Saviour's route to Calvary is represented and symbolized. The procession of the blessed sacrament is an old Roman Catholic function.3 The rulings of the RituaJ Romanum (tit. ix.) must be noted, as showing the continuity of processionai ideas.

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2 9b, p. 402, 415.
6 Ib. II. 33, i. 107, 110, 113 f., 154 f.
7 The term 'pardon' is an application to the whole festival of a particular detail, not necessarily the primary feature, viz. the absolution obtained after pilgrimage to the shrine of the saint.
9 Ib. p. 181.
11 Spencer-Gillen, pp. 173 ff., 185, and passim.
12 See L. R. Farwell, OSV's v. 159.
13 Ib. pp. 153, 156.
14 Chambers, 1. 154 f.
15 E. G. Hirsch, in J.F., s. v. 'Dancing,' iv. 424 f.
16 C. Weatherly, Ethn., s. v. 'Pageant,' x. 450.
natural tendency to make processions dramatic. Two converse causes thus help to produce the procession and the stage. The ‘ridings’ on St. George’s Day and other occasions were ‘glorified’ by these pantomimic representations or dumb-show pageants.1 These culminated, or rather reached an artificial climax, losing their folk-interest, when Elizabethan artists elaborated the pageant and the Italians the trionfo. A conspicuous example of such procession exhibitions, though the scenes were not apparently always noted, is the dance of death, danses macabres, Toulciette, trionfo della morte. Cars, draped in black and white, were drawn through the streets. On these were the Angel blowing the last trump and Death with his scythe. Before and behind marched men robed in black and white, and wearing ‘death masks.’ Choirs chanted the Misereere.2 This dance of death, and the possible origin of the Breton pardon in the funeral, taken with the fact that the earliest Christian procession was funeral, while it is to-day the latest to survive, show the funeral procession to be the most constant expression of the religious rite.

II. DANCES.—Dancing and procession are sometimes confused terminologically—a result partly due to the existence of processional dances, or the enlivening of the self-created dance by the processional. The heretic Albigenses called dancing the procession of the devil.3 The bear dance (dperesia) of Athenian girls was probably processional rather than choric.4 The ‘dances’ of the old Roman collegia, such as those of the Flavian collegia, were processional with some variety of movement.5

1. Physical and psychological aspects.—Dancing is an instinctive mode of muscular expression of feeling, in man and many animals, especially birds. The laws of the social life of the human race it has played a part which touches every activity of the individual and society. Dancing may be described as ‘play’ in its absolute form. Rhythm is inseparable from its movements, as it is from any bodily function, and therefore belongs to it without saying. It is in the middle stages of culture that dancing is seen at its highest development. Here it is much more, and also less, than a ‘poetry of motion,’ or the ‘silent poetry’ of Simonides. It is rather life expressed in muscular movement. The human instinct in play is childlike without the final stage of the human love of excitement. The dance satisfies both, and its rhythmical character also makes it suitable for the expression of the most solemn and controlled emotions. It is at once the servant of Art and of Life.

Dancing, in the proper sense, consists in rhythmical movement of any part or all parts of the body in accordance with some scheme of individual or concerted action. As Aristotle remarked, dancing is imitative; and in all its forms it is an artistic imitation of physical movement expressive of emotions or ideas.

In its simplest terms it has been described as ‘merely the voluntary application of the rhythmic principle, when excitement has induced an abnormally rapid oscillation of brain tissue, to the physical exertion by which the overcharged brain is relieved.’

The social importance of dancing depends on its instinctual causation and its results. It has been noted that the physiological effects of dancing are identical with the physiological results of pleasure.

Muscular movement, of which the dance is the most complex expression, is undoubtedly a method of auto-intoxication of the very area of the brain concerned with bodily motion. A girl who has waited for a quarter of an hour is in the same condition as if she had drunk champagne.2

With regard to the muscular movements involved, the following has been observed of Kaffir dancing:

The perception of pleasure or science consists in their being able to put every part of the body into motion at the same time.4

Steri notes that it ‘touche j every vital organ.5 Of the Marquesan girls Melville writes:

They ‘dance all over, as it were; not only do their feet dance, but their arms, hands, fingers, ay, their very eyes seem to dance in their heads. In good sooth, they so play them in moving forms, arch their necks, toss aloft their naked arms, and glide and swim and whirl.6

Primitive dancing ... embraces all movements of the limbs and body expressive of joy or grief, all pantomimic representations of incidents in the lives of the dancers, all performances in which movements of the body are employed to excite the passions of hatred or love, pity or revenge, or to arouse the warlike instincts, and all ceremonies in which the emblematic express homage or worship, or are used as religious exercises.7

Groos speaks of the ‘self-created world of the dance,’8 in which the dancer realizes himself in a physical improvisation. The ‘sensation of motion,’ says Kiihn, is the ‘play-giving sensation,’ and Aristippus defined pleasure as a ‘gentle motion.’9 On the physiological side dancing develops energy and releases it; it promotes tenesmus and effects detumescence.

Tare says, that a young fellow’s muscles quiver from head to foot and his jaws tremble, without any apparent ability on his part to control them, until foaming at the mouth, and with his eyes rolling, bringing about a physical excitement.

In both individual and social functioning the dance is thus a translatable engine of emotional energy. Philosophy has noted this, and Pythagorean mysticism found in it a replica of the movements of the stars in the cosmos ‘when the morning stars danced together.’ Folk-lore has it that the sun dances on Easter Day. John Davies elaborated such fancies in his poem Orchestra (London, 1596).11

The dance is thus a natural method of celebrating anything of expressing individual or social emotions or ideas. Primarily mere physical play, it has developed in many cultures, gymnastic and artistic, as a pastime, and as a sexual stimulus; but in social evolution its main applications are the ceremonial and the dramatic. The dance course may include various other functions of the dance. Thus, in the mimetic dances of the simpler cultures there are combined worship, drama, exercise, excitement, pastime, play, art.

2. Range of movements.—The range of movements in dancing is naturally very considerable, connecting on the one side with marching steps, ‘parades,’ and on the other with the gestures of the hands used in conversation. Metrical terms in versification are frequently derived from choreic steps. In modern dancing as a pastoral, movement is practically confined to the legs. But in earlier stages the rest of the body and especially the hands are employed.

5. Sergi, loc. cit.
7. E. Codrington, p. 262.
8. K. Groos, Die Spiele der Menschen, Jena, 1890, p. 112.
11. W. W. Skeat, Etym. Dict., Oxford, 1910, defines dancing to ‘trip with measured steps.’ This definition ignores all the body except the lower limbs. The word is connected with O. H. G. tina, ‘to draw or drag forcibly,’ ‘to trail along.’
The typical Malay movements are shutting of the feet and swaying of the hands. An old Roman writer speaks of the "dancing birds", who are seen in the cruciform and semi-cruciform positions. The Mendelssohn of ancient Egypt included a curious outward twisting of the hands raised above the head. The dancing of the Indians of Guiana is similar, in stamping on the ground, and staggering in different attitudes as if intoxicated. 

2. Movements of the trunk are conspicuous in ancient and primitive dancing. National and racial characteristics are not fundamental, and the use of music and of paraphernalia, such as weapons and scarfs, is an obvious aid to physical expression.

Most of the ancient Greek ball-games were dances. In Madagascar the performers carry leaves of aréca-palm flowers, to which their movements give the appearance of being alive. In some of its aspects artistic dancing borders on the acrobatic and the juggling arts. The majority of social religious dances, on the other hand, are more akin to the procession, and consist largely of processional dancing, evolution, or pantomime.

The dancing is a development of physical play is shown by the familiar fact that some animals, especially birds, dance, not only as a method of courting, but at other times, as an individual exercise, and often combined with vocalisations. The dance of the argus pheasant, the "waltz" of the ostrich, the bowing and scraping of the penguin, and the "tumultuous" dance of the geese, has been observed of very human-like in appearance. Insects and birds perform air-dances, and flies water-dances. Dancing on skates is man's use of another element.

A dance of the Timagami Algonquins will typify the ordinary dancer of the dance of the simpler peoples and their derivatives.

The Common Round Dance is an outdoor performance generally performed at the camp. One man sings one of a set of tunes, which seem to be mostly improvisations in which human passages are often introduced, accompanying himself upon a drum which is suspended from the branches of a tree. The dancers form a circle, generally with a person at the head of the line, some carrying rattles. Then they begin trotting around to the left quite close together, in time to the music. There is very little form to the dance. It seems to be for the most part merely a form of amusement in which women and children join for the sake of excitement. At irregular intervals the dancers may face right about and circle in the opposite direction a few turns.

This and other dances of the Timagami were still being performed in the ordinary course of the time at writing.

3. Auto-intoxication and ecstasy. —The powerful nervous-muscular and emotional influence, leading to auto-intoxication and ecstasy, is thus brought to the people by originating in itself and to its employment for special purposes, such as the production of cerebellum excitement, vertigo, and various epileptoid results, in the case of medicine-men, shamans, dervishes, prophets, oracle-givers, visionaries, and sectaries even in modern culture. The similar results attainable by the normal mind indicate that the dance with its power of producing unconsciousness was the fundamental and primitive form of the orgy.

The effect of dancing "among the spinning Dervish" or in the ecstatic worship of Baechus and Cybele amounted to something like madness. It is probably due to some instinctive appreciation of these effects, as well as to the similar desire to retain self-possession and dignity that the changing element of aversion from intoxication generally, that the ancient Greeks and Romans and many Oriental peoples confined dancing to professionals. Socraates danced

2. "A Quiet, gently, of the People of the Malayan Archipelago, Antik.
3. e.g. 'Pomantinous," cited Cassiodorus, Var. LV. 1.
5. Ellis, vi. 222, 29-33, citing authorities.
8. Ellis, vi. 222, 29-34, citing authorities.
attack or practising with the layonet, may imagine that he is actually fighting the spiritual forms of the enemy or some vague ghostly foe. There can be little doubt that the war-dances of barbarous peoples and even those of the ancient Spartans were unconsciously, rehearsals of battle.

War-dances are performed also for the purpose of combating supernatural influences of any kind. The Arunta of Australia, after returning from an expedition of war-dancing, defined war-dancing as repelling the ghost of the man whom they have executed. In agricultural ritual the evil influences of blight, bad weather, and general infertility with its various causes are often assayed by a war-dance or similar demonstration. Thus, in ancient Italy, the dancing priests of the god Mars derived their name of Salii from the leaps or dances which they were bound to execute at a solemn religious ceremony every year in the Comitia. Similar colleges of dancing priests are known to have existed in many towns of ancient Italy, but their dancing was a war-dance with curious weapons (see above), more potent, doubtless, for expelling demons of infertility than their high leaps were for making the corn grow high. The natives of French Guiana and other parts of South America sowing, thus: Fifty or sixty blacks in a line, with bent backs, are seen dancing in the fields, each dancing to his own tune, which glows in the sun. Ten pairs in front of them, marching backwards, the women sing a well marked air, clapping their hands, and whose motions are in the same step with the steps kept by the men. Between the women and the singers a man runs and dances, crouching on his hams like a clown, while he whirs about his umbrella. With the same, or another, dance, also sowing and nutting the earth here and there with that is necessary for exercising the spirits and causing the grain to sprout.

A remarkable Gregorian parallel to this is the agricultural ceremony of the ancient Brygates and Etruscans terrifying the Sibyls. Men ploughed and sowed, but acted as on the alert against robbers. The drama ended in a conflict and the repulse of the enemy. Such dances, or dances of the more or less religious character, were, therefore, necessary for exercising the spirits and causing the grain to sprout.

6. Agricultural dances. In many such ceremonies at the operations of agriculture the movements of the performers may be supposed to stimulate, by the action of imaginative magic, the growth of the crops, or the performers may be supposed themselves to represent the spirits of vegetation, and by their presence to disseminate virtue and fertility. It is not in possible that such ideas should have been combined. Many European cases are thus explained by Frazer:

They are 'intended both to stimulate the growth of vegetation, and to drive away the demons and other evil influences.' And these two motives of stimulation and protection have been blended and perhaps confused together, appear to explain the qualities said to have been discovered in numbers, and their significations, which they make, and the blows which they direct either at invisible foes or at the visible and tangible persons of their fellows.

Where, however, the operations of agriculture are ceremonially imitated, the stimulation is probably not so much from the supposed presence of the corn-spirits or from any specific action of imaginative magic as from the actual, practical result of a rehearsal, the instinct to which comes naturally from the human tendency to imitate and dramatize —in simpler terms, to play. Among the later developments of this instinct into 'magical' applications perhaps the most important is the production of movement (or growth) in nature, following upon the movements of man. Many 'sympathetic' rites are explained by this idea, which is derived straight from the psychology of the simplest savage. But the observation is made that many of these 'Sympathetic' Rites are of a large number of agricultural dances:

To ensure a tall crop of hemp, it is the custom among the peasants of Germany and the Tyrol to dance with high leaps. So in the case of flax and various cereals. In such customs as this the nearer the higher the jumping the taller will be the crop is probably an after-thought.

There are numerous rites in which the sexual activity of human beings is supposed to assist the fecundity of nature. Sexual processes are often imitated in the dance, and may lead to magical ideas.

Thus, the natives of N.W. Brazil imitate in dance the act of procreation and 'are believed to stimulate the growth of plants.'

Such dances seem to be in origin rather celebrations of the season or its work than magical charms, and, while the magical meaning is added, it is probably only half-serious. The permanent and original element is the vigour and movement of the dancers, representing the workers.

At the Matabele festival of the new fruits the soldiers danced round the root of the tree with knives joined together, and when he did the medicine-men and their satellites, armed with thorn-bushes, rushed about among the dancers and invited them to fresh efforts by a vigorous application of the thorns to the bodies of such as seemed to fling. The king's wife also sang and danced before him in a state of trance-Gtomo. When he had wakened her, she was blindfolded and her hands and green boughs in her left.' Similarly at the Kaffir corn-festivals generally; in one of these the king dances 'in a mantle of grass' or 'of herbs and corn-kernels. This mantle is the medicine-men and their satellites, armed with thorn-bushes, rushed about among the dancers and invited them to fresh efforts by a vigorous application of the thorns to the bodies of such as seemed to fling. The king's wife also sang and danced before him in a state of trance-Gtomo. When he had wakened her, she was blindfolded and her hands and green boughs in her left.' Similarly at the Kaffir corn-festivals generally; in one of these the king dances 'in a mantle of grass' or 'of herbs and corn-kernels. This mantle is the
afterwards burnt and its ashes are scattered and trodden into the ground by cattle.1 Here the king acts as master of the ceremonies and performs the office of harvester. It is unnecessary to suppose that he definitely represents a corn-spirit; his costume is naturally adapted to the occasion.

**Magical dancing.**—The notion that dancing by reason of its vigorous movement can induce movement in the environment is illustrated by curious customs employed for rain-making.

In Morocco ball-games of the hockey type have been employed for this purpose. The rapid movements of the ball and the players are supposed to induce movement in the clouds.2 Another case of ceremonial movement (which is of the essence of magical dancing) is that of the rain-maker of the Australian Arunta. To produce a shower of rain, he goes through a curious process of quivering of his body, which is accompanied by the rain falling at the time of his movements. At day-break he makes a final and exhaustive effort.3

It has been suggested that the crane-dance (typos) of Greek mythology records a magical dance for assisting the progress of the sun. This case is complicated.

When Theseeus landed with Ariadne in Belos on his return from Crete, he and the young companions whom he had rescued from the Minotaur are said to have danced a naxy dance in imitation of the tracery windings of the labyrinth; on account of its sinuous turns the dance was called "the Crane."

In various parts of the world, pantomimic dances have imitated the flight of birds. This may be the case here. A similar dance was practised by the Hawaiian women in the days of Freke.4 The Mazu-scheme, for dancing evolutions, however, is quite common, and would easily attach to itself famous names and exploits. Frazer suggests that the intention of both was to imitate, and so to assist, the sun's progress through the sky.5

The data are insufficient to arrange such cases as that of the king of Onitsha, on the Niger, who danced annually before his people, possibly to show his physical fitness.6 But, certainly, the dance in this case may be called the positive applications of dancing, personal vigour is demonstrable, and invites attention. In many customs it may be said both to compel attention and to invite imitation.

Both applications of the dance are 'sympathetic' in the natural sense, without being necessarily magical.

Thus, it is recorded of old Madagascar that, "while the men are in the field reaping and all their women and girls cease not day and night to dance. . . . They believe that by dancing they impart strength, courage, and good fortune to their dead. . . . Their women danced continuously that their men might not be weary. These very natural practices, such as rain-making and highly decorative, are not necessarily magical. On the Gold Coast, when a battle is expected, the women at home have a kind of sham fight, in which they cut to pieces charged on white boards at the time of the feast-maker, and drumming, he dances before the assembly. Soon he threads his way in and out amongst the people, continuing his song, and when he has gone through the ranks of the spectators he dances back to the feast-ground and ends his dance.6

**Pantomimic dancing.**—From the point of view of aesthetics dancing may be described as mask-making. Like music, it expresses primarily itself; secondarily it expresses whatever is within the scope and material of the art. In this secondary function dancing is pantomimic.

The pantomimic has the longest history of all forms of dancing. It is a natural instinct. In low-caste societies such as the Australian, and it is popular in the highest civilizations of to-day. Like other forms, it is applied to various purposes and on various differing occasions. Many other forms (see examples cited above) are pantomimic. Practically all the ceremonial of the Arunta and other Australians is pantomimic, and special ornam-entation and dress are usual necessaries.7

A good deal of mysticism is attached to the masked dances or pantomimes which have had so remarkable an influence upon various arts and crafts of N.W. America. They represent incidents in the lives of the guardian spirits of the tribe.

The gift of a dance means that the protege of the spirit is permitted to use the powers which he has learned from him. In these dances he personates the spirit. . . . The obtaining of the magical gifts (e.g., the 'death-bringer,' and the water of life, and other supernatural gifts) from the guardian spirit's body, while the person who has obtained them becomes natakatlele, supernatural, which is also the quality of the spirit himself. Among various other forms these spirits are described as made of cedar bark, which is dyed red in the juice of elder bark. They are kept only in winter.

In so far as any worship is connected with such animal-dances, they will involve various religious emotions.

Thus, if no reason is given, we assume that, when the Yuchi Indians in some of their dances imitate the movements and cries of the animals, they are paying for the destroyed property with property of higher value. The Zoilo dance before sacred tortoises may be ‘to intercede with the ancestral spirits, inanimate in the animals.’

Pantomime is also used as a part of such heilous ceremonial dances in one of which the performers practice cannibalism; in another they eat dogs; in a third they break open the heads of wild ducks with the help of daga sticks, at the same time paying for the destroyed property with property of higher value.

The last detail is akin to the system of the theatre.

In the bear-dance of the Timagami Indians the men and women form a circle, with a leader to direct operations. The bear-dance is carried on by the drummer, who carries a drum and sings the bear-dance song, then starts around counter-clockwise. The leader sometimes stops the circle, and the singer way she impugns the bear. . . . The circle keeps up until the song is finished. The idea of this dance seems to be to honour the bear by imitating him.

In another dance of the same people, the duck-dance, the movements of a flock of ducks and drakes are represented by the movements of a small group, which walks and sings. There is no curios to note that such a dance is interlarded with European steps—a modern folk-tune or two is introduced between the movements. At the close the performers quack two or three times. ‘This is purely a pleasure-dance.’

Pantomime is recognized as an educative process in elementary schools to-day, simple operations, such as sowing and reaping, being represented by appropriate movements.

A good illustration of the pantomime dance as fine art with a touch of social significance or artistic effect, is found among the Malays. In their monkey-dance pantomime represents a monkey entertaining itself, as soon as it is rocked in a cot. Then she imitates the behaviour of a monkey, and performs some remarkable tree-climbing.

In pantomime it seems the monkey is more important than in pantomimic dancing, as it is, e.g., in the ceremonial dances of the Australians and American Indians. The representation of a dramatic story in dumb show, with or less of dancing movement, is the ballet of Egypt and the pantomime of ancient Rome. Under the Roman Empire this form of dancing attained extraordinary popularity, superseding other shows, and with it remarkable artistic excellence. The fabula solitica used plots from old mythology, a love-motive being the favourite. The best poets of the day were commissioned to write the scenarios, which seem at times to have been drawn from contemporary life. The modern cinema picture-drama is a close parallel, but in the fabula solitica an explanatory narrative was sung by a chorus accompanied by an orchestra.

In another form, parallel to modern skirt-dancing, the dancer represented all the action of the various characters by the movements of his body and arms.

The modern ballet, in common with artistic dancing generally, dates from the 15th century. The great Renaissance included a new birth of dancing. Probably the tradition of the Roman pantomime assisted the innovation. From Italy the ballet passed to France, where it was perfected as the ballet d'action."

10. Dancing as a social pastime. Artistic and dramatic dancing has frequently and among various peoples been placed under a social ban, in the same way and for the same reasons as the drama. More rarely this has happened than the ballet and the dance of the social pastime. Apart from ceremonial dancing in religious worship, Greeks and Romans and most Eastern peoples, while encouraging dancing as a form of entertainment—e.g., at banquets—have refused to hear of the social pastime. There is thus a professional class. The Malays never dance themselves, but will pay well for good professional dancing. Roman dancers were infames. But as a professional class they had an important though unofficial status, like that of the bayaderes of India, the geishas of Japan, or the almesh of Egypt. Even religious dancing developed a professional class, if the d’hehkkth, e.g., of Hebrew sanctuaries may be so described.

In the history of the world’s art the great dancing genres, such as Taglioni and Pavlova, are entitled to a position only second to that of great singers and musical composers.

The use of dancing as a social pastime is comparatively modern. Plato forbids boy and girls dancing. The only approximation to this was the 6pom, in which boys and girls danced in counter-formation. The 17th century, of course, saw the birth of the school of dancing, and Spain its ‘true home.’ It is outside the scope of this article to discuss the development of this form of dancing, which belongs to the sphere of pastime. But it may be noted that the evolution of the art throws much light on the evolution of society as an individual, and in a more clear-cut manner than the evolution of music. For, in the case of dancing, the whole system is involved. As in music, so in dancing; stages of evolution, ‘schools,’ have developed a method, to be superseded by another. Among typical movements may be mentioned the pavane; its character was professional. The minuet has been described as the ‘fine flower of the art.’ But actually it expresses merely an artificial code of courtesy. The type of pair-dancing is the waltz, a dance of uncertain origin.

When in contact with European culture, native peoples throughout the world soon assimilate European dances; e.g., the people of Ceram (East Indies) have for a century or two adopted the ‘lasso’ as a modern form of pastime and of social life. The higher cultures assimilate the dances of the simpler peoples, and the ephemeral popularity of the tango and ‘ragtime’ serves to illustrate the continuity of human physical evolution.

LITERATURE.—The authorities quoted in the article supply satisfactory data, but there are no treatises written on any scientifically comprehensive lines.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.—I. INTRODUCTION.—Interpretation of prodigies.—What fortune or misfortune the prodigy portends is determined for the individual by the culture to which he belongs. Origin of the culture is properly studied in anthropological research, for the same interpretation may have had different origins, and different interpretations may have the same objective cause, the respective similarity and difference representing the varied reactions of the cultures in question. Were the interpretations given by differ-

1 Sceat, Malay Magic, p. 405.
5 E. J. B. Boudreau, De la science et des miracles, Paris, 1910.
ent cultures wholly arbitrary, they would not present such thoroughgoing, or even such partial, resemblance. Some of the resemblances may be attributed to cultural diffusion, where the phenomenon is really continuous in development, over long periods of time. The cultural bounds within which it originates. The classical cultures are good instances, for here we have historical proof of the diffusion, such proof, in the nature of the case, being very difficult to obtain in primitive society, where there is a remarkable spontaneous effect of the phenomenon upon the mind is, however, in some cases such as, if not to rule out diffusion, at least to make this supposition superfluous. The eclipse and the earthquake, e.g., never portend good. The reason is not far to seek: earthquakes never effect any good, and frequently leave disaster in their train; the completion of what the eclipse partly effects, in bringing about a diminution of light, would be the culmination of disasters that hardness has ever been the harbinger of evils which the garish light of day dissipates. 1

In many other instances the prodigy points its own moral, though one largely determined by the prejudices of the people who are affected if e.g., Napoleon's 'sun of Austerlitz'). Whether or not the inference made is historically true, the following passage shows that the suggestion of the interpretation grows out of the nature of the event:

At the time of the amplification and enlarging [of the village which Milan grew] by Bellonessus there happened a very strange accident, which gave occasion of the denominations. For when it was new building, a certain wise Sow that cause forth of an olea ruinous house very early in the morning, happening to go that way about the building of the city. This Sow had half her body covered with hard bristly hair as other Piggies are, and the other half with very white wool; which portentum, Bellonessus took for a very happy and ominous token, so that he caused the city to be called Mediolanum from the half-wooled Sow. What his reason was why he should esteem this strange spectacle for such a buckie token I know not but I conjecture it might be this: perhaps he supposed that the bristly hair might presage strength and puissance in his subjects, and the wool plenty of necessary means that might tend to the clothing of their bodies. 2

2. The realm of the unknown.—The unknown is highly charged with mystic power. Many peoples, like the Thonga, have added faith in foreign medicines just because they come from a distant place. Medical remedies, which are too seldom engage the medicine-man of their own village.

They know too much about him to waste their money on him. They float him and send for the medicine-man of another village of whom they know little or nothing. 4

In the skill with which iron is worked there is something mystical. Among the Bakongo, as among many of the tribes of Africa and of India, the blacksmith holds an honourable position, or is despised and feared. Similarly, the forge is often regarded as a sacred place, and respect is shown towards the anvil and the fire. 5

In the Middle Ages this superstitious fear and dread attached to the higher learning and superior skill.

A good instance of this tendency is the attitude taken towards Michael Scott, an Irishman of the 12th century, who was supposed to have the archangel Gabriel in his ear. 6

He was so widely renowned for his varied and extensive learning that he was credited with supernatural powers; a number of his sayings have become proverbs in the language and transformed the man of science into a magian. In the Western country traditions of his magical power are common. Boccaccio alludes to "a great master in necromancy, called Michael Scot," while Dante places him in the eighth circle of

Hell---all because his learning was beyond the comprehension of his fellows. In the 14th century, similar magic powers were attributed to a man living in a remote and barbarous part of Ireland. The priests of the church in their account of his learning. In Ireland, during the witchcraft superstition, many women were put to death on the charge of bewitching the sick. Another, of a man who had gained such extensive knowledge of their knowledge of the medicinal value of herbs—just such skill and knowledge to the gods. 7

The realm of the unknown is people by many monstrous beings. This is especially true of the celestial regions and what are, for the question, the remotest parts of the earth. In the moon and on parts of the earth, say the Eskimos, there is a people or race of men without heads or head dresses, not having a mouth, armed with sharp teeth, across the chest. 8 Many tribes in Africa have similar beliefs. They prevailed in Europe until a century ago. 9 In fact, the disposition to make monstrous men of the distant and the unknown is old as history. The early Babylonians reported an attack by a strange people who had the bodies of birds and the faces of ravens, whose dwelling-place was in the mountains to the north of Meso-


3. The psychology of prodigies. (a) Recognition of events as prodigies.—What phenomena are recognized as prodigies and what importance attaches to them depends upon the state of mind, social and individual. The wise man, as Seneca says, was not menaced by prodigies, nor his table of fortunes, nor the extremities of fire and sword, whereas a fool is afraid of his own shadow, and surprised at all accidents, as if they were all levelled at him. As Pliny 10 says, the Romans described prodigies as a disparagement, not even that a person was dead; there are, in fact, many examples of the dead returning to life, in some cases after the funeral pyre had been lighted and the flames had proceeded too far to permit rescue. There are critical moments when the mind, group and individual, is especially liable to harbour hallucinations and to magnify the ordinary into something prodigious. Intense expectancy gives exaggerated proportions to every event which is extraordinary and heightened expressions forward into suppositional realization. The politico-religious fervour of the down-trodden Jews affords many illustrations.

Prior to the revolt in Judaea which broke out in a.d. 66 this expectation of life and permanency to a host of terrifying rumours, which, in turn, fanned the fervour into greater vagaries. 'Men dreamed only of signs and omens; the apocalyptic idea gained immense ground. The persecution of the Coven, swords in the sky, battles in the clouds, light breaking forth with itself from the depth of the sanctuary, victims at the moment of sacrifice bringing forth a monstrous progeny.' These were the tales told with horror from month to month. One day the vast heavens of the temple had flown open of themselves and refused to close. At the Passover of a.d. 65, about 3 a.m., the temple was for half an hour lighted as bright as day; some thought that it was on fire. Again, at Pentecost, the priests heard a sound as of many persons in the interior, making hearty preparations as if for flight, and saying to one another, 'Let us depart hence!' The great disturbance of mind was itself the best of signs that something extraordinary was about to happen. 11

The devil you know is better than the devil you don't know, and the latter always exerts in power and malignity.

An observer of the Iroquois has declared that no Iroquois lives who would not in the night-time quail and with a bright light the nature of which he did not understand. 12

The Jesuits who visited the Huron in 1635 found them entertaining 'sacred superstitions' in which they associated much of the Devil himself. These beliefs were not uncommon. If, for instance, in their hunt they had difficulty in killing a bear or a stag, and on opening it they found in its heart a little stone, a bone, a stiletto, a serpent, etc.,
they said that such object was an oak; that is, an enchantment which gave strength and vigor to the animal, so that it could not be killed; and it used the superstitious to reli-
quishes, in order to make the tree bear fruit.  

In many parts of England and of America a crowning hen is considered very unlucky and can by no means be permitted to strut and flame in the market place.  

A whistling woman and a crowing hen  
Always come to bad ends.

The Australian prosidies are most unusual and the weird 'Ha! ha!' and 'Hoo! hoo!' of the laughing jackass.  

The Ainus find it wise not to initia the cry of any unknown bird, for it is said by the devil and carry about the seeds of disease.  

Double fruits in bananas, nuts, etc., being the result of a certain kind of mule, a term used for a hybrid produced by the crossing of two distinct species of the same genus, and to be made by certain inviable beings. The Romans were similarly impressed with the presence of a double 'head' of the river of a viciss, by which is meant the devil.  

When the devout Brahman acetic heard the elephant talk-
ing to a tree, he exclaimed in amazement, 'Ha! ha!' and wondered, that an elephant should speak with an intelligible voice, and that I should understand him?  

These trees are regarded as sinister and are considered im-

The fear of ghosts is universal.  

When the supposedly dead Gerait, hero of the Mohunjaus, rose up and slew one of the soldiers who had been left behind in a chariot.  

And this was not so much through fear of the dying as through the dread they felt at seeing the dead man.  

It was not unusual for the tax inspectors to be killed by the Irish blacksmith, when he discovered that the rider of the horse was a ghost, to 'recall with a terrified prayer.'  

This fear is not a fear of physical injury, but a fear for the future.  

In this territory all natural restraint breaks down.

Horror was on the faces of the friends of a certain John Browne of Durley when, as he lay dying in the year 1654, they saw a great iron tripod thrown up at the foot of the bed, 'begin to open, look by look, without the aid of any visible hand, until at length the lid stood upright.'

Horror would be on our faces too, if we accepted the fact that there was no natural explanation. There is no other attitude to take in the presence of events that shatter our every-day working categories.  

(6) Religious aspect. — The concepts and emotions that underlie the prodigies, and find in them a wealth of mystic meaning, have much in common with the religious attitude. Disasters of all kinds are recognized as the inflictions of an angry god.  

Pindar's remark, 'I ween there is no marvelous impos-

1 John 3:9; cf. 1 Pet. 4:17; 1 Thess. 5:10-11, xxxix. 23.  
3 J. Batchelor, The Ainus and their Folklore, London, 1901, p. 120.  
4 XiL x1.  
6 ib.  
8 ib.  
9 ib. p. 72.  
10 ib. p. 104.  
12 Sible if gods have wrought thereto, is profoundly true. The divine nature of the ruler himself was, from the time of Alexander the Great to that of the Roman emperors of the 1st cent. and even longer, evidenced by oracles, portents, and supernatural disasters.  

The Christian army of Ferdinand of Spain, when besieging the Moors in the stronghold of Mochil, near Granada, dis-

One of these, which passed high through the air like a meteor, send-
ing out sparks and smoke as if it was a cannon-shot, fell upon a tower which was used as a magazine of gunpowder. The tower blew up with a tremendous explosion. The Moors, when they saw the magic cross in the sky, supposed it was the hand of God, and erected thereon a cross.  

The Indian Agapias, himself, believes that this fiery missive was conducted by the divine agency to confound the Moors, and that he is supported by other Catholic historians.  

Thus each interpreted the event in a way that fitted in with his intellectual background, while both parties found in its superhuman and, for them, supernatural character something of the divine.

When, later, the Spanish forces had suffered a year of dis-
couraging reverses with scarcely a fight save at the public cam-

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of the Mad Mullah, are one of many examples of a people assailed by supernatural terrors and doubts, lured by hopes of celestial glory, and apt to expect prodigious events.  

II. History.*. The Greek view of prodigies.

—According to Empedocles, the various parts of animals had a separate existence. Heads grew supported by no necks, arms wandered about detached from shoulders, and disembodied eyes pierced the solitudes. These several parts united, forming in some cases normal organs, because of their vagarious juxtaposition, in some cases monstrosities, such as man-headed oxen. The normal ones, being better adapted to the conditions of life, survived, while the monsters perished because of their maladjustment.

The stress of the times always heightened the interest in prodigies. Thus, during the Peloponnesian War there were earthquakes unparalleled in their extent and fury, and eclipses of the sun more numerous than are recorded to have happened in any former age, if we are to believe Thucydides. Again, when Xerxes was leading his army into Greece, prodigies of his defeat were not wanting; a mare gave birth to a bare, signifying, says Herodotus, that Xerxes would return fleeting for his life, and a male brought forth a colt with the organs of both sexes. Again, when the Persian army approached the temple at Delphi, numerous prodigies appeared; the sacred arms were dried by the sun, and a throng of defiled beasts outside the temple; thunder struck two cags above the heads of the barbarian force and brought them down upon the foe with considerable mortality. Two days after the olive-tree in the Erethneum had been burned down, a shoot a cubit long had sprung up from the stub, an omen that were being found leaping from the pan; this signified that the deceased Protetans would leap from the dead and avenge himself on the one who had wronged him.

By reading the horoscope Greek astronomers were able to predict the birth of monstrosities. If there was disjunction (δισνέων) between all or most of the recognized proper positions of the planets, a monstrous birth might be expected. It would not be of human birth if the planets in question were of opposite sex. Amens were seen marching, countermarching, and fighting; and the heavens themselves were seen in flames. In the district of Mutina two mountains rushed together, falling upon each other with a very loud crash, and the mountains; in the districts of the Apennines, smoke issued from them. There was the usual great crowd of witnesses. All the farmhouses were thrown down by the shock, and many of the animals in them were killed. This heralded the Social War, which was even more disastrous for Italy. Near Harpsa, in Asia, was a large rock which could be moved by the finger, but not if the entire body was applied to it. Near the river Indus a certain mountain had such attraction for iron that, if shoes containing iron were placed on it, the mountains would be drawn, while another would repel iron to such an extent that the foot within in a shoe containing iron could not rest upon it. In several places things pushed into the ground could not be pulled out.

Prodigies were not uncommon at any time, but they were especially frequent in time of political or national danger or disaster. In the year in which Fabius Maximus was for the third time elected to the consulship the sea appeared on fire; at Sinuessa a cow brought forth a colt; the statues in the temple of Juno Sospita, Lanuvium, sweating blood, and a shower of stones fell in the neighbourhood of that temple.

* On account of this shower the nine days' sacred rite was celebrated, as is usual on such occasions, and the other prodigies were carefully explained. Prodigies announced from many places while Hannibal was threatening Rome augured the hero of the future. Many Gerald bard, the soldiers had taken fire; in Sardinia the staff of a horseman who was going his rounds upon a wall took fire as he held it in his hand; the horses were frequently ablaze; at Preneste two shields sweated blood; at Arpi runners were seen to fall from the heavens; at Capena shields appeared in the heavens, and the sun fought with the moon; two moons rose during one day; the fountain of Hercules flowed with spots of blood; in Antium bloody grain fell into the basket as the people were reaping; at...
Falerii the heavens appeared cleat as if with a great chasm, and from the cleft came a vast light; the prophetic tables suddenly diminished in size, and one fell out, on which appeared the inscription, 'Mars shakes his spear.' The statue of Mars at Lyons stood at the place, the Appen Way, swept at the sight of images of wolves; at Capua the heavens seemed to be on fire, and the moon appeared to be falling amid the rain. This must, indeed, have been good preparation for smaller wonders.

Professor/of Shakespeare, says Liévy, 'credit was assigned on a magnitude of less magnitude: that the gods of certain persons had borne wool; that a hen had changed herself into a cock; and a cock into a hen. These things having been later before the senate, as reported, the authors being conducted into the senate-house, the consul took the sense of the fathers on religious affairs. It was agreed that these prodigies should be expiated, partly with full-grown, partly with sucking, victims.'

Later, in the Pune War, another flood of prodigies aroused new fear to supplement the old. Crows had torn some gold in the Capitol with their beaks and had eaten it; at Antium mice gnawed a golden crown; an immense quantity of locusts, coming apparently from nowhere, filled the whole country around Capua; at Reate a foal with five feet was born; at Anagmia scattered fires appeared in the woods. In the following year, at Arpinum the earth sank into an immense gulf, in a place where the ground was level; the 'head of the liver was absent from the first victim immolated by one of the consuls; these prodigies were explained as omens and saved the state.

A circle of stars near the moon was visible when Augustus entered Rome, after the death of his father, to assume the name by which he was afterwards known. Shakespeare is following ample parallel for his description in the image of those five moons immediately after the death of Prince Arthur.

2 The early Christian view.—The spirit of evil, typified by the Roman power or by the violent party of Jerusalem, as the case may be, is a dragon which pours out a flood of water to sweep away the Church (Rev 12:1-12). The concept is possibly of Babylonian or Egyptian origin, though it is found also in Mazzinism. The false prophet or Antichrist is especially hated in the Church and is sometimes called the 'false prophet' whom the writer of the Apocalypse represents as an ally of Nero who causes fire to fall from the sky, graven images to live and speak, and who puts the 'mark of the beast' upon men (Rev 13:15). He is a monster, speaks like a dragon, and has 'two horns like a lamb.'  

Nor are there lacking elements of the prodigies in that hated Antichrist, the emperor Nero, whose life has been likened to the descendant cires of a grotesque witches' revel. In the bloody troublous days of Nero meteor and celestial signs received heightened attention.

Comm. eclipses, mock-ans, northern lights, in which appear crooked, horses and streaks of blood, fantastic forms of clouds in time of heat, with traces of battles or strange beasts, drew anger attention and seemed never to have been so vivid as in these true prodigies. The flowers of blood, of wonderful thunder-bolts, of rivers flowing up-stream, of bloody torrent. A thousand things never noticed in ordinary life have a high importance in the feverish excitement of the public mind.'

Christ Himself had prophesied that nation would rise against nation, kingdom against kingdom; there would be earthquakes, terrors, famines, plagues and destructions in the sky (Mt 24:23, Mk 13:29, Lk 21:11). The prophecy had its ample fulfilment in the near future. The famine came in the year 68; inundation from the Tiber in 69 and from the sea along the coast of Lycia; the pestilence visited Rome in 65, carrying off 30,000 inhabitants. In 69 occurred the first barbarian conquest, and the Campania by scarcely less destructive cyclones and tornadoes; tempests spread terror broadcast, and nature seemed everywhere perverse. It was a prevalent belief that portents, hiding of the sun, eclipses, flood, even the death of the sky, were to usher in the Messianic kingdom. This view—that calamities were signs of the Messiah's approach—was in vogue among the Jews for many centuries after the time of Christ. Similar signs and more terrible were the omens heralding the death of Charlemagne, recounted by his contemporaneous and biographer, Egino:

There were frequent eclipses, both solar and lunar, and a black spot appeared in the heavens daily for three years of his life; the gallery between the basilica and the palace fell suddenly in ruin; accidental fire consumed the wooden bridge which led to it. At Anagnia—both gallery and bridge had been constructed by Charlemagne; during his last campaign into Saxony a ball of fire fell suddenly from the heavens with a great light. If, rushed across the clear sky from right to left, and everybody was wondering what was the meaning of this, a crane which the spring of the year had given a sudden plunge, head foremost, and fell. Her javelin was struck from his hand with a violence that sent it twenty feet away. The palace in Als-Chappè was frequently trembled, the roofs of whatever buildings it harbored in kept up a continual cracking noise, the basilica was struck by lightning, and the tiled roof fell. The general populace was wattled by the thunder-bolt and hurled upon the bishop's house ad

III. ANIMALS.—I. DIVINATION:—Divination is by no means confined to the classical cultures. It is practised by means of lice in the Torres Strait, and on the island of Mer is a divinatory shrines in these lices are taken from the movements of insects, lizards, and other animals. The Kafir of the divine by means of the shoulder-blade of a sheep; the Buruts use the shoulder-blade of a sheep in a god in divining the cause of disease or for the discovery of a thief. A written law was given by God to the chief tribal ancestor of the Buruts, who, on his death, bequeathed it to his own people, fell asleep under a haystack. A cow came to the stack and ate up all the law as well as the hay, but the law remained engraved on the cow's' shoulder-blade. The law is the basis of the cow's' divining by way of divination, and the Igorot resort to divination with chickens. Before going to battle the Samoans observe in the movements of the chicken as to whether it will go about the points of the spears and the outside of the bundle, it is a good omen, their very grit is a good omen. The Chinese and Japanese use certain animals as the basis of divination, it is a bad omen. If a lizard comes down the back of a reptile the dragon which was being discovered. The Tonga preserve, as useful for divinatory purposes, the stratagems of a smaller animal found in the stumps of a hyena—a most uncommon discovery.

See, further, artt. DIVINATION, 2. Omens.—Omens likewise are common among primitive peoples.

The looking of vultures denotes impending war, it being the habit of these birds to settle upon the cadaver of the slain. The snake portends death to a Bushman. Among the Tonga it is a bad omen for a man to cross the river. The touch of the eagle informed the Tukama that some one would be killed
by an arrow. When a snake crosses a person's path, it is a sign that the person is to die. The aurora, or a fiery red glow, is a sign that he will vomit. 3 The Yana declare it a bad sign if a fox 'talk' before daylight,4 but, if the fish lies left on the shore—a bad omen for a good brewer; it is a bad omen if seen to fly in any other direction. If a certain fish swims rapidly, they are about to be defeated. However, if it round a column and then on its back, the party would not dare to proceed.5 The flight of the owl is a good or a bad omen according to the direction it is seen to fly. If the battle-owl is seen to approach when a party is about to set out, it is a good sign; if far away, a bad sign. Evil is portended when the same owl flies driven upon the path, and the event creates a commotion throughout that locality. If the heron flies before the eagle in the spring, there is a disturbance in the world. If the party is about to set out, this is a bad omen. The appearance of the creeper-bird in the morning or in the evening means that one's prayers are answered, while its failure to appear means that the gods are angry. If the teeth of the serpent-whale, after being placed in position, lie fest and wide, it is a good omen; while, if they point towards the north or south, it is a bad omen. A war party will return if a lizard is seen crossing its path.6

In Russia an expedition, preceded by months of labour, will turn homeward if bad omens are observed—g.5, if a particular bird calls on a certain side or flies across the river in some particular fashion; and a newly-married pair will separate if it on the wedding day the cry of a deer is heard near the house. Similar beliefs prevail among the Todas. In Holland, as early as 1611, the presence of a stork upon a house was looked upon as a good omen, and its leave-taking as a bad omen.7

3. The crow and the raven.—The English rustic who pronounces a curse on the ill-betiding crook of the crow might well be considered the inheritor of the Roman belief that the crow is a bird of ill-omened garrulity and especially so when the time of ill-omen is the morning.8 Even the indigenous croak of the raven will give bloody milk if it is frightened by an owl, and will fall sick and die if touched by it. Sreech-owls are ghosts among the Arapaho, and in many American tribes the owl is regarded as a bird of ill-omen, or of magic power, as, notably, in the South-western area. With the Navajo it is a symbol of bugaboo used to frighten children into submission.

IV. NATURAL PHENOMENA. — 1. Aurora borealis.—The Mandans say that the northern lights are caused by a large assembly of medicine-men and distinguished warriors of several northern nations who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in huge cauldrons. The Eskimos say that they are the ghosts of the dead playing football with a walrus skull.4 To the Malecite they represented blood and portended war. The Tingit share with the Eskimos the belief that the northern lights are the spirits of the dead at play,5 while the Saukteaux say they are the spirits of the dead dancing mankind round a bonfire at sea and this is called the Lacedemonians and the loss of their influence in Greece. This 'flame of a bloody appearance (and nothing is more dreaded by mortals) which falls down upon the earth' appears to the Greeks as an omen of war.6

Pliny is inclined to interpret it as due to natural causes, but does not deny its association with untoward events:

They have indeed been the precursors of great events, but I conceive that the evils occurred not because the prodigies took place, but that these took place because the evils were appointed to occur at that period. Their cause is obscure in consequence of their rarity.7

2. Earthquakes.—According to Pliny, the Babylonians attributed earthquakes to the influence of the stars when in a certain conjunction with the sun or with one another. The Greeks attributed thunder and earthquakes to one and the same cause, the former to agitation of the air above the earth, the latter to disturbances in the air beneath the earth. Yet, in spite of the scientific theories, such as we find in Aristophanes or Herodotus, an earned tradition kept up by which


2 Batchelor, op. cit., 468-429.


6 See RREEW [1908], p. 452.


the deity intimated to men the evils that were about to befall them. During the 2nd cent. of our era, where earthquakes were both frequent and frightful in their destruction of cities, the Stoe philosophers, believing the old explanation insufficient to account for such disasters, attributed them to the displeasure of the gods—a view which later Christian theologians adopted. In the latter latter case in the region of the Bay of Naples in the 1st cent. A.D. were interpreted by Christians as signs of divine wrath visiting deserved punishment upon the wicked. J. T. S. Kostand and T. P. N. T. later also regarded them as supernatural. Lucretius, following Epicurus, Democritus (water and air), and Anaxagoras (fire and air), ascribes earthquakes to the full of great substances beneath the earth as well as air escaping from subterranian caverns. Seneca attributes them to escaping air. Earthquakes occurring during the day or a little after sunset are heralded by a long thin cloud extending over the clear sky. The water in wells is more turbid than usual and emits a disagreeable odor. Birds settle upon vessels at sea and give the alarm. Yet so ominous are earthquakes that Pliny, who is inclined to find their cause in subterranian winds, declares that the city of Rome never experienced a shock which was not the forerunner of some subterranian calamity. The Japanese once held that the magnet loses its power during an earthquake or even entirely prior to one. They attributed earthquakes to movements of a tortoise, on which the earth rests, or to the wriggling of a large subterranian fish, which, when it wakes, wriggles about and causes the vibrations. During a severe earthquake masses of people can be seen, robed in white, some of them on their knees, attempting to appease the wrath of the gods or demons who are responsible for the disturbance. The Indians of the south-western part of the United States have a similar belief. They say that the shaking of the earth is caused by the wriggling of a large subterranian serpent or dragon. The Thungit attribute earthquakes to Old-woman-underneath. This is almost identical with the belief prevalent in Melanesia and Polynesia. The Arabs regard an earthquake as the will of Allah and resign themselves to it calmly, not anticipating any greater calamity. The Caribs attribute earthquakes to demons or terrestrial people. The natives of Bali and of the Fagi Islands attribute them to evil spirits, as do the Mao Nagas. With these peoples, as also among the ancient Greeks and in ancient Rome, a tabu was placed on all ordinary occupations; a Brahman might not read the Veda. Earthquakes were so common in Rome in the year 133 B.C. that all public business was blocked, and during the following year shocks lasting thirty-eight days called for a total cessation of business. As late as the time of the emperor Claudius an earthquake was always followed by the appointment of a holiday for the performance of sacred rites. After the occurrence of an earthquake during a little earthquake would be appeased. In the first centuries A.D. the pagan Romans usually attributed them to displeasure towards the Christians. In the 8th cent., Bede attributes earthquakes to the levitation in his subterranean prison, who, in his incessant prayer, shook the earth. Artemidorus review was generally championed by the later medieval theologians (as by Cardinal d’Ailly, Concordia Astronomiae Christianae, Paris, 1483); yet in 1580, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, earthquakes were generally considered by the clergy as evidence of God’s wrath—a view popular in the New England States as late as the last half of the 18th cent., and revived on the Pacific coast after the earthquake of 1868 which destroyed San Francisco.

3. Eclipses.—The Chaldeans explained eclipses on the supposition that one half of the moon was bright, the other half dark. When she suddenly turned to the sun she sent away the sun by presented to her dark visage, they had evidence of her displeasure. Some event of importance—a pestilence, a famine, a war, an earthquake—followed hard upon each eclipse. For the Greeks, similarly, an eclipse领衔ed no good. It signified the turning aside of the face of the god and the approach of a dire crisis. The moon hid the sun, and the sun fell into a swoon, or ἔφαγεν (défautance). The moon, assisted by the other planets, then provided the energy which the sun temporarily could not supply.

1 Xerxes [remarking an eclipse of the sun] was seized with alarm, and, sending at once for the Magians, inquired of them the meaning of the phenomenon. They replied, showing to the Greeks the destruction of their cities; for the sun foretells for the moon and us. 2 So Xerxes, thus instructed, departed on his way with great enthusiasm. 3 An eclipse caused Cleombrotus to bring his army home. 4 For while he was offering sacrifice to know if he should march out against the Persians, the sun was suddenly darkened in mid sky. 5 In 583 B.C. a sudden eclipse of the sun caused the fighting Medes and Lydians to lay down their arms and hastily make peace; and the Athenian expedition, which was about to depart from Syracuse in 413 B.C., after ignominious defeat, was delayed by an eclipse of the moon which filled the soldiers with fear. Thales was reputed able to predict an eclipse of the sun and to account satisfactorily for the phenomenon. Pythagoras likewise explained eclipses as natural phenomena, as did Aristotle and Pliny. The Egyptians also attempted to explain them as part of normal celestial occurrences and to predict them. 6 Lucretius explains them in the spirit of the age and by modern ways, as do Seneca and Livy. 7 Livy says that Caius Sulpicius Gallus, military tribune, 'lest they should any of them consider the matter a prodigy,' foretold to the army an eclipse of the moon on the following night. He refers also to the customs of making a din during an eclipse of the moon, presumably to frighten away the beast that is devouring it. 8 Pliny admits, with his pre valent inconsistency of reason and superstition, that many eclipses are portentous, especially such as are uncommonly long. This was the case when Caesar was slain, as in the war against Antony, when the sun remained dim for almost an entire year. Driving away an eclipse by beating drums and cymbals is referred to by Tacitus. 9 The inhabitants of Turin long continued this practice.

The Armenians believed eclipses of the moon to be caused by the interposition of a dark body between it and the earth during the earth’s revolution about the moon. 10 Orthodox Hindus look upon an eclipse as the eclipse of the sun by his creditors, Râhu and Ketu. They accordingly

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1 Herod. vii. 37. 2 Th. ix. 10. 3 Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 44–49, 246, 333, 354, 581; H. R. Hall, Ancient History of the Near East, London, 1912, p. 151, Num. II. 7. 4 vi. 753. 5 Quest. Nat. i. 12. 6 xxxvii. 4. 7 xlv. 37, xxvii. 5, xxvii. 1. 8 Ann. i. 22. 9 R. Ceiller, Hist. gén. des auteurs sacrés et cédésiastiques, Paris, 1596, iv. 607. 10 ERE, 737.
give alms and observe a fast during the eclipse. There is another belief to the effect that it is 
called by a demon, called Svarbhanu. This is similar to the Chinese belief that the sun or moon 
is being swallowed by a dog or other beast. They accordingly beat gongs to rescuse it by frightening 
away the devourer. Since an eclipse of the sun portends some awful and mysterious event, the 
natives of Ceylon observe a fast on that day. The Todas fire off guns and send up rockets to frighten 
away the snake that is trying to eat the hare in the moon, and accompany these demonstrations 
with shouts. They observe a fast also. Shinto religion ordained that, at the time of an 
eclipse, certain jewels, regarded as amulets, should be suspended from the highest branches of the 
sacred cedar, their brilliance being suggestive of the light of the sun which it was desired to restore.
The lightning of fires, doubtless for the same reason, will dispel an eclipse, and so will the crowing 
of cocks, as they are the usual heralds of the sun's return. The penultimate stârah of the Qurân 
contains a spell designed to ward off the evil influences that normally accompany an eclipse.

Pierre Bayle argues in some detail that comets and eclipses do not presage ill. He refutes the 
document of the ancients and that of his contemporaries, by showing that no more misfortunes came 
after the occurrence of certain comets of his day (17th cent.) than before them.

On the west coast of Africa an eclipse of the moon is attributed to the shadow of the sun, which is 
constantly in pursuit. The natives throng the streets and watch the coming shadow for hours. 'Be 
day!' Go away! But Junod declares that the Thonga are not much impressed with eclipses, 
being more struck with wonder at the supernatural knowledge of the white people than with fear 
of the phenomenon itself.

For the Maori, an eclipse of the moon presages the fall of the enemy's fortress. The Tahitians 
who filled with dismay. They supposed it under the influence of some evil spirit which was about to 
destroy it. They accordingly repaired to the ten or so years later, the luminaries of day and night 
from his stomach. The Tonga Islanders are content to explain the eclipse of the moon as 
due to a thick cloud passing over it. The N. Queensland natives attribute an eclipse to the 
anger of spirits, and the Sandwich Islander says that the moon is beaten, pinched, or swallowed.

The Bella Coola believe that during an eclipse the moon paints her face black. At this time the 
moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the Iesuist, which are thought to be 
vastly dangerous to the performers. The black paint

2 E. N. Parker, John Chinaman, London, 1913, p. 346; Lady
S. Townsend, My Chinese Notebook, do. 1904, p. 584 f.
3 M. E. Stewart, Every Life Day on a Ceylon Coast Estate, 
4 Rivers, p. 585.
5 B. F. Muller, 1977 f.; Kajiki, tr. B. H. Chamberlain, Tokyo, 
1906, p. 64.
6 Paroles diverses, à la Comission de la comité de 1699, Rotterdam
1713.
7 A. D. Ellis, The Eye-speaking Peoples, London, 1990, 
9 W. Mariner, Account of the Nations of the Tonga Islands, 
ed. J. Martin, Edinburgh, 1827, p. 347; W. Ellis, Polynesian 
Researchers, London, 1856, p. 36.
10 A. C. Bicknell, Travels and Adventures in N. Queensland, 
11 W. Ellis, Hist. 171.
12 W. Ellis, Hist. 171.

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with which her face is covered is supposed to be 
a protection against these dangers. Alilhaya, 
the guardian of the moon, restores her to her full 
size, and cleans her face after an eclipse. The 
Dakota discharge their rifles in the air to drive 
away the demon or evil spirit that is causing the 
eclipse. The Eskimos of the Lower Yukon 
believe that the moon is swallowed by the moon, 
and a ceremony is often deferred on this account. The rising 
generation, however, pays little or no attention 
to this custom. The Tilting say that the sun and 
moon are hiding their faces during eclipse, and 
their breath towards them in order to blow 
away the sickness which the eclipse is bringing.

4. Hail.—Hail was formed by the freezing of an 
entire cloud (Posidonius). At Cleone, according 
to Strabo, the Great Hail-storm was reported to 
the State to notify the people of the approach of hail. 
Upon such notification the people offered sacrifices, 
some a chicken, some a lamb. If these were not 
to be had, they pricked the finger with a well-
sharpened stile and made atonement with 
their own blood.

Aristotle considered hail and snow in the same 
formation, differing only in size and shape. For Pliny it was merely frozen rain, probably 
caused by the winds; but the star Arcturus scarcely ever rises without accompanying storms of 
hail. Lucertius leans towards a similar inter-
pretation, but his views of its formation are not 
clearly expressed. Hail is the result of frozen 
rain-drops, said Bede; but the Lec Visigothorum, 
the earliest known written code of the Roman law, 
those who, by incantations, bring hail-storms upon 
the fields and vineyards.

Hail is often personified in N. American mythol-
ogy, but the phenomenon is seldom regarded as 
of any special significance. Among the Nandi no 
work was permitted during the twenty-four hours 
following a hail-storm. The Kafrs permitted no 
field work on the day following a hail-storm, for 
this would bring down more hail.

5. Lightning and thunder.—Thunder, especially 
on a cloudless day, was the great omens of Zeus.
If heard on the right, it was favourable, and therefore unfavourable to the foe, who would hear it on the left. The thunderbolt was cast by Zeus.

4 All the. Zeus had been meditating evil against them, thundering terribly. And pale fear seized them and they poured wine from their cups upon the ground, nor did any one dare to taste it before it had poured a little of its exalted juice of Kronos. 3

The Pythagoreans believed that lightning was intended to terrify the damned in Tartarus. The Persians considered it a missile of divine wrath.

5 Said Arataineus, the adviser of Xerxes, 'They seem thus the Delphic thunderbolt, the sublime power above their fellow; but the little ones worry him not; and thou seest also how his missiles always smite the largest buildings and trees of such kind; for God loves to truncate all those things that rise too high. Thus, too, a large army may be raised by a small one, when God in his jealousy hurl.s a panic or a thunderbolt through them; they are shockingly destroyed: for God permits none but himself to entertain grand ideas.' 4

For the Romans thunder predicted the good or evil fortune attendant upon an undertaking, and might itself be compelled or invoked. According to an Etruscan legend, thunder was invoked when the territory of Volsinium was laid waste by the monster Volta. To perform the ceremonies improperly was to court death from the lightning—a punishment which, according to Tullus Hostilius for such shortcomings. Thunder on the left was propitious, for the not very enlightening reason that the east is on the side of the heavens. It is very propitious if the thunder proceeds from the north to the east and returns to the north. The remaining quarters of the heavens are neither so propitious nor so much to be dreaded. When Marcellus was about to enter upon the duties of consul, it thundered. The augurs were summoned and declared that the movements of thunder were valid and that the emperor's father spread abroad the report that the gods were displeased because of the election of two plebeians as consuls. 3 Seneca finds marvellous effects in lightning, which leave no doubt that a subtle divine power is present in it. He knew that if one has a design, then the lightning that occurs counsels; but, if one has no such design, it warns. Nor does he agree that the bolt which occurs first after entrance on an inheritance, or when a citizen or an individual has entered upon a new phase of existence in his own person, in its participation in a series of events through the whole substantive life. Sometimes it portends nothing, or at least nothing that we can discover—e.g., if it strike in the sea or in the desert. 4

6 The Stoic Attalus, according to Seneca, 6 recognized a class of lightning portending nothing that concerns us, and a class intimating what does concern us. Of the significant lightning there are several varieties—a favourable, an unfavourable, and a neutral. The unfavourable portents may be (a) unavoidable, (b) avoidable, (c) such as may be mitigated, or (d) such as may be delayed. If benefits be foretold, they may be (a) abiding or (b) transient.

In violent storms at sea stars seem to settle on the sails. This is accepted as aid from Castor and Pollux. It is, says Seneca, 3 really a sign that the storm is breaking and the wind subsiding; otherwise the stars wouldfloat about without settling. When Glyppus was on the voyage to Syracuse, a star was observed rising on the horizon of his lance. At other times stars rested on the points of the Roman spears. 7

7 Ibid. vii. 479-481.
8 Ibid. vii. 481-482. 9 See L. vi. 70. 10 See HN. li. 53. xxviii. 5; Cicer. de Div. ii. 39; Suetonius, Caligula, i.; Cod. Theol. lib. 32, 42; Desmarest, i. 3.; Ensehns. HE v. 5.
9 Liby. xxiii. 31.
10 Quest. Nat. ii. 22-34. 30-49. 11 Lib. 7.
12 Lib. 10.
15 26 BBEW, p. 545.
16 25 BBEW, p. 595.
17 26 BBEW, p. 594.
18 C. H. Merriam. The Tribes of the World, Cleveland, Ohio, 1910, pp. 173, 199, 293.
the glance of its eye when seeking prey giving rise to the lightning.

The Chaldeans explained comets as special thunderbolts, flaming torches hurled by the thunder-gods. The Greeks held, among other views, that they were rocketed from the earth to the higher regions of the heavens. Here they were consumed, and afterwards fell back to earth. Aristotle held the much more advanced view that they were the result of a certain juxtaposition of the stars. Plato ranked in large part the classification of comets inherited from the Greeks.

There are the Crinoline, as if shaggy with bloody locks, and surrounded with bristles like hair; the Pogonie, with a mane hanging down from their lower part, suggestive of a beard, etc. There is also a white comet, with silver hair, so brilliant that it can scarcely be looked at, exhibiting, as it were, the aspect of the Delyth in a human form. There are also some that are shaggy, having the appearance of a Beecie, surrounded by a kind of crown.

The rising of a comet does not convey a threat of wind and rain in the immediate future, as Aristotle says, but casts suspicion over the whole year. Hence it is plain that the comet has not descended from the heavens, but has been stored up and buried deep within by the laws of the universe. The comet which appeared in the consilium of Paterenus and Vosiens fulfilled the anticipations of this kind entertained by Aristotle, and, for that matter, by Theophrastus; for there were everywhere prolonged storms, while in Asia and Macedonia cities were overturned by earthquakes. A meteor as big as the moon appeared when Paulus was waging war against Persus. A similar portent appeared about the time of the death of Augustus, when Tiberius was executed, and before the death of Germanicus. For the Roman sailors many shooting stars were the sign of a storm.

Shooting stars are the embers thrown down from the fires kept by spirits of the dead. They are usually seen in the falling rains. The shooting stars are believed to depose a king at the end of eight years, if, during their vigil on a clear and moonless night, they saw a meteor or shooting star. Frequently they portend some important event:

When beggars die, there are no comets seen.
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.
(Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, act vi. sc. ii.)

7. The Milky Way.—The Jews thought of the Milky Way as a river flowing through the heavens, proceeding from the throne of God—an idea derived from the Greek legend that the Milky Way is a river of gold in the heavens, 8 and in the opinion of the Jews, the Milky Way is a vast river in the sky, whose overflow is represented by the Yangtze. Across this river is never bridge nor ferry, but once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh month, the emperor, an immortal comes, and spreads its wings across. Over this bridge meet Kengin, the heatherd, who presides over arms, and Shoknu, the weaver, who presides over weaving and other feminine arts.

A tradition current among the Miameses states that the Milky Way was formed when the Virgin Mary, returning across the heavens with a pail of milk, stumbled and fell. The Tingit say that the Milky Way was made by the culture hero Q’ayak when journeying across the heavens. The Tewa call it the backbone of the Universe Man.

8. Perihelion.—The perihelion was explained by Aristotle as due to refraction from the sun, and by Sosigenes as due to the refraction of the sun in the heavens. To the Romans it portended rain, and often some considerable misfortune. The Tingit say that, if a moon sun goes down with the sun, good weather is portended; if it goes away before sunset, bad weather.

Bishop Latimer in 1532 speaks of rings about the sun as signs of the approaching end of the world.

9. Rainbow.—The Catawbas (as also the Tingit) call the rainbow the ‘dead people’s road.’ The Teton Dakota will not point at the rainbow with the index-finger, though they can point at it with the lips or elbow. Should one forget and point at it with the fore-finger, the bystanders laugh at him, saying, ‘By-and-by, O friend, when your finger becomes large and round, let us have it for a ball bat.’ The Hopi and the Thompson Indians of British Columbia have a similar tabu. The Hidatsa call the rainbow ‘the cap of the water’ or ‘the cap of the rain,’ and attribute its formation to the claws of a red bird. The Mandans say that it is a spirit bird holding the rainbow in its claw.

The ‘great snake of the underworld’ in the rainbow-god of the Yoruba. It comes up at times to

1 Seneca, Quaest. Nat. vii. 3, 11, 1, 27, 2. 2 Ib. vi. 15.
3 Swanston, 26 RSWB, p. 459 (Tinglit).
4 For a tabular summary of the medieval and later Christian view of meteors see White, i. 171 ff.; also Lecky, ii. 367-369; Brand, i. 422.
5 Clemons, pp. 102, 107.
6 TASI x. 199.
7 26 RSWB, p. 453.
8 26 RSWB, p. 41.
9 Meteorolog, i. 11, 13.
10 26 RSWB, p. 453.
11 Sermans, Second Sunday in Advent, 1552 (Sermans and Rituals, Cambden, 1645).
12 JAFIT xxv. (1913) 330.
13 TASI x. 199.
drink water from the sky. A variety of the python is the messenger of this god. 1  

Pliny gives a purely naturalistic explanation of the rainbow, denying that it is either wonderful or prodigious, but admits that it means either war or a fierce winter which will make an end of men's work and injure the sheep. 2 Senecon tells us that a rainbow in the south portends a heavy fall of rain; one in the west, a dew or light rain. 3  

To the Arawaks the rainbow heralds the approach of white people from that quarter in which it appears. When the Caribs see it at sea, they accept it as a good omen, but, if it appears while they are on land, they hide in their homes, considering it a strange and masterless spirit which is seeking to kill somebody. 4  

10. Volcanic activity.—For the Romans volcanic activity presaged dire calamities. 5 Avemnum, in Italy, was commonly thought the entrance into the infernal regions.  

The old crater in Ceylon contained salt water which was considered the residue of the tears of Adam and Eve, who retreated here after their expulsion from Eden and for one hundred years copiously bewailed their sin. 6 Gregory the Great saw the soul of Theodoric going down a volcano on the island of Lipari.  

11. Waterspout.—The waterspout took the form of a great animal and was much dreaded by the Roman sailors. 7  

12. Will o' the wisp.—The Yorkshireman can elude a will o' the wisp by putting a steel knife into the ground, head upwards. 8 It will run round until the knife is consumed, thus providing the pursuer an opportunity to overtake it. The mysterious power of attraction which it possesses can be escaped by twining one's apron. 9 In 16th cent. England many superstitions were associated with this phenomenon. 10  

Among the Micmac, as also among the Dakotas, the word for will o' the wisp means also ghost. Both tribes believe that it will pursue one. The Dakotas have a medicine which will protect the warrior from such pursuit. The Micmac elude it by putting a pin point upwards in their tracks. 11 This the skrgogamutch will not go past. 12 In Maryland the superstitious Whites believe that it is the evil eye pursuing them. 13  

V. PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHIC PHENOMENA.  
— The chief reason why an albino person or animal is often the object of religious reverence. The sudden and mysterious appearance of the white buffalo was the 'sign' for which the Fox Indians waited. 14 For many of the American tribes the white buffalo or the white deer portended some extraordinary fortune. The skin of the white buffalo cow was an eminent fetish with the Mandan and Hidatsa, worn on rare occasions and sometimes used as a sacrifice. The Crow have a superstitious fear of the white buffalo cow. When they address the sun with these words: 'I will give her to you.' They then attempt to kill the animal, but leave the flesh untouched, saying to the sun, 'Take her; she is yours.' They never make use of the hide of such a cow. 15  

Throughout the Lower Congo an albino or the hair of an albino person is necessary to supply the needed magical power for the Ndembu society. 16 On the West Coast the albino is regarded as a sacred animal, and is ipso facto a candidate for the priesthood. 17  

The white dog was sacred among the Iroquois and was sacrificed. In Sinn the white elephant or white monkey was sacred and might not be killed, but it fell into the hands of those who 'had a white elephant on their hands.' A white horse, a white pig, and a white cock were among the offerings at harvest-time prescribed by Shinto ritual. By virtue of such gifts the diviners obtained from the god of harvest the secret of a magical process which enabled them to save the imperilled crop. The white horse also served to establish the ruling house:  

As this white horse plants firmly his fore-hoofs and his hind-hoofs, so will the pillars of the Great Palace be set firmly on the upper rocks and frozen firmly on the lower rocks; the pricking up of his ears is a sign that your Majesty will, with ears ever open, hear the voice of Heaven. 18  

In the book of Enoch 19 the Messiah, at the conclusion of the world drama, appears under the figure of a white bull, and in this guise secures the respect and fear of all the heathen, who, thanks to this symbol, are converted to righteousness. He is feared by all the beasts. When all the other animals have become white, He changes into a buffalo with black horns. 20  

Xerxes sacrificed white horses and young men that the gods might give him victory. 21  

2. Birth.—(a) Supernatural birth.—To assure the divine nature of the ruler, and as a logical result of his alleged divinity, his origin was attributed to some other than natural birth.  

'At the birth of a white child the gods totally make away any other human being could not have been born without the agency of the deity,' said the biographer Arrian, when discussing the parentage of Alexander the Great. 22 He to whom the gods themselves reveal the future, who impose their will even on kings and peoples, cannot be fashioned by the same wools which bore us ignorant men,' said the Augustan writer Arrius Fuscus in his discussion of astrologers. 23  

In N. America the concept of a supernatural origin is frequently held with regard to the culture hero of the Indian peoples—the white man—emanates from a blood clot or from menstrual blood. 24  

(b) Twins.—The Navaho accept twins as a divine gift, though the advent of twin colts is viewed as an evil omen and both mare and colts are killed. Many Indian tribes, however, regard a healthy and uncanny and may kill one or both of them. Most of them regard triplets unfavourably, though in some instances they are welcome. 25  

3. Dreams.—The prophetic nature of dreams and their use as auguries are familiar themes to the student of Greek and Roman culture. 26 Prometheus, says Aeschylus, 27 was the first to teach men what sort of dreams were destined to prove realities. In obedience to dreams the great emperor Augustus went through the streets of Rome begging. 26 In cubation was practised there as in the temples of China at the present time. 28 Pliny doubted the mind's knowledge of the future, when in sleep, 29  

Weeks, p. 150.  
4 xc. 37 ff.  
8 A. V. S. I. 59.  
10 Xenophon, Anabasis, ii. 3. 1.  
11 L. E. S., i. 3; S. L. S., ii. 87; Odysseus, v. 341, 562; A. G. Keller, Homerica Societa, London, 1913, p. 120.  
12 Prom. Phil., 442 ff.  
13 Sources: L. Filmy, Scient. Soc., see, further, Ciceri, De Divina, i. 1.  
14 Maximi., p. vii.  
15 Pliny the Younger, Ep. ii. 13.  
16 For Persian interpretation of dreams see Herodotus'description of the dream of Xerxes (vi. 126).  
but in spite of his amazing credulity he was an advanced sceptic.

Muhammad, according to tradition, said:

1. A dream is a gift of God's favor, and a bad dream is of the devil's; therefore, when any of you dream a dream which is as he is pleased with, then he must not tell it to any but a house of rectitude. If he dream a dream and then left to seek protection from God both from its evil and from the without, he must let his father and mother and his nearest kin and shoulder, and not mention the dream to any one; then, verily, no evil shall come nigh him.
2. The truest dream is the one which a man is pleased to think.

Specific and conventional interpretations are often given to dreams.

In Persia 'seeing bees in a dream indicates riches. To dream of eating grapes presages sorrow and flowing tears.

In ancient Persia it was believed that if the angels will come for the soul of some member of the family.

In Northumberland to dream of a hare means that you have an enemy; if one crosses your path, it is an omen of ill-luck. To see a good omen is to be warned of plots and intended assaults. If it be bees carrying honey, you will earn money from wealthy people. If the bees sting you, your mind will be tormented by foreigners. If bees fly into the room, you will be destroyed. To dream of many fowls together is a sign of jealousy and chiding.

Any dream on the first night of the moon's age is a good omen, while the second and third nights are neutral. The following two nights before and after the dream of the sixth night should not be forgotten. That of the seventh is sure to be fulfillled. Whatever is dreamed on the eighth and ninth nights will become public. If it is unpleasant, turn the head towards the east and pray to God. Finally, he states that his fortune embodied in the days of the lunar calendar, and each month, from the first to the thirteenth, has its particular portent.

Dreams play an important part in the lives of many primitive peoples, and usually taken something in harmony with their content. Among the Dakota to dream of the moon is unlucky. It is lucky to dream of hawks, but unlucky to dream of bears, for the latter are slow and easily wounded.

A dream about snakes will be the result of killing one, and if the snake comes from his dream, and shortly afterwards was actually shot in that way. Still another man announced a dream to the effect that he was shot through his temples, and this also came true. While dancing, dreamers would call on outsiders to bear witness to the truth of their statements, and the expected outcome. Once a Joggo (a Clown) challenged a dreamer's account, saying that no man could recover from a wound of the kind described. Straightway the dreamer set out to the spot where the event was to be let through him. The wounded man staggered off, went to a sweat-lodge, and actually recovered within a few days.

And now other dreamers' revelations.

To the Omaha the moon would appear, having in one hand a burden strap, in the other a bow and arrows, and the man would be bidden to make a

1 In Xix. 88.
2 In A.D. 1657, Pereia by a Pereian, London, 1606, p. 450.
3 In Ps. 446.
4 Cockayne, iii. 169-171, 192-215; see also Mrs. Gutch, County Folklore, ii. London, 1893, pp. 202-205.
5 Cockayne, iii. 156-167, 177-197.

choice. If he reached for the bow, the moon would cross its hands and attempt to force the strap from him. If he should wake before taking the strap, or if he should succeed in capturing the bow, he would succeed in escaping the penalty attached to the dream. If he failed and the strap was taken, he would become like a woman, follow her vocations, and later her dress. Instances are reported in which the unfortunate dreamer, unable to ward off the evil influence, has resorted to suicide as the only means of escape. To the Menominee a dream about the moon brings long life, but a life that will end in misery. Such people are always long when the moon is full, and then sickly when it is on the wane.
1. To the Huron the dream gives voice to the soul's desires.
2. Among the Hidatza only those dreams that follow prayer, sacrifice, or fasting are portentous; while for the Mandan Mandans are always prophetic or ominous. A Mandan dream of fire-arms, and soon afterward the Whites arrived with them. They dream of horses in similar manner before they obtained any. For the fasting youth to dream of a piece of bread is a foretelling of death. The Thonga profess to be disgusted when any dream is fulfilled, but this must depend somewhat on the nature of the fulfilment. The Kafr medicine-man acquires his powers through dreams, and the Hottentot, the forelock of a rhinoceros, the tail of a cow, and the feet of a tiger. The picture of the boku hung up in the house will secure the protection of the animal. The Chinese character representing its name used to be put in the lacquered wooden pillow for gods and princes. By virtue of this character on the pillow the sleeper was protected from evil dreams. When a man awakes from a nightmare, or from any unlucky dream, he should quickly repeat three times the invocation of Buddha, drive off the bad dream! The boku will then eat the dream and change the misfortune into good fortune and rejoicing.
7. The Vedas direct one who has had an evil dream to wipe his face in order to get rid of its malign influence.
8. This is more simple than the Navaho remedy, which may call for a 1 renewal ceremony.

4. Epilepsy.—Many peoples attribute epilepsy to possession by a demon. This was the view held by the Hindus, and in the Vedas texts a ritual ceremony is prescribed for its exorcism. Its uncanny nature has generally been recognized. From the time of Edward the Confessor to that of Queen Anne epilepsy was considered curable by royal touch.
9. 5. Liver.—The liver has long been considered an unusual organ in the human body, and unusual qualities have been attributed to it.
10. In ancient Greece goose liver was used as being efficacious in medical and astrological revolutions.
19. See Water, ii. 20; and authorities there cited.
treatment; the liver of the lizard would impart peculiar powers to the eater. The Lushai eat the witch's liver in order to destroy the witchcraft, and the Borneans express their deepest hatred of a person by saying, 'I wish I could eat his liver.' In ancient Arabia Hind, the wife of al-Fakih, inspired by similar motives, gnawed the liver of her arch-enemy Hamza, while a modern Arab will eat the liver of his arch-enemy in order to acquire an understanding of the language of birds. In N. Morocco the Jâála bride and bridegroom partake at the wedding ceremony of the liver of a sheep, to make them 'dear to one another'; and in Andhra the bridegroom (though not the bride nor any woman) takes of it, partakes of the liver of the bullock. Arabian influence may be reflected in the Apocryphal account of the evil spirit who loved Sarah and was exorcized by flames arising from the heart and liver of a fish which Tobit, by the instruction of the angel, burned on the evening of his wedding.

Similar attribution of unusual powers to the liver of a person or an animal is wide-spread. The Veddas of Ceylon chew the dried liver of a man in order to acquire knowledge, and the Bushmen have a traditional belief that they formerly followed the same practice. In Erub (Torres Straits) the liver, 'presumably of a deceased male,' was cut up and distributed among the young male members of the tribe, presumably to confer on those who partook of it the power of the liver of the bullock. The Maoris gave the liver of the balanu-fish to a nursing child as a cure for flatulence. The liver is the seat of the affections, as also among the Greeks; and a piece of the liver of the first man slain must be offered, along with a piece of the heart and the scalp, to the godling, Whiro. So acute is the power of the liver that the Maoris call one of their implements for cutting wood the Xolatue, 'liver-cutter.' The Tonga Islanders believe that turtle has a peculiar effect upon the liver and they will not eat it, fearing the enlargement of the liver which indulgence in this food will produce. The liver is the seat of courage, and therefore the largest livers pertain to the largest men. They have found also that in left-handed people the liver is发达 in the right hand and in the ambi-dextrous it is in the median line of the body. The Kayans of Borneo knew that the omen was bad if the under side of the liver of the pig was dark, good if it was pale. So general was harsupian among the Borneans that W. Warde Fowler is convinced that its origin is common with that derived by the Romans from the Etruscans, but, as the phenomenon is so common to savage culture, any theory of the connexion of the divination rites of the natives of Borneo and those of ancient Rome will have to take account of this fairly wide distribution of similar and related things in the larger world of savagery. The supposed uniqueness of the phenomenon does not exist, and all tribes, especially since the ancient Arabs, have entertained such beliefs, and they are common among African tribes. Leo Frobenius has attempted to establish the African origin of Etruscan culture, but the argument remains unconvincing to those who feel the need of historical demonstration.

Several tribes of Central Africa attribute special virtue to the liver—in some cases to the liver of the alligator. It is the seat of the soul, and to eat of it is to enhance one's own spiritual being, and is followed by similar effects on women. Accordingly, the Bakongo drink the blood and eat the liver of those killed in a fight. For similar reasons the Kagoro (of Nigeria) evil-wisher will catch one's soul or take one's liver. The pottery-makers of the Thonga (at least those dwelling near Morakwen) may not eat the liver of any animal. In the ceremonies and superstitions of this region the gall-bladder plays an important part, as does also the liver of the ox. When two parties are at variance, within the permitted relationship wish to marry, they must break the tabu by a ceremonial eating of the raw liver of this animal. They must first tear it out with their teeth, for it is tabu to cut it with a knife, and then eat it. You have acted with strong shibindji, they say to those who are eating their way to matrimony, 'Eat the liver now!' (shibindji means both 'liver' and 'determination,' a history of the interdependence of the two). When an ox is killed by the headman of the village for distribution among the village women, a piece is left over for the 'grandfather' and the old people, 'because it is soft and they have no teeth to gnaw the bones,' but doubtless also, because it imparts, more than does any other portion, the strength of the animal. The Sotho of the Transvaal believe that the black complexion of the eating by their ancestors of the black liver of an ox killed when the first people emerged from the tree that gave them birth. A Matabeleland native who wished to learn sorcery paid a big price to one of the recognized medicine-men in order to induce him to accompany the candidate to the grave of a recently buried person, unreath the body, cut it open, remove the liver, and, by its help, inculcate the desired instruction. The Bechuana find effective, in their prescription designed to defeat the enemy, the gall of a black bull whose eyelids have been sewn up, the animal then being allowed to wander for three days. If they find little gall in the gall-bladder of an animal, they say that some terrestrial spirit has prevented it. A man often cleanses himself with the gall of an ox, and a chief will

1 Mary Hamilton, p. 52.
2 W. E. Halliday, Greek Divination, London, 1913, pp. 88, 101, 169, 193–204; see DIVINATION (Greek) and (Roman).
5 W. B. Smith, Jnl. Eth., Topsy恕, London, 1913, p. 252; quoted above.
8 Hadden, in Cambridge Anth. Rec. to Torres Straits R. S. A. 1902-3.
10 An extract of this belief will be found in G. C. Wheeler, The Tribe, and Intertribal Relations in Australia, London, 1910, p. 238.
drink it to acquire strength to withstand his enemies. During the initiation ceremonies the boy was not permitted to leave the lodge, and was killed for that purpose, and thereby acquire courage and intelligence. Yet any one who eats a certain tongue-shaped lobe of the liver (the lobus Spigolus) will forget the past, and this is given only to the older women who thus enter into forgetfulness of their sorrows.\(^2\)

The liver—sometimes the heart—is spoken of by the Kafr as the seat of courage, the gall being the fluid that contains its very essence.

It seems that the Basco considers the gall to be the agent of death; but it seems problematical whether the natives have any conception of such an abstract thing as the acquisition of death. When the natives wish to describe the bravery of a great man they say that he has a large liver. Perserverance, that elemental faculty in human nature, is coupled in the native mind with perspiration; and, as the first place this is seen is on the skin of the forehead, they frequently consider that its seat or "centre" (as physiologists would say) is there. Intelligence or enlightenment is also sometimes considered to reside in the liver; but I fancy the sort of intelligence that is referred to is that which is displayed in battle.\(^3\) The man who is capable of enduring hardships is said to have a hard liver.\(^2\)

The Chukchei of Siberia, in order to bring sickness upon a murdered man's kindred, eat the liver of the corpse, and the Eskimo practised a similar rite that the dead man's relatives might now share the courage to avenge his death.\(^4\) Moreover, by eating the liver of the murdered man, they deprive the ghost of the power that he would otherwise have of rushing upon them.\(^4\) A story given by Rink shows the importance attaching to the liver.

"At last there was silence; and during this, one of the two brothers stood forth, and, taking a bit of dried liver (this being excused by his voice), said to his wife, "I have been told that I have an enemy in Niaknugnak.\(^6\) At the same time he tried to crush the piece of liver he held in his hand; but failing in this, he said, "I can tear it by my very teeth!" The gall is regarded in most tribes as the seat of courage and boldness. When the natives wish to describe the bravery of a great man they say that he has a large liver. Perserverance, that elemental faculty in human nature, is coupled in the native mind with perspiration; and, as the first place this is seen is on the skin of the forehead, they frequently consider that its seat or "centre" (as physiologists would say) is there. Intelligence or enlightenment is also sometimes considered to reside in the liver; but I fancy the sort of intelligence that is referred to is that which is displayed in battle.\(^2\) The man who is capable of enduring hardships is said to have a hard liver.\(^2\)

Here some special significance seems attached to this crushing of the liver in the manner portrayed. It is improbable that the liver was associated with magpie power. They thus entered, and saw all the brothers stretched out at full length on the eed, only their feet visible on its outer edge as a small hole had been left in the side of the lodge where they were treated to the best of flesh and meat. When the liver in the plate had been eaten, they would then get only half through with it, the flesh being rolled up and tied together. Sometimes the liver was not eaten, but was placed in the plate and rolled up, like a large morsel of flesh. When she had ended, Habakuk went closer to them, saying, "Well, take the skin of my seal with blubber and all, and the liver besides."\(^8\)

An angakok gave the liver of a seal caught by a lucky hunter to one who was unlucky, and the latter acquired the desired luck by slowly chewing and swallowing the flesh. In Greenland the mother giving birth to her first child might not eat the liver of any animal; in Labrador she might partake of a portion of it.\(^8\)

The chenoa of Micmac mythology, an ogre, representing, not improbably, Eskimo influence, showed a special liking for the liver of a conquered foe.\(^9\) The Chipewyas were long ago admonished by the Crow to leave them the liver of the animal as part of their portion, and this custom is followed to-day.\(^10\) The Siouan tribes of the Plains area attach great importance to the liver of the buffalo and other game to this day, to that of the dog. The Omaha eat the liver of the buffalo.\(^11\) It gives a man a clear voice and imparts courage.\(^1\)

Accordingly, the youth who has shot his first buffalo eats the liver of that animal. All this may be considered a dressing.\(^2\) The Plains Cree warriors also, when they killed a bison, ate its liver raw.\(^3\) The Northern Shoshone imparted additional power, and, in this case, malign power, to the liver by placing atome on hot coals or upon a hot stone ground. The liver was that of a wild animal and was covered with the gall. The liver absorbed the poison from the fangs and was then carefully preserved in a little buckskin bag carried by the warrior.\(^4\)

A society of 'Liver Eaters' is found among the Crow,\(^5\) and members of the Bear clan of the Teton Dakota (Oglala division) sometimes eat the liver of the dog raw. A male must not eat the liver of a female dog, nor a female that of a male dog; Sores will break out on the face of an offender.\(^6\)

The 'Dog-Liver Eaters' Dance Association' is one peculiar to the Eastern Dakota.\(^7\) It takes its name from the fact that the raw liver of the dog is eaten by the performers. It is not often performed, and only on some extraordinary occasion. The performers are usually the bravest warriors of the tribe, and those having considerable experience and knowledge of how to digest raw liver.\(^8\)

When a dog-dance is to be given, the warriors who are to take part in it, with others who desire to be present, are invited at some time or other to attend. This dance is performed by one of the medicine-men, or jugglers, with a war-club or tomahawk. The side of the animal is then cut open and the liver taken out. This is then cut into strips and hung on a pole about or five feet in length. They are then commenced dangling about; then assuming the tips and making all sorts of grimaces, showing a great desire to get a taste of the delicious morsel. After performing this dance for a while, according to the fancy of the dancer, the performers make a grab at the liver, biting off a piece, and then hopping off, chewing and swallowing it as he goes. His example is followed by others, and soon every morsel of the liver is eaten. Should any particle of it fall to the ground, it is collected by the medicine-man in the palm of his hand, who carries it around to the dancers to be eaten and his hands well licked. After disposing of the first dog, they all sit down in a circle, and chafe and smoke a while until another dog is thrown in, when the same ceremonies are repeated, and continued so long as any one is disposed to present them with a dog. They are required to eat the liver, raw and warm, of every dog that is presented to them; and while they are eating it, none but the medicine-man are allowed to touch it with their hands. Women do not join in this dance.

The object of this ceremony is, they say, that those who eat the liver of the dog will, while it is raw, become possessed of the sagacity and bravery of the dog.\(^7\) The Ainu have the custom of cutting up the liver of the bear, which is one of their sacred animals, and of eating it raw. If a Pima woman ate liver, her child would be disfigured by the omn.\(^8\) The Zuñi hunter takes the liver from his captured game, and, while eating it, exclaims, "Thanks!" The Aztecs practised a well-developed system of baruspication, reading omens from the liver or other organs of the slaughtered animal, and the Araucanians of Chile were given to related practices. They dissected the body of a person of distinction in order to examine the liver. If it was found to be in a healthy state, the death was attributed to natural causes, and any belief that magical magic had caused the death. The gall is extracted and placed in a magic drum, and, after various incantations, taken out and put over the fire in a carefully covered vessel. If, after sufficient roasting, the liver is not consumed in the bowl, a great pot, it is known to have been the cause of death.\(^9\)

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2. 2 RBEW (1934), p. 201.
6. 11 RBEW (1934), p. 496.
8. 18 RBEW, p. 485.
9. 2 RBEW, p. 57.
production before them, the classical or formal economies has often been called soulless. But it was natural at that time to put stress on the increase of capital, and on the great merit of saving. And it was easy for readers to slip wrong meanings into the terms ‘productive’ and ‘unproductive spending’ and ‘productive’ and ‘unproductive labour.’ Nor did economists wrong the actual system, for it is still the true measure of prosperity, regarded wages as the means of keeping labour efficient, and saw in high interest and profit the best guarantee for the upkeep of capital. Neither the economists nor the system would question, so long as over the best use and distribution of wealth, these are limited by the amount of it, and by the efficiency that can be given to the three agents that produce it—nature, capital, and labour.

It is through labour that the efficiency of nature and capital is discovered and more real. Capital is its product; and while nature does all the work, it needs directing. One has only to compare the unimproved value of nature in land and beast, plant and mineral, heat and electricity, with the value that his mind can attach to them. Ethical topics are traditional in the text-books, when they are dealing with labour as producer. One concerns its quantity, the other its quality. The first is connected with the doctrine of Maithus (1896), the second with education, and not merely technical education, but even more with its product in grit and conscientiousness. The two questions have now a unanimous answer from ethics and economics.

While, however, we ask about the fitness not of the labourer for the economic system, but of the system for the labourer, the question becomes critical. The division of labour that is essential in the system may mean to the man monotony, ill-health, and loss of the market for his skill. All the books, since the Wealth of Nations, discuss the advantages and disadvantages, but the only practical question is now how to meet the disadvantage from the gain. This has been the work of factory and other labour legislation. At first the argument for higher wages, for shorter hours, and for better health was their economy as measured by the work done. Labour, however, does not rely on this argument; it claims a better share on the ground of justice; it refuses to abate by the open market of nature or of its product, if it be true, though less than before, that the harder and more debasing the labour, the worse it is paid. The reason is that the lower the grade, the greater the competition. There are two ways of reducing the competition: one by combination, the other by moving some of the stress from lower to higher grades. The latter is the perfect way. It has been universal in economies since the death of the Iron law of wages; the doctrine that cheap labour is necessary has come near its end that it has come to be. The right way to itself as permanent and easier. But progress on it must be slow, and its results are mainly enjoyed by the next generation. And so, though it could be even more necessary in a social body, in the present state of things, there is nothing like a militant spirit on behalf of it, as there is for the other way.

Here too the quarrel between ethics and economics has been settled. But one far more serious has opened between them, on the actual working of the industrial system. It did not appear in the early days of capitalism, when competition was unchecked. This made for the greatest production of wealth, and to ethics it seemed that the rude justice of the market could be made more and more equitable by equalizing

**Production (of Wealth)**

The conduct of ethics and economics is more directly at the distribution (q.v.) and the consumption (q.v.) of wealth than at its production. Because it put

1 Hulme, pp. 16, 17.
4 H.N.XXX, 16; White, ii, 33.
5 P. 175.
opportunity. Thus it was both the moral and the economic policy of the 19th cent. to keep the class open and see fair play. It was a new policy in that it deserted regulation for competition. But competition has become more and more regulated from within. The advantage of one large over many small units of production has led to aggregation and give rise to monopolies; the advantage of collective bargaining has brought an aggregation of labour, and another of employers to meet it. The original notion was that competition would give the best form of cooperation; it worked, like faith that the water was also bearers. But the competition has come to an end. In which the morals of war play havoc; and they do it without remorse, because a class conscience has made itself superior to private scruples and regret.

The concentration of capital has not in itself been prejudicial to production, for it seeks to regulate rather than limit the output; it obviates the waste and dislocation of too many plants and shops, and the advertising and other costs of commercial rivalry; and there is plenty of scope for competition within. The evils have been notorious in company promoting, in crushing rivals, in controlling prices as buyer and as seller. And mere size may prevent the coming of a competition that would be healthy. But the best course is to accept this trend, develop the tendency to amalgamation, and to meet the evils by developing regulation, from which, indeed, monopoly was never made exempt. Co-operation is always the final word. Competition is only a means, and a less means the less it is a, jester, and the more it is a directed course, where there is no loss in the struggle.

Unlike the concentration of capital, the concentration of labour easily becomes prejudicial to production. To over-time, piece-work, all spooling-up and labour-saving, there is opposition; and no measures are taken, as by the old guilds, to prevent fraud and incompetence. This is only another instance of the division of function, and nothing to condemn. But, again, it is a competition that has been harmful from co-operation, the homely relation of master and man is thought to be not incidental, but inevitable and permanent. The men see that it is the interest of the management to use as little labour as possible, and they think that the less they reduce on inordinate dividends or tax on their wages. As well, therefore, try to instruct a nation at war in the arts of peace as point to the injury they do and the loss they suffer; they think the injury to be deserved, and the loss to be a sacrifice for their class. To many of them the crimes of syndicalism are no more criminal than machine-breaking was at an older day. There are several things that keep the war civilized; but the main consideration is failure or success; and in either event the damage to the oppressor is always a pleasure. In times of peace a union is always preparing for war; men who are not members are denied the right to work; and others of the old natural rights and duties are made subordinate. It has been futile to insist on them, for an unnatural system is thought to make right wrong.

The contentions against the system are often ignorant, but, as a rule, they are honestly urged; and the evils of slavery, it is the system itself that holds the centre in the general view of industrial life. It is a late system, and the forces within it have always preveled it from resting where it is. But they may be directed, and it may grow. It is either of two ways that have a very different moral value. The root of the system, and the directions in which it grows, may best be seen from its origin, and as a stage in the history of industry. The older forms are never quite superseded, and they may all be seen to-day. In the earliest system the family was an industrial unit supplying nearly all its wants; there was a division of labour according to sex and capacity; with slaves and officials the unit grew large, but kept its unity even when the slaves were curred out, or employed in producing for a market. When a family became too large for its land, it was natural for some members to learn skill in a trade, and to confine their labour to it, working for other families, often living with them and being paid wages. The owner took little risk of producing on the chance of a market; the customer was still the employer. Capitalism came when the risk was definitely undertaken. The entrepreneur was sometimes the manufacturer, often the largest employer; and competition tended to the work of making, moving, and selling the product—can be distinguished from the more invisible work of ordering it and finding a market. This is the work of the entrepreneur or business man. Disadvantages it is explained how the business man is the pivot of the system, guarantees to all the other agents of production their share in the price, and pays himself from the residue.

Thus the second great separation of labour from the other agents was the separation from capital. It is often held that both separations were by disposition, and that they were an evil. But no one looks for pace by undoing either—by replacing men on the land, or by giving them the capital they need to employ their own labour. Nothing would give greater stability than for workmen to be shareholders in the enterprise that employs them, or in others; and it would be the best kind of revolution if unions tried to establish this. The result of this division of labour is that owners must always lend their capital instead of using it themselves. And, if we look from the owner to the real user, we find that the emphasis is on him, the acting capitalist, and not on the capital. Just so it is on the sculptor and the inventor, though nature does all the work that is done by the invention, and though the statute is all in the marble.

The process of production has become more and more roundabout; an ever greater distance has separated producer from consumer. The workman is bewildered by the number of intervening agencies; and to his divorce from land and capital he adds, for a general source of inequity, that the system allows many parasites to live on his product. He has been taught that the real value of a product comes from the labour spent on it, and he sees that, besides rent and interest—the extortions of the idle ownership of land and capital—money and middlemen lay hold on his work, and make a burden. He is old enough to have seen how one has to see that the production of a commodity is not complete—it is not produced—till it is in the hands of the consumer. If advertising, drumming, and commissions do not help it, and if they do not, the measures of commerce are no more secure than labour that is made useless by a machine. It is through economy in
marketing, no less than in manufacturing, that large capital has its advantage. Everything useless and predatory tends to be expelled; for everything must be demanded by an employer, if it is to be paid for. In this way and in this way, and by knowledge enough, he pays no more for it than he must. It is natural for those whom he employs to think his profit an extortion from them, and that 'what is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost,' and that the gains made is like the royalty from an invention, which gives more than it gets. Interest is different; it is like the royalty paid for mere ownership, and simply a burden. W. Smart thought that 'the community gets its employing done for it more cheaply than it gets its other service' (Distribution of Income, London, 1912, p. 159f.).

If a system of production were more moral and progressive the more it crushed incompetence, again the present system could well defend itself. The wealth of progress is by entailing cost, and employers are driven on it by the competition of one with another, or with the consumer, who is the final employer. It is a precarious position for a working man, and the thing that really throws the personal life of the individual. He cannot hope to be a civil servant, and have his future a chance on the community instead of at the necessity or the mercy of competing employers. He is in the majority; and, however little we like it, that the lives of men should centre on his livelihood, he has been given the power to bring that about. Wages-boards and courts of arbitration are useful, but they add evils of their own; animosity remains and preparation for war. To co-partnership and often to co-operation (p. 64), the war-spirit is still essentially hostile. The moral situation on the other side is no better; there it is thought that socialism must come, but that everything should be done to resist and postpone it. And both sides think that they are acting in the highest human interest, and that this consists in giving the freest scope that can be given to our spirit.

It is something that they make the same appeal, for so far the dispute becomes a question of means. The question breaks into two, one being, and having to do with production, the other about their ownership. The best management of an enterprise is from within; the sane that weakens a public enterprise is interference from without. Democracy has kept some of its self-interests of management, and it is desirable to refrain from interfering with the branch or the navy, where there are no profits and the voters are few, than with the conduct of a railway, and with industries that are less subject to mechanical regulation. If there were as little interference as that of the shareholders in a going concern, and if the same price were paid for ability, the efficiency and even the enterprise might be as great. Assuming the best in regard to management, would it be well to pool the stocks of every enterprise, the owners a uniform rate of interest? This is what socialism recommends, because it assumes that there must be an annual surplus for the ordinary shareholder, the tax-payer.

If a clear principle would intensify the moral chaos of the present; if it has any chance of working well, it must come gradually and through a long apprenticeship in the joint-stock system. And then, no doubt, the single amalgamation of many companies, and the demand for it will persist in embittering the present relations of owners and workmen unless the number of owners is greatly increased. The best way to retain the freedom and efficiency of the present system is by such increase. It is a form of co-operation like that of the co-operative distributing societies, and, like them, would be far more effective than co-partnership and the co-operative ownership by workmen in the same enterprise; and then it would give them a firmer hold.

If the things were easy, it would have come long ago; but it was never less difficult than now; and it could be made easier. It would offer a stronger impulse to thrift than the fear of a rainy day has proved. The foundation of such a system is that of a single amalgamation, which is the hope and the fear now confusing every effort at amelioration; but it will not come of its own accord.

LITERATURE. The several text-books on economics all devote a main division to production, and P. H. Gaskell, Production, London, 1907, shows that nearly the whole subject may be seen from this point of view. The earlier books dealt mostly with the three agents of production, the inter with their organization. This is naturally approached through its history, and C. Side, Political Economy, tr. C. H. M. Archibald, New York, 1914, well illustrates the closing of the old division between deductive and historical economics. The history of production from the point of view of organization can be read in C. Bücher, Industrial Evolution, tr. S. M. Wickert, New York, 1907, and can best be studied by the increasing literature of economic history which deals with particular periods, and publishes contemporary records. Recent collections are Economic Amnerica, 1607-1912, the Reference Library, 1912, W. Smart, London, 1910, and English Economic History, Select Documents, compiled and ed. A. E. Black, London, 1912, and R. H. Tawney, do. 1914.

W. MITCHELL.

PROFANITY.—I. Meaning and use of the term.—In popular usage the term 'profanity' is frequently used as a verbal reference and identified with 'proflane swearing.' It is perhaps unnecessary to say that such a limitation cannot be justified by historical and etymological investigation. It is undoubtedly true that an unifying and trivial use of certain verbal symbols has been almost universally included in the class of practices condemned as profane. The names of the gods in primitive religions and the name of the one God in more advanced religions have been considered as too sacred to be ordinarily employed, and even the sacred usage has been restricted to certain privileged persons. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain' is one of the commandments, and the OT writers constantly warn the people against 'profaning the holy name.' Sacred formulae have been, in all religions, rigorously safeguarded, and the employment of them by other than authorized persons at the proper time and place has been regarded as constituting the sin of profanity. It is true also that, by investigating the import of religious and verbal reference, we may approach an understanding of the ideas underlying the disapproval of the profane. The words which must not be carelessly used refer to a world which is separated by a wide and deep gulf from the world of the ordinary, and the fact that verbal formulae are of a somewhat artificial origin indicates that the separation is to be maintained not so much by a recognition of rational distinction between the two worlds and an apprecia- tion of the extent of the separation as by elaborate and external regulations. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the term 'profanity' includes far more than mere indifference to the distinction in verbal matters, and the wider meaning must be clearly kept in mind.

The etymology of the word 'profane' (lit. 'before or in front of the shrine') may give us a certain amount of guidance because of its spatial sugges- tiveness. There immediately arises in our minds the idea of being close to or having access to which only peculiarly precious objects and specially privileged persons may remain, and outside of which there is a world of rigorously excluded persons and things having lesser assigned worth than those within. The same kind of suggestion comes to us from a consideration of the Greek
words, βασιλικός and βεβαίως, which are used to indicate profanity in the NT, and which introduce the idea that those who held — a threshold strictly guarded, which should not be crossed, but yet which is crossed by those to whom the epiteth ‘profane’ applies. Such persons properly belong to the world outside the sacred edifice, but they illegitimately occupy a position of the idea of artificiality.—As we consider these spatial implications, we arrive, first of all, at the idea of artificiality. There is no intrinsic reason why one particular place should be more sacred than another. If the temple had been founded a little earlier, the ground which is now profane would have been rendered sacred, and that which is now sacred would have retained its common or profane character. In primitive religions the location of the sacred and, contrariwise, of the profane depends very frequently upon chance. The importation of reason for the distinction comes entirely from the outside. We are thus not surprised to find that, e.g., in certain Australian religions the totemic and the profane, which are so closely connected, are to be found at the highest level of society. They are still at the stage of struggle. Their gods have still to compete with the gods of other tribes, and the people who worship the particular gods, and who thus acquire something of their sacredness, have to be preserved by external means from the infraction and pollution of other tribes. Even in the OT the disapproval of profanity is closely connected with the giving of worship to other gods, as, e.g., participation in the rites of Moloch (cf. Lv 20:2). The house of Israel is profaned among the heathen because the people have disregarded the restrictions upon which the exclusiveness of the nation depended (cf. Ezk 36:20-25). The stage has not yet been reached at which it is recognized that all people may hold and that there can come into rivalry with the God of Israel. It is therefore easily intelligible that the distinction between the sacred and the profane is based originally, for the most part, upon definite injunction and prohibition. The religion or the body of sacred things has to be zealously guarded by law, and the profane person is the man who transcgresses the law protecting the sacred ideas and rites. Of course, in the more advanced religions these ideas and rites acquire a greater degree of intrinsic value, but within the region of thought, where the distinction between sacred and profane is most intensely regarded, such value either has not yet been recognized or has been forgotten, and we may use the word ‘artificiality’ in order to draw attention to the independence of the distinction upon external support.

Perhaps the most striking illustrations of artificiality are to be found in connexion with the verbal formulae, prescriptive of rite or expressive of an attitude, which we have already referred to. The connexion between the sacred character which they now possess and their inherent meaning is exceedingly weak, and it is just where this meaning is most completely overlooked or forgotten that so-called of an unauthorized use of the formula is most intense. The more elaborate a system of ceremonies is, and the more clearly it bears upon it the marks of artificiality, the more numerous are the injunctions against profanity. In the modern rabbinic section of the Talmud the priestly monopoly of the names of the totems, and the men of certain tribes have a sacred name besides their ordinary name which they have only acquired by being declared to be the servants of the Lord. They are, e.g., not to be used in every-day life. In Vedice India we find the doctrine of sacred names of the gods, which is apparently so sacred that it would have been considered profane to reveal them to the vulgar. In the same land also, even at the present day, it has been a sacred thing for artificialitv to use the name of her husband, and ceremonies of initiation are accompanied by the giving of a sacred formula, or mantra, which has rather as given by the priest than as understood by the initiate, and which the initiate is forbidden to reveal to others if it he wishes to escape the sin of profanation of sacred things.

The idea of separation.—Another idea, related to the foregoing and also suggested by the spatial etymology of the word ‘profane,’ is that of absolute, abrupt, and rigorous separation between the sacred and the profane. The sacred enclosure is definitely separated from all labour and everything that proceeds from the profane world, and access from the outer world to the other is only through a rigorously-guarded portal. The dominant characteristic of the two worlds is their heterogeneity. The close system of artificial rules and the artificiality of separation is obvious. It is the fortresses without natural strength that require the broadest and deepest moats. Risks of contact between the sacred and the profane must be avoided at all costs, and the mind of the worshipper must be kept constantly alive to the dangers of the profane. Worship is deposited, and all ordinary work within the sacred enclosure is forbidden. We find the same attitude also in connexion with OT worship. Ezekiel, e.g., prescribes elaborate precautions in order to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place (429), and by the same prophet a certain portion of the city land is called ‘profane’ to distinguish it from the portion assigned to priests and Levites. One of the chief arguments brought against St. Paul by his Jewish critics has been that he had profaned the Temple by bringing into it men of an alien or unprivileged race.

The time.—Very commonly also profanity is held to consist in disregard of a strict division of time. The ordinary world is so separate from the sacred that the occupations of the former have to be altogether given up when the latter is entered. The time which is assigned to the sacred must be characterized by rest from the regular forms of labour. If at such a time work has to be carried on, it must have an essentially religious character and be free from connexion with utilitarian considerations. If it bears any resemblance to ordinary work, it can be redeemed from the profane by the rites that are strictly observed by privileged persons. In Mt 12 the priests are said to be without blame when they profane the Temple, because, though performing on the Sabbath actions similar to those of ordinary life, they were more completely by the rites that the holy office from the sin of Sabbath desecration. This failure to observe the sacredness of the Sabbath and of other special times and seasons is, in the Jewish religion generally, one of the most frequent grounds for the accusation of profanity (cf. Neh 13:19, Ezk 22:23).
PROFANITY

at a distance is clearly seen in connexion with tabu (q.v.) and the religions in which this conception is important. The word connotes exclusiveness—(being derived from a root *ta", 'mark,' and *pit", 'in the throes of unanesthetized pain of the general or the common. It is from this idea of tabu that the distinction between sacred and profane arises in many communities, and the rigour of the distinction owes much to the awe which the tabu inspires. As was sin and at the same time more frequently possible where the transition from the ordinary world to the profane is made as difficult as possible. The constant demand is that all actions and interests belonging to the ordinary world be left behind by the would-be initiate. Literal contact is of course forbidden, and the prohibition extends to the contact involved in the taking of food. The food of the profane must not be eaten by the initiated, and, conversely, the food of the priests must not be eaten by the profane. The latter must not even have the degree of contact which is implied in the sight of the sacred objects. In some communities certain instruments of worship are profaned if, e.g., women catch the faintest glimpse of them. This is also the case where a close connexion with this idea of absolute separation. Everywhere also elaborate ritual is accompanied by the most zealous care for the separation of the priestly class from the ordinary community. Many of the uses of the word 'profane' in the OT have reference to this withdrawal. The priests are to symbolize their separateness by changes of garments 'when they enter into the inner court.' They are to avoid ordinary food and the ordinary forms of family relationship, and in many cases prepare themselves to teach the people 'the difference between the holy and profane' (cf. Ezk 44:17-23). The erring priests are those who have themselves "put no difference" (22:9).

4. Profanation of sacred doctrine.—The danger of profanity also attaches itself to an incantatory use of the body of sacred doctrine. This is often regarded as the exclusive property of certain privileged classes. The ancient sacred scriptures of India, e.g., are profaned if they are read or taught to profane persons and their families. In many cases the various parts of the literature terrible penalties are announced for those who venture to teach the doctrines of the Vedas to a Sūdra. 'The ears of the Sudras who hear the Veda are to be filled with dirt. All persons having heard a Sūdra speak profanely in the Vedanta-Sūtra, 1. ii. 38 (SBE xxiv. 226), and, if he dares pronounce them, 'his tongue is to be slit.' Occasionally the idea is that the sacred doctrine is also to be kept strictly separate from other truths or opinions which are of lesser value. To mingle sacred and other knowledge is in itself profanity. Perhaps there is a lingering trace of this idea in the use of the word 'profane' in the First Epistle to Timothy. Timothy is urged to 'refuse profane and old wives' fables' and to avoid "profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called' (1 Ti 4:6). The idea of a strict line of demarcation certainly persists in the medieval distinction of sacred and profane learning.

5. Reasons for distinction between sacred and profane. — So far we have been content with noticing the character and the breadth of the distinction between the sacred and the profane. If we go farther and ask for reasons for the distinction—reasons which are decisive in any case—and we take these partly in belief in a divine revelation and partly in tradition and the social custom and pressure enshrined in such tradition. Though we have emphasized the artificial character of many of the defences of the sacred, it does not follow that these may not have previously involved a clearer consciousness of the inherent value of what is regarded as sacred. The original reason for the consecration of certain experiences and disapproval of others is much more apparent in the illustrative legends which they occupy may have been a sense of a divine revelation, even though that reason may now have been forgotten. The sanctuary at Bethel may have, in later times, become a home of priestcraft, but puns there was the origin of God ascending and descending that gave it originally a sacred character. Even in religions where a divine revelation is not recognized the artificial character of the interluditions against profanity is not the whole of the matter. These interdictions are not of recent growth; they enshrine tradition, and in this tradition we may perceive the embodiment of a social consciousness. The totem-animal is protected from profanity because it symbolizes the spirit of the clan and represents a social pressure which the individual recognizes as superior and authoritative. Among men more religiously-minded or more enlightened this law of the community is regarded as the law of God, and the profane person is one who transgresses the ineradicable sense of God as he preserves, like the prince of Tyre, to be 'cast as profane out of the mountain of God' (Ezk 28:16). But whether the divine origin of the law and its reference to an all-comprehensive divine community be recognized or not, the anti-social character of profanity seems to be an unmitigable reason for disapproval of it. The profane person is the anti-social person who refuses to recognize the code of the community, and, therefore one upon whom the law falls. Esau is called a profane person 'seemingly for the reason that he sold his birthright or despised his connexion with the community (He 12:16). In India the person who has broken through caste regulations becomes at once profane and a source of pollution for those who remain within the caste. The anti-social character of profanity is also illustrated by the frequency with which accusations of profanity are brought against those who indulge in magical practices. It is no doubt possible to speak of profaning a magical rite in the sense of doing it in an unaccustomed or profane way, but that is the most part, magic as a whole is itself condemned as profane just because it indicates a separatist procedure and a contravention of the regularized and socially approved worship of the community. Think of a person who has died, who which have a considerable resemblance to religious rites, should be regarded with such horror as profane in those communities, at least, where a social worship has been firmly established.

6. An inadequate differentiation. — We have emphasized certain inadequacies in the distinction between the sacred and the profane, arising from the artificial and abrupt character of the distinction. But this must not blind us to the elements of underlying value associated with these conceptions. Among primitive peoples the idea of tabu has often been the foundation of morality, and in the more advanced communities the rigorous protection of the priests from possible profanation may indicate a regard for persons and things so regarded as for privileges.

The development of the social consciousness which underlies the abhorrence of profanity has been an ethical asset, and the asceticism by which the heterogeneity of the sacred and profane worlds may often been described as a step towards personal holiness. Yet it must be admitted that the distinction between sacred and profane, as it is usually applied, does not belong to the highest level of thought. It still betrays the dominance of merely spatial categories; it is still influenced by the idea
that the divine is limited in the sphere of its operation, that God sets a seal upon certain persons, places, and times, relating them with special closeness to Himself, and leaving the rest of the world to be reckoned as common and profane. We must transform the distinction if we are to retain its underlying value. We must permit or deny it to the whole world which God has made, and encouraged to condemn as profane, not certain specified places, things, or persons, but the spirit of the dwelling, whether in the temple or in the street, whose vision is narrow and whose aim is low, who fail to recognize that the way to the Holy of Holies lies along the path of the good citizen, and that even in the lonely wilderness he may find 'the very gate of heaven.' See, further, art. HOLINESS.


PROPERTY.—See WEALTH, INHERITANCE.

PROPHECY (American) 381

American (L. Spence), p. 331.

PROPHECY (American).—Among both the semi-civilized and the savage aboriginal peoples of the American continent prophets were held in peculiar veneration, and on many occasions they have moulded the destinies of tribes and nations. The advent of the white man in America, we are informed by many authorities, was heralded by numerous prophecies, but in most cases the authentic character of these is open to the gravest doubt. The vision of Papantzin, sister of Moctezuma, Tlatosan of Tenochtitlan (Mexico), is a case in point. This princess, it is said, fell into a deathlike trance, on emerging from which she said that she had been led by a spirit through a field littered with dead men's bones to a place where she had seen strange, bearded, white men approach the coast of Mexico in large vessels. Another prophecy appears to have been current in Mexico in pre-Columbian times, to the effect that Quetzalcoatl (a god whose worship differed in certain of its characteristics from that of the other native cults, and who had come from the Land of the Sun and had been driven from Mexico by hostile deities) would one day return. The coming of Cortes and his comrades was regarded by the Mexicans as a fulfilment of the prophecy, and the title of Teule ('godlike being'), conferred by them upon the Spaniards, is proof that the tradition really existed. Among the Maya of Central America prophecies were delivered by the priests at stated intervals. Writings which profess to incorporate some of these are to be found in the so-called books of Chilan Balam (q.v.), and these also deal with the advent of Europeans. There are not wanting statements to the effect that in Inca Peru prophecies were current about the coming of white strangers, but the events alluded to in at least one of them are not in accordance with known facts.

In modern times numerous prophets have arisen among the N. American Indians, usually in periods of crisis in the history of the tribe. In 1675 Popé, a medicine-man of the Tewa ('Pueblo Indians) near San Juan, New Mexico, was charged along with others with the crime of witchcraft. He preached the doctrine of independence from Spanish rule and the restoration of Indian customs, and instituted a movement of usury to the Spaniards and the Spaniard-colonists from the country. Popé, along with his disciples, Cattiti, Tupati, and Jaca, set apart 18th Aug. 1808 as the day of massacre. Extraordinary precautions were taken to ensure that no European should learn of the intended revolt, but the news leaked out, and Popé had perforce to strike three days before the time. Four hundred Spaniards were massacred and Santa Fé was besieged, but a successful sortie ended in the rout and discomfiture of the Indians. The Spaniards were forced to abandon the town and to retreat to El Paso. Popé washed with a native preparation of those of his followers who had been baptized into the Christian Church, burned the churches, and obliterated every remaining mark of Christianity. But his rule became so despotic and was followed by such misfortunes that he was finally deposed. He was re-elected, however, in 1688, and died in 1692.

Tenskwatawa ('open door') was a famous prophet of the Shawnees and a twin brother of Tecumseh. An ignorant and drunken youth, he was one day engaged in lighting his pipe when he fell back in a state of trance. His friends, believing him dead, were preparing for his funeral when he revived and stated that he had paid a visit to the spirit-world. In 1805 he assembled his tribesmen and their allies at Wapakonita, now in Ohio, and announced himself as the bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life. He declared that, whilst in the spirit-world, it had been granted to him to lift the veil of the future and behold the blessedness of those who followed the precepts of the Indian god and the punishments of such as had strayed from his path. He vehemently denounced witchcraft and medicine practices, the drinking of liquor, and the intermarriage of whites with white men, the wearing of European clothing, and all white customs and institutions. If these things were eschewed, the Master would receive the Indians into favour once again. He further announced that he had been granted the power to cure all diseases.

These statements caused great excitement among the people of his tribe, and those who dealt in witchcraft were boycotted. From time to time Tenskwatawa announced further wonderful revelations to his followers from his abode near Green- ville, Ohio. He predicted an eclipse of the sun which took place in the summer of 1806, and this greatly enhanced his reputation as a prophet. His apostles travelled from tribe to tribe disseminating his doctrines, and a belief arose that within four years all those who did not credit his predictions would be overwhelmed in a great catastrophe. Shortly before the war of 1812 a confederacy was entered into for the purpose of driving out the whites, but Harrison's victory near Tippecanoe destroyed both the faith and the movement connected with it. Tenskwatawa received a pension from the British Government. Although of somewhat forbidding appearance and blind of an eye, he had great gifts of fervour and personal magnetism.

Kanakuk, the prophet of the Kickapoos, received inspiration from the career of Tenskwatawa. In 1819 the Kickapoos ceded their extensive territory...
in Illinois to the United States, and were assigned a reservation in Missouri. This region, however, was unhealthy, and Dr. Emily Ongan, so that the Kickapoos were unable to take possession of it. Kanakuk exhorted his people not to abandon their territory and preached a moral code which forbade superstition, the use of alcohol, and internecine quarrels. If they received it faithfully, they would in time inherit a land of plenty. He became chief of that remnant of which remained in Illinois. He was in the habit of displaying a map or chart of the true path through the tribes, and these prophecies, borne with fire and water, did they desire to attain the happy hunting-grounds, and he furnished his disciples with prayer-sticks engraved with holy symbols. Ultimately the tribe was removed to Kansas, but Kanakuk remained his chief until his death from smallpox in 1852.

Tavibo (‘white man’), a Paiute chief and medicine-man, when his tribe was forced to retreat before the Whites, went into the mountains to receive a revelation, and prophesied on his return that the earth would swallow the Whites and that their possessions would be given to the Indians. But his followers were unable to entertain the idea of an earthquake that would discriminate between the Red Man and the Christian. He then foreboded a vision, which revealed to him that, although the Indians would be engulfed along with the Whites, they would rise again and would enjoy for ever an abundance of game and provisions. Followers flocked around him and, when they became sceptical, he had a further revelation, which told him that only those who believed in his prophecies would be resurrected. He died in Nevada about 1879.

Wovoka, the son of Tavibo, was responsible for the ‘Ghost-dance’ religion and prophecies, perhaps the most important from a political point of view in the history of the relations of the Whites and Indians. This creed he nurtured among the Paviots of Nevada about 1888. It spread rapidly until it embraced all the tribes from the Missouri to the Rockies and even beyond them. Wovoka (who was known to the Whites as Jack Wilson), like other native prophets, declared that he had been taken into the spirit-world, where he had received a message from God, and then he was impelled to the effect that they would be restored to their inheritance and united with their departed friends. They were to prepare for this event by practising song-and-dance ceremonies given them by the prophet. During these dances many of the Indians fell into a condition of hypnotic trance, and intense excitement usually prevailed. The movement led to an outbreak in the winter of 1890-91. It has now degenerated into a mere social function.

Smohalla was the originator of a religion current among the tribes of the Upper Columbia River and the adjacent region. The name (Smolqua) means ‘preacher,’ and was conferred upon him after he had attained celebrity. In his boyhood (he was born about 1815 or 1820) he frequented a Brooklyn, New York, in which he appears to have derived certain of his religious ideas. Beginning to preach about 1850, he quarrelled with a rival chief, left his tribe, and wandered south as far as Mexico. On returning, he declared that he had received a message from God, and God had given him a vision of his followers entering the spirit-world, whence he had been sent back to deliver a message to the Indians. The substance of this was that they must return to their aboriginal mode of life and eschew the Whites, their teachings, and their customs. Smohalla founded the Ghost-dance Movement. It was consecrated, known as ‘The Dreamers,’ and possessing an elaborate ceremonial, has maintained its religious organization.

The mysterious sect or secret society known in Central America as Maravistas, which subjected the destruction of Christianity, numbered several prophets among its priests and adherents. Jacinto Can-Ek, who led a Maya revolt at Yucatán, 1761, prophesied the destruction of the Spaniards, Maria Candalaria, an Indian girl, headed a similar and previous revolt, and likewise falsely prophesied the Spanish downfall.

See also COMMUNICATION WITH DEITY (American), §§ 5. and SECRET SOCIETIES (American).


PROPHECY (Christian).—1. Primitive form.—The opening of the Christian era was signalized by a remarkable awakening of the spirit of prophecy, and this was accepted by all believers as the fulfilment of Jl 23:20 (Ac 2:16). Moreover, our Lord Himself had, seen in His own equipment and ministry the fulfilment of the promise of the Spirit (Is 61:11, Lk 4:17). And ‘to the people he was a prophet, strong in action and in utterance’ (Lk 21:20; cf. 19:35-41, Mt 13th etc.). Earlier still John the Baptist had attracted crowds to the declaration that the baptism of the Spirit was at hand (Mk 1:1). And Zacharias and Simeon, Elisabeth, Mary, Anna, and many others who were ‘looking for the consolation of Israel’ had borne witness a generation and to the presence of the Spirit and His fuller advent as heralding a new era of divine grace (Lk 1:35-38). Furthermore, the whole Jewish Apocalyptic literature of the period testifies to the general expectation of the dawning of ‘the last days’ and the bestowal of the spirit of prophecy.

The demonstration of the Day of Pentecost was the opening of a new era in the religious history of mankind (Ac 2:4). Tongues were loosed, and the impulse to prophecy spread like wild-fire among the converts to the new faith. This was natural and indeed inevitable under the circumstances. Believers were at once impelled and compelled to account for to themselves and to explain to others the things that were happening among them and to the world. The Day of the Lord had dawned, and they were all eager to know what it meant to themselves and to the world. Looking back over the history of Israel, they sought to trace the purposes of God, and they then projected them to the future in the light of the fresh dispensation of grace. This was Christian prophecy in its primitive form, and the apostles were its first exponents. But other voices were soon heard explaining the ways of God and expounding the gospel of salvation. Stephen was arrayed as a Jewish leader for resisting the Holy Spirit, killing the prophets, and murdering the Son of man (Ac 7:54).

2. Spiritual gifts differentiated.—The persecution which followed the stoning of Stephen scattered the disciples widely and multiplied the number of those who sought to interpret ‘the signs of the times.’ It thus came about that each little community of believers had those among them who ‘spoke as the Spirit gave them utterance’ and were accounted as prophets of Christ. Many were no doubt often overwrought and distraught and promised things that failed of fulfilment; but the fittest survived and held high rank among those who set themselves to minister unto the saints. The manner in which this development took place in public assembly encouraged each disciple to exercise whatever gift the Spirit had bestowed upon him for the upbuilding of the brotherhood.
As time went on, these gifts became distinguished from one another and more sharply outlined (1 Co 12:28)

It is St. Paul who gives us the first clear classification of ‘spiritual gifts’ and announces that they have been bestowed for the common good. God has placed different people within the Church, he says, ‘that first of all apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, helpers, administrators and speakers in tongues of various kinds’ (1 Co 12:29; cf. 12:10, 1 Th 5:23). In the Church the first disciples tended to leave the churches, now widely scattered, open to the invasion of presumption, to claimants to leadership, and the words of the Lord were not often specific enough to meet these claims and who could claim to have the ‘mind of Christ’?

4. Warnings of the early fathers.—The rise and development of the monarchical episcopate was here and there favouréd and fostered in the interests of sound doctrine and as a restraint against new-fangled notions, foreign to the faith. ‘Hermas, Pastor (Mand. xi. and xii.), and Ignatius (Eph. vii., ix., and xvi., Mag. viii., Tral. vi., Phil. ii., iii., Smyr. iv., vi., ad Pol. iii.) are full of warnings against false prophets and teachers; this was the more necessary, for there were bishops. This was his hope for the maintenance of sound doctrine. Clement likewise relies upon the bishops (i.e. presbyters) for the preservation of the unity and purity of the Church (1 ad Cor. xii., xvii.).’ However, was not prophecy a gift of the Holy Ghost? It was thus the more necessary that it was not only repressed and somewhat regulated by the rising officials in the Churches. The Didache informs us that prophecy was still free and in good repute in Syria (or Egypt), although often counter-acted by the equally rich, but ephemeral gifts of the Spirit. ‘Prophecy here, as in other places, was a gift only, but not for the public or the common discussion of the Church, though in a private place and under the discipline of a wise and exacting presbyter. The Christian was not to seek to be a prophet, but must see that the gift was not abused, and that the prophecy was true and inspired by the Holy Spirit. A similar view was that of the Cyprians. He himself had the gift, but his chief anxiety was not to abuse it, but to preserve it from the defilements and abuses of the barbarians who were then in the provinces of Spain and Gaul. In his letter to the Carthaginian bishops he spoke of the gift of prophecy as a precious treasure in the Church, and exhorted them to guard it properly.

5. Disappearance of the prophetical office.—The churches were now put on the defensive and they soon sought to co-operate in the maintenance of their apostolic heritage. Joint action in councils was the result. The ecumenical councils had brought the bishops together and greatly increased their prestige and power. The appeal to the words of Christ was enlarged to include an appeal to the teaching and writings of the apostles, and the use of the OT as a book of discipline and standard of doctrine grew in favour. The Law and the Prophets had sufficed for Israel, and the Old Covenant needed only to be supplemented by the New with its apostolic guarantees. Prophecy was thus placed under the restraint of written records, and it was considered more important to interpret the old prophecies than to utter new ones. All the unstable, intermittent spiritual gifts were, as it were, suppressed and the gift of prophecy was again restored. The language of the didache, and the Ecumenical Councils, were those of the OT and the Targum, as well as the Talmud, and the Greek and Latin Scriptures and the standards of discipline. The pressing need of interpreting the ‘signs of the times,’ however, seemed to have passed away. Men were now trying to adjust Christianity to the place in the Church that was estimated for it by the efforts to reinstate prophecy as a special function in the life of the Church, but it had served its day (Iren., adv. Haer. iii. 32; Eus. HE v. 7). Its most important and essential element was absorbed by
the teachers and preachers, and the office practically disappeared.


**PROPHETY** (Hebrew).—1. Soothsaying and prophecy.—According to Cicero (de Div. i. 18), there were, traditionally, two kinds of divination, the one based upon an art or theory (The), the other isolated events. The former consisted in the application of certain rules which earlier generations believed to have been drawn from the observation of occasional coincidences between certain appearances and a subsequent occurrence; the Greek word (looking to the north) regarded a bird appearing on the left as of evil omen, and one seen on the right as a harbinger of good fortune (cf. Hom. Od. xvii. 159, 173 f.; so 524, as contrasted with xx. 242), while the Romans, looking towards the favorable sign (cf. the word). Those, again, who cultivated the second main type of divination are described by Cicero as perceiving the future beforehand by means of a certain agitation (concentatio), or unconstrained and free-moving intuitions. Cicero foretold the future are now usually distinguished as divination and prophecy. Now the historical writers of the OT, who have of late been frequently accused of suppressing the truth, do not conceal the fact that every nation of the time of prediction had a considerable vogue in Israel.

Thus (a) '*eom* is forbidden in Lv 29:26, De 15:10, 2 K 216, Mic 5:12, Jer 27:16; the term seems to have denoted the observing of the floating clouds and the weather bringing tidings from the heavens, the practice of observing the configuration and colouring of the clouds played an important role among the Babylonians and Assyrians (cf. C. Bezold, *J unsche und Babylon*, Bielefeld, 1906, p. 80). Again, (b) the practice of rhabdomancy (Latin) is described in Hos 1:4; this form of divination, according to Herodotus (iv. 67), was found among the Scythians, and Tacitus (Germani s.) describes the way in which it was practised among the Germans (Obbis).**

The term 'prophesying' was ascribed to them by many authorities, and was considered as a necessary part of their prophetic office; and it is evident that the throne of the OT (De 18:15, 18), as well as the name of the prophet, is a title used by the ancient prophets themselves, and is thus to be understood as the meaning and signification of the words ('prophesying', 'prophesier') used by the Hebrew prophet, and is a title which is essentially the highest of all titles, and is almost exclusive to the prophets of the OT. The word 'prophesy' means 'to speak', being formed from the verb (The), which corresponds to the Aram. (or *shôphē*), signifying 'to announce'; so, too, the Assy. (*nabû*), 'to call,' 'inform,' 'command' (cf. Is 46:4), and the Eth. (*náshê*), 'to speak.' It is true that many scholars (e.g., Kuenen, Wallhausen, Stade) connect *nabû* with *nabû*; but it was well for students to bubble up a little difference between the final gutturals, and severe *nabû* from its Semitic cognates; moreover, if *nabû* meant 'bubbling up,' a prophet would have blown in the prophet's mouth (pahû'ah, jer 35:14; cf. Zeph 3:4); while Kuenen's assertion (De 18:15) is developed into that of 'speaker' still leaves it open that the *nabû* is 'speakers' from the outset. The rendering of the Hebrew word 'speaker' is 'prophet,' 'interpreter,' 'orator,' 'ambassador' (Is 29:1); and this interpretation of the word is hardly different from the meaning in the later Arabic. *Nabû* has been distinguished by scholars, as wrongly, as the present writer thinks, since nabû's signification, not simply 'to speak,' but 'to inform,' 'to announce.' J. A. Bowyer (ASL xvii. 1891) proposes to connect *nabû* with Assy. *nasî*, 'to carry off,' and to give it the sense of 'one who is carried away,' 'transported' (by a supernatural power), but Babylonian-Assyrian usage does not give the slightest hint of such a derivation; the divine name *Nâbû* points rather to the derivation from the Bab.-Assyr. *nâbî*, 'to name,' 'to call.'

While the *nâbîm*, accordingly, were 'speakers,' we must of course understand that they were such in a unique sense, i.e., that they were heralds or messengers in the highest sphere of human activity, viz., religion. They were not, e.g., legal counsel or advocates, as is asserted by H. Winckler (Religionsgeschichtlicher und geschichtlicher Orient, Leipzig, 1906, p. 23 f.); for the preparation of 'written contracts,' to which he refers, required not a prophet but a lawyer, and, further, was mentioned, as in the admittedly ancient Song of Deborah (Jg 5:4), we never hear of a *nâbî* as spokesman or counsellor in any record of judicial proceedings (Ex 18:17, 19:6, 1 S 22:25, 24:4; cf. 1 S 12:14). In the Code of Hammurabi, moreover, we find the *ilmû, 'elder,' 'assessor' (cf. *šûrûn, Ru 4:16), and the *dûtan, 'judge,' but there is no mention of the *nâbîn*. We infer therefore that the Hebrew *nâbî* was the 'speaker' in the religious sphere, thus corresponding to the Greek *prophētēs*, originally 'the interpreter of the oracle,' and thus 'the exponent of divine revelation,' so that neither term at first connoted the idea of prediction.

If the Hebrew prophets, accordingly, were 'speakers' in the religious sphere, it is obvious that they were neither priests (kââhâmîn) nor 'judges' (šûpēghûmîn). It may not be quite clear, however, whether they were poets, as they have recently been often called. The present writer would here rest content if the term arrived in the *Staatskal., Rhetorik, Poetik* in Deut. 26 (aben) und Thalia in the *bibl. Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1900, p. 308 ff.), viz., that, while the Hebrew prophets occasionally introduce letters (cf. Is 5:1-26, and often involuntarily break into the rhythm of the dirge (e.g., Am 5), they were otherwise speakers or orators.

Further, the author of Ps 74, writing in the Macabean period (cf. 1 Mac 4:45 gē 14), could never have said (v. 9) *'There is no more any nābî*; had he—a poet—regarded himself as one; while, again, the poetical books of the OT, in the Hebrew arrangement, kept quite apart from the prophetic writings. For similar reasons the *nâbîn* cannot be classed as philosophers. The Hebrews too had their philosophers, the *kâhâhûmîn*, or 'wise,' whose literary productions are found, e.g., in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes; but no prophet of the OT ever calls himself a *kâhâhûn—Isaiah* (29:4) indeed positively differentiates himself from the class; and in the Hebrew order of the OT books the *nâbîn* and the *kâhâhûmîn* appear in different divisions.

3. The rise of the Hebrew prophecy.—The present writer would begin here by giving the conclusion to which his own investigations have led him, viz., that prophecy began in the final period of the Old Testament, and was a heart-throb of the lawful religion of Israel. This is just what we might expect, and, besides, it agrees with the testimony of the Pentateuchal
source E, which, while some scholars regard it as at least second in point of age, the present writer and others believe to be the oldest of all (cf. E. F. Scott, "History of the Old Testament," p. 47, note a, and F. V. M. 203 f.); thus E in Gv 20:9 calls Abraham a nábí (as in Ps 105:19 the name is given to the patriarchs generally, and in Dt 18:15, Hs 12:29) to Moses. And, if other religions found in some form of prophecy, why should this not have been the case for Israel as well as the other nations of the world? A somewhat different view is taken by Cornill, who inclines to think that Arabia was the native soil of nábí-lam (Der israelitische Prophetismus, p. 12). He seeks to support this theory by the observation that the verb corresponding to nábí is found in Hebrew. But Hebrew has many nouns that have no corresponding verb at all, e.g., dûn (blood), dâm (blood), and these words certainly did not denote foreign or imported concepts. Moreover, while kîhîn, 'secret' or ' profundity,' the corresponding verb to kîhîn is found in a much more involved determinative, in wâhâlâhâh (to prophecy) (from nábí), no one would ever deny that the priest- hood was an ancient and indigenous institution among the Hebrews. Yet some scholars go even farther than Cornill; thus Wellhausen (Der israelit.-jud. Religions, Leipzig, 1896, p. 29) asserts that nábí is a Persian loan word, first used in the ancient period before the outbreak of the Philistine war. At first sight this view looks plausible, in that nábí (nâbî was an epithet of the day) was formerly called the seer (râ'âbî). The present writer is of opinion, however, that in the exposition of this problem of the ancient Hebrew seer we must not regard the word as a 

(1) Samuel bears both titles—râ'âbî in 1 S 11:17, 18 (cf. 1 Ch 29:23, 27—29b), nábí in 2 S 22:14; and we need not attach much importance to the distinction (which he that he should be called the seer) for him, for he is also styled 'man of God' (Gn 26:24). On the other hand, Ahâ and 'El (Hos 11:4) is called a seer in 2 Ch 16:10, and there, accordingly, it is not implied that the two terms belonged to different periods. In point of fact, the terms might be considered as either one who perceived, or as one who proclaimed, religious truth, so that the nábí was subsequently also called râ'âbî (Is 8:17); and the addition of the article or preposition, 'the seer,' as in Cm 21 onwards) denoted by the verb râ'âbî, of which the râ'âbî of the Psalmist and several passages in Hos 11:9-11 of the ancient designation of ' prophetic' and ' seer' is unfounded.

We must take into account the purpose of 1 S 29b, that purpose being to explain why Saul choose the term râ'âbî (v. 11), which is not used of Samuel in the usual part of the chapter. It seems very probable, therefore, that the LXX has here preserved the true reading (δὴ τὸν προφήτην δὲ οὖν οὐκ ἐπορεύομαι, δὲ οὖν ἐπορεύομαι) for (a) the Hebrew here presents a difficulty, and, even if we read ἐπορεύομαι, this would mean 'the prophet of to-day;' (b) the adjective ἐπορεύομαι is never found in the LXX to designate the change of prophet (cf. Gn 17:17; ἐπορεύομαι might easily arise from ἐπορεύομαι, 'the people,' which is precisely the reading of the LXX, and certainly another person, but also the people in a special sense of ' the multitude.' Thus the statement that the name is shortly before the Philistine wars found but frail support in 1 S 29b.

That statement, moreover, is confronted by the fact that in the later history of Israel the prophet has been altered long before the period indicated, as may be inferred from Gv 20:12 (already noted as belonging to E), from Nu 11:22-25 (cf. from regular of the prophetic function of Moses (Dt 15:15, 15), and from Jeremiah's utterance regarding the unbroken prophetistic sequences from the Exodus (Deut 18:15). Notwithstanding all this, however, the statement in question has been amplified by the assertion that prophecy in Israel was derived from the Canaanite religion. It was Kuenen (De Profetien, ii. 227 f.), who formulated the theory that in the closing period of the Judges the Canaanite phenomena of gersternhkellng (ecstasy) passed over to the worshippers of the god Jahweh, and that Samuel placed himself at the head of the movement. This theory won the approval of Wellhausen and others, including W. H. Harper (Unf, Amos and Hosea, Edinburgh, 1896, p. iv.).

(5) It is to be noted, however, that Harper himself (p. 4) does not deny the influence of the Canaanite religion (the idea is analogous to what we find in gods and orgiastic practices they were bitterly hostile (Ex 23:13; 34:14, 15). Moreover, in the period of the Judges, not possessed the institution which constitutes the deepest source of their religious power, then the Canaanites had a superior external form of religion, which would almost certainly have absorbed them. (6) We must not, of course, overlook the influence of the Philistines, and that Samuel simply put himself at their head, finds much to support it.

We must remember that in the forty years before Samuel's day, for we can hardly think of Samson in this connection, while in E. B. the Ark itself was not guarded against capture by the enemy (1 S 4:19). Far from there having been a multitude of prophets before Samuel's day, we read that " the word of the Lord was rare in those days; vision was not widely spread." (v. 25.)

**PROPHECY (Hebrew)**

The actual situation, as it appeared to the historical consciousness of Israel, was, in contrast to the foregoing views, rather as follows. The fervour of faith in Jahweh as supreme among the gods (Ex 15:17-18), which had been kindled by the deliverance from Egypt, never wholly died out (Jos 24:20; Jg 20); on the contrary, clear-sighted representatives of the true religion, such as Deborah (Jg 4), and the unchanging men of God, had preserved the national and religious life sank to a very low level, and, in particular, the nation seemed about to be overwhelmed by the Philistines, who were constantly being reinforced from the west. Nevertheless, the national and religious life sank to a very low level, and, in particular, the nation seemed about to be overwhelmed by the Philistines, who were constantly being reinforced from the west. Nevertheless, the national

(3) in all probability they recorded the history of

(2) in chants expressing the great historical memories of the people they sounded forth the praise of God to the accompaniment of musical instruments;
Israel in the spirit of the prophetic religion; and accordingly it would doubtless be in their circle that the book of Jashar (Jon 10:13, 28 138), the book of the wars of the Lord (Nu 21:4), and especially the many other prophetic writings mentioned as such in the Bible. Comprehended within the inner relationship between men like Samuel and these prophetic societies, we may say that, while the former were vehicles of revelation, the members of the latter were derivative or reproductive prophets. But a more important mark of distinction is the fact that, while these derivative prophets caught the excitement of the times and in their vehement movements would throw themselves half-naked (אֲדֹם, 187 etc.) upon the ground (1 S 19:24), such enthusiastic and ecstatic behaviour is never ascribed to Samuel, Elijah, or Elisha; hence Stade, in attributing such action to the leading prophetic figures as well (Bibl. Theologie des AT, Tübingen, 1905, § 64), is speaking entirely without authority. Many, to sum up what the sources tell us regarding a possible fruition in the development of genuine Hebrew prophecy, we may say that the leading representatives became centres of groups or circles of emulative disciples who sought—sometimes, doubtless, in ways not wholly commendable—to capture the privilege of the true prophetic voice. This contrasts with the genetic theory advanced, e.g., by Wellhausen. This scholar speaks of the members of these prophetic unions (1 S 10:4), somewhat disparagingly, as 'swarms of prophets' (Prophetenwesen, p. 32, etc.), compares them to the modern dervishes of the East and to the Thracian Bachiastes of Greece, and regards them as having provided the raw materials from which the prophetic function of a Samuel or a Nathan was developed by a process of natural selection. This is the view now widely accepted theory (propounded also by K. Marti, Gesch, der israelit. Religion, Strassburg, 1907, p. 139), however, stands opposed to the statements of the sources. For (L), as was shown above, Abraham and Moses were thought of as having been prophets, and Samuel is expressly called a נַבֵּה (1 S 2:20). (ii.) None of the later prophets who occupied an independent position is ever described as having been previously a member of a prophetic society; thus Elisha was called from the ploughshare. These words were preserved as the true sayings of a prophet, but he was not the son (i.e. disciple) of a prophet, but a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees, the Lord having called him from following the flock (713). (iii.) It seems probable that the members of the prophetic companies, by reason of their national and more material points of view, became the popular prophets referred to in the passage of Amos just cited and in Is 3:6 etc. Thus the theory of Wellhausen conflicts with the actual data, and in point of fact it rests upon the evolutionary hypothesis, which so many scholars of the present day treat as an axiom.

(b) False prophets.—A further distinction among those who claimed to speak for Jehovah was that between true and false prophets. A concrete illustration of this distinction will be found in the scene in which Ahab and his ally Jehoshaphat seek to ascertain the possibilities of an attack upon the Syrians (1 K 20:23-29). Four hundred prophets assured them of victory, but another, Micaiah the son of Imlah (1 K 22:8, 22-28), went to prison rather than keep silence regarding the defeat which his prophetic consciousness divined. Here, then, we find a cleavage which affected not merely the rank but also the spirit of the prophets. Other religious, and even popular, classes of men might be assimilated to and identified with the hundred belonged are those with whom Amos contrasted himself (Am 7:14), those whose removal was predicted by Isaiah (Is 3:3 etc.), and those who were denounced by Micah (Mic 3:9); cf. also the collision between Hananiah and Jeremiah (Jer 29:16).

How are we to explain the rise of this inferior type of prophet? It is not adequately accounted for by the desire of court favour or of material gain. It is rather of a different order altogether, and in the nature of the case it is not at all inconceivable because there was in Palestine a non-Israelite clan, viz. the Rechabites (g.e.), whose great object it was to maintain the Bedawi mode of life, and to protest against the introduction of whose members the class. But neither of the Hebrew prophets adopted this principle, and even Elijah did not always live in the desert or in caves (1 K 17:5).
on the contrary, the genuine prophets appreciated the efforts and achievements of human culture, and accordingly we read in the OT that man is to natural focus, that he is permitted to enjoy the products of the land (Ex 36 etc.), as well as the gratifications of adornment (Gen 24:22 etc.) and of the arts (Ex 15:18 etc.). The Hebrew ideal, partly inspired by a very different from the prophetic hope that in the ensuing age "they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree" (Mic 4). Nor did the prophets stand aloof from the common life of their fellows, or from their duties to the nation. As a matter of that, their most characteristic, as is shown by what we read of Abraham (Gen 14), Moses, Deborah, and Samuel. Isaiah identified himself so closely with the people that it wrung his heart to have to prophesy calamity (Is 64:19), and how sorely, with other prophets, did he mourn the political disruption of the nation (Is 11:1, Jer 39:3, Ezek 37:12, Hos 1:3). Jeremiah in particular was second to none in the intensity of his patriotic feeling (cf. Jer 48 etc.).

6. The means employed. — (a) Actions.—It was natural for a person with a prophetic vocation, especially in the earliest times, to seek to reinforce their words by actions. In point of fact, Abraham, the herald of what became the recognized religion of Israel, championed it almost exclusively by his conduct, and his greatest service to it was his obedience to the impulse that led him to abandon his polytheistic neighbours (Gen 12, Jos 24) and to found a new home for his faith in a strange land. Moses himself was a man of deeds rather than a "man of words" (Ex 4:11), and we note a similar emphasis on the prophetic personnel of Moses and Deborah (Jdg 4:6 etc.) and Samuel. The prophetic work of Elijah and Elisha (1 K 17:2-12 13:11 like-wise consists almost entirely of actions. Now, while many features in the records of these actions may be later interpolations, to a large extent the historical Hebrew history cannot claim to be free from what is a characteristic of all human tradition (cf. König, Gesch. des Reiches Gottes, pp. 76 f., 37 ff.); yet, before rejecting the marvellous deeds ascribed to the prophets, we should bear in mind the following points: (1) the Hebrew historical books contain many remarkable indications of trustworthi-ness (cf. p. 15 ff.; ) (2) the narratives regarding the patriarchs are free from the miraculous element; (3) we find Isaiah offering to King Ahaz an eviden-tial sign from the upper or the under world (Is 7:1) —here, therefore, a man of most discerning mind (cf. 5:13) thinks it not impossible that the Supreme Spirit should overcome other cosmic powers; (4) it is easier to accept the theory that the marvellous deeds have been embellished than to reject the substratum of the records relating to these deeds; there can be no husk without a kernel. The kernel in question here, however, consists in the development of the idea of a prophet, which, moreover, that stands at a relatively high stage in the development of human culture and was compelled by a destiny of the sterner character to test the objective validity of its religious position. A man who relied and speech as media of the prophet's work is found in the Hebrew literature in general to a higher level. At a time when such methodical and yet plastic historical works as J were being composed the

source of help (Ex 17:7). Samuel pours oil upon the head of Saul (1 S 10:1) and so indicates the lamp of the sanctuary, which was fed with oil and symbolized the knowledge that streams from God. The prophet Ahijah, in meeting Jeroboam, rends his garment in twelve pieces in order to show that God is about to divide the kingdom (1 K 11:12). In 1 K Jeroboam's words would therefore only imply that he had been prompted by his divine monitor to perform the action indicated, and that he performed it in his own consciousness; and the real aim of the narrative is to depict the corrup-tion and apostasy of Israel and the God in the clearest way (full discussion in HDB v. 174-176).

Another type of symbolic action brings us closer still to the distinctively prophetic media. This is found in the instances in which a symbolic name is given to a person or thing, especially in the earliest times, and we read of such an action furnished by the following passages from the Prophets: Hos 1:3, Is 20:4, Jer 13:11-15, 19, 25:32-31 etc., Ezek 4:11, 5:19, 12:21, 14:14, 22:24, 37:26, Zec 11:4. A key to the solution of the problem presented by these passages may perhaps be found in the narrative of Jer 25:27. Here the prophet is commanded to make a whole group of nations drink from the cup of God's fury —a command which could not of course be literally carried out, although the story runs as if it had been. Here Jeremias' words would therefore only imply that he had been prompted by his divine monitor to perform the action indicated, and that he performed it in his own consciousness; and the real aim of the narrative is to depict the corrup-tion and apostasy of Israel and the God in the clearest way (full discussion in HDB v. 174-176).

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simple oracle of the prophets gave place to more elaborate discourses, and some prophets were now indeed writing books of their own.

7. Period and chronological sequence. The chronological succession of the literary collections of the prophets as well as the actual form, in a matter of great importance, since the historical background of the documents furnishes the best commentary upon them. The chronological succession may be made out from certain indications both in the contents and in the form of the books. (1) Linguistically, we note, e.g., that the ratio in which 'dɔ̀nhɔ̀ and ɗi, the two Hebrew words for 'I,' occur in Samuel is 48:50; in Kings 9:49; and in Chronicles 1:30; and, again, that in Amos it is 10:1; in Hosea 11:10 (owing perhaps to a mid-Palestinian colouring of the work); in Isaiah (1:59) 5:8; in Micah 1:2; in Jeremiah 37:53; in Ezekiel 1:138; in Haggai 0:4; in Zechariah 1:8; and in Malachi 1:15. Here we notice that in the prophetic books, as thus arranged, the use of the first person constantly increases. Now, as the three historical works named by way of example doubtless came into being successively in different centuries, it follows that these prophetic writings, running parallel with them in the development of national character, must also have arisen in the order given. (2) Still clearer indications of the date of a particular prophet are to be found in the political conditions to which he refers. Thus the discourses of Amos all come from the later and more independent states lying around Israel—Damascus (1:6), Gaza, i.e., Philistia (9b, Tyre (9c); while Samaria too is still independent (7:5). Further, Amos (3:5) and Hosea (9:10) make but cursory allusion to Assyria as the perverted and rebellious deity to which God turns his anger against the unfaithful portion of Israel. In Isaiah (7:24; 10:20), etc., however, the allusion is quite unmistakable; Assyria, in fact, has now trodden Damascus (732 B.C.) and Samaria (722) under foot (10:1); in 20th century is made of Sargon, the Assyrian monarch who, according to the cuneiform chronology, reigned 722–705 B.C.; and in the later discourses of Isaiah Judah is the only kingdom that still preserves its independence (29f.). In Nahum and Jeremiah, again, we see the fall of Assyria and Babylonia as the inevitable, if not clear, outcome. The Exile, which Jeremiah had predicted (251 etc.), was a fact of experience for Ezekiel (11th etc.); and, finally, Haggai, Zechariah (1–8), and Malachi refer to the Persian king; or to the viceroy of Egypt. (12th etc.)

The mass of the prophetic literature, accordingly, arose in the period 760–460 B.C.; and, in the present writer's opinion, a group of five books (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum) represents the golden age of Hebrew rhetoric, while other three groups (Jeremiah, Joel, Zephaniah, Habakkuk; Ezekiel, Deutero-Isiah (40ff.), Jonah; Haggai, Zechariah (1–8), Malachi) may, in view of their tendency to pleonasm and their less metaphorical style, be assigned to the silver age. The concluding portion of 'Isaiah' (55–66), while containing perhaps some literary remains of the prophet, will then, in its present form, probably be the work of a disciple (cf. 8:8); and 'Daniel' will be a sequel of traditional expectations connected with a historical Daniel (Ezk 1414–20 28); circulated during the Maccabean wars with a view to exhorting the weak and comforting the godly (cf. Dan 8:16, and König, Einleitung, §§ 75–82).

Recently, it is true, the theory has been hazarded that the writings of all the Hebrew prophets were composed in the period of the Hebrew monarchy (10-6 B.C.)—a theory which demands some examination in view of the fact that

1The distinctive linguistic characteristics of the prophets are fully discussed in the present writer's Einleitung, § 90.

etc. assign portions of the prophetic literature (Is 24–27, Hab.) to the 2nd cent. B.C. Now (a) the type of Hebrew written c. 300 B.C. is in the texts of Ezra, Neh., etc. (Josephus, cap. Vermes, $Præcis d'histoire juive, Paris, 1839, p. 802) believes that the editor of these three books lived c. 150 B.C. (b) the latest accounts in the composition of Nebuchadrezzar, who closes the genealogy of the high-priestly family with Jaddus ( Neh 12:1–29), suggests that the prophetic literature is older than the book of Chronicles (considering the style and the setting of the narrative), so that we must still assign the books in question to c. 350–300; and hence the prophetic writings, reflecting an older stage in the development of the Hebrew faith, must be placed in the 6th century B.C. (6). It is easy to see why Hebrew contemporaries of Nabuchadrezzar-ur (604–602 B.C.), king of Babylon, should reproduce their composition of Nebuchadrezzar, who closes the 27 times in Jer. (12:21) etc.) and is the only form found in Ezk., the prophet himself. Thus, in the 5th century B.C., i.e. some 300 years after the time of Nabuchadrezzar-ur, the form Nebuchadrezzar is by no means so intelligible, quite apart from the fact that in Hebrew works which really date from the post-Exilic period the form Nebuchadrezzar is used. (c) It is surely mere caprice to say that the kingdoms of Damascus and Israel, Nineveh, the Babylonian monarchy, and the Persian empire would be made to disappear in the historical books while the biblical writer thus with the Persians the Babylonians, and the Persian empire.

8. What the true prophets actually accomplished.—(a) They upheld the lawful religion of their nation. We see this in Samuel, who by his appeal for loyalty to Jahweh moved the people to place in him a king (1 S 8): 'He shall judge Israel according to the judgment of God.' In Amos, when, in his very first discourse, he proclaims a divine retribution upon Damascus for the evils which it had wreaked upon Israel (Am 1). Amos here assumes that the Disposer and Judge of all will act on Israel's behalf, and makes it clear, as by a lightning flash, that the nation was conformed by the Eternal God by an ancient bond which it is the prophet's one aim to maintain. It was with the same compulsion in their hearts that Hosea (11th etc.), Isaiah (14th), and the other representatives of true prophecy came upon the scene. Hence the prophets of the 6th cent. B.C. were in no sense creators of a new era in religion, as so widely held to-day—a view that reappears in Wellhausen (p. 23), while Marti (Die Religion des AT unter den Religionen des vorderen Orientis, Tubingen, 1906, Eng. tr., London, 1907) finds three such epochs in the history of Israel, those namely of the 'Bedawi religion,' the 'peasant religion' (beginning with Israel's arrival in Canaan), and the 'prophecy religion' (from Amos onwards). This quite modern hypothesis, however, we may wisely dismiss as wanting in sufficient and fundamental character of the lawful religion of Israel. This, even on the lowest estimate, comprises the following elements: (1) belief in the existence of a God who is not, like the Babylonian or Greek deities, a product of the cosmic process (Gen 11:4a, Is 31:1); (2) a thoroughgoing monotheism, involved in the universal scope of the religion that began with Abraham (Gen 12:1, from an ancient Jahwistic source); (3) the thought of God as par excellence—there being at first no prophet in the history of the patriarchs (Gen 12–25); (4) the rejection of magic and soothsaying (Ex 22:18, Nu 23:2), etc. The supporters of the modern hypothesis assert that Amos made the idea of justice the main element in the prophetic writings. But, besides the fact that Amos himself says nothing of any such radical change and adopts no new divine name to signalize it, it must be remembered that the God of the prophets had all along been 'a Just God': 'We are not in the name of this God that the great principles of justice found in the Decalogue were promulgated, that Moses instituted the courts of law (Ex 18:21–22 [E]), and that even royal transgressers were arraigned (2 S 12, 1 K 18)!' All that can be said of Amos in this regard
is that he strongly emphasized the divine justice by proclaiming that the Eternal God would not pass over His own people when His day came (Amos 2:6); Hosea did with equal justice that God was in fact precisely what, a little later, Hosea did with reference to God’s love (cf. Hos 1:2, 11), and Isaiah with reference to His holiness (6:3); as a sanction for universal righteousness (Hos 9:10). Nevertheless, the prophets of the 8th cent., in thus emphasizing individual attributes of God, were certainly not the founders of a new religion.

(b) The prophets directed the affairs of the Kingdom of God. Originally and in principle God Himself was to be the sole ruler, and could be represented only by those who were filled by His spirit. When at length an earthly kingdom was sanctioned, the prophets still retained their religious jurisdiction, and acted as the conscience of the nation. This explains Samuel’s conflict with Saul (cf. König, Gesch. des Reiches Gottes, pp. 133 f., 199 f., 202 f.); and even to a David prophetic in the person of God to have made clear that the king’s part in external policy should be to maintain the peace of the country and to avoid wars of offence (2 S 24). Solomon’s political and religious obliquities were denounced by Ahijah the Shilonite (1 K 11:29f.), and Shemaiah and Elisha likewise interjected the most effective in national affairs (1 K 13:2-24, 2 K 9).

The most important factor here, however, was Isaiah’s great utterance, ‘In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength’ (Is 30:15), and his assertion that by political alliances and material preparations for war Jehovah’s people were only trying to rival the Gentile nations (v. 18, and the contemporary passages Zec 9:6, Hos 2:12). The chosen nation must keep to its mission of being a light to mankind (Is 42:6 f.); and, if it had but obeyed this prophetic injunction, it would not only have preserved its existence as a state, but would have discharged a supremely great function in the world’s history.

On similar lines the Hebrew prophets solved the related problem of their attitude to foreign nations. As was said above (§ 5 c), the true prophets were ardent patriots. Isaiah identifies himself fully with his guilt-laden nation (cf. I 31f.), and Micah can but exult and howl for its calamities, deserved though they were (1:9). True patriotism, however, does not consist in pandering to the national interests of the masses—indeed, but too easily directed to the conquest and exhaustion of alien peoples. The genuine patriot, on the contrary, must ever keep in mind the higher ideals of his nation. Hence the Hebrew prophets, with their unparalleled gifts of a spiritual leadership, brought all things under the moral and religious point of view, and it is this too which regulates their attitude to the great monarchies of their time. The prophet might hold over his own people the doom of foreign invasion, but the invader himself was only an instrument in the hands of the Supreme Disposer. Thus the Assyrian was the rod of God’s anger (Is 10f.), and the evils which he wreaked upon Israel were an element in the retribution to which the divinely appointed punishment of Jehovah was due, and thereby made liable by reason of their unfaithfulness. Similarly, foreign rulers are sometimes even called the ‘servants’ of God (Jer 25:27, 43f., Ezek 29). But, when such rulers in mere ruthlessness pass beyond this and become divinely evil, the retribution, the prophet threatens them with judgments of the sternest kind (Is 10f. ‘Woe to Assiria, the rod of mine anger!’ (RV), Jer 50:11f., 25, 26., Ezek 32:10f., Enoch, lxxix. 69).

In view of the actual facts, it is strange that the old charge of unduly favouring the Chaldeans should recently have been once more brought against Jeremiah in particular (H. Winckler, Der Prophet Jeremia, Leipzig, 1892, and others, as cited in König, Gesch. des Reiches Gottes, p. 239 f.).

(c) A third phase of the prophets’ activity appears in their preserving, expanding and spiritualizing the submission of Israel to an alien domination only by reason of his divinely inspired conviction that God had so decreed it in order to provide an occasion for the divine presence to be made manifest to the Gentiles, and to give the witness of the religious superiority of Israel to the heathen. The prophets thus laid the foundation of the legislative basis of the Jehovah religion scarcely requires proof. In view of certain modern theories, however, it may be well to state that Amos accused his people of rejecting God’s Law and not keeping His Sabbath, but He was not less imperious in their criticisms of the same evils (4: 9f.). But, without adding further testimony, we may affirm that what the prophets did with regard to the divine commandments was, in the first place, to guard the long-inherited religious and moral ideals of the community. They were primarily reformers, and their demand for repentance could never have appealed to the conscience of their contemporaries except upon the common ground of a recognized law. (2) They strongly insisted upon the religious character of the ancient world’s problem, though not quite so obviously, is nevertheless distinctly shown by the following incidents: at the institution of the human kingship Samuel defined the prerogative of the kingship, i.e. some kind of religious authority being invested in the king. He then, i.e. in the most holy place of the chief sanctuary of the time (1 S 10f.); in Hosea (2f.), again, we find the injunction that the designation ‘Ba’al‘ (lit. ‘owner’, ‘husband’) shall no longer be applied to Jehovah, the implication being that Israel’s God is not the Lord, i.e. in the most holy place of the chief sanctuary of the time (1 S 10f.); in Hosea (2f.), again, we find the injunction that the designation ‘Ba’al‘ (lit. ‘owner’, ‘husband’) shall no longer be applied to Jehovah, the implication being that Israel’s God is not the Lord, i.e. in the most holy place of the chief sanctuary of the time (1 S 10f.).

The prophets spiritualized the Law by the emphasis which they laid upon religion and the ethical life. In the critical days of the conflict between the Ba’al cult and the worship of the Eternal, the people must avoid what had previously ranked as an adiaphor—once more, the law in Deuteronomy (28f. (Heb. 8)) by which eunuchs were excluded from the community of Jehovah is repealed in the closing (Exilic) division of Isaiah (56f.)—the result of a deepening sense of the ultimate universality of God’s Kingdom. (3) The prophets spiritualized the Law by the emphasis which they laid upon religion and the ethical life. In the critical days of the conflict between the Ba’al cult and the worship of the Eternal, the people must avoid what had previously ranked as an adiaphor—once more, the law in Deuteronomy (28f. (Heb. 8)) by which eunuchs were excluded from the community of Jehovah is repealed in the closing (Exilic) division of Isaiah (56f.)—the result of a deepening sense of the ultimate universality of God’s Kingdom.

Devotion to God can find expression without sacrifice—a truth that is even more strongly insisted upon in Hos 5:6f. 14f., Is 12:3f., Mic 6:4, Jer 7:7f. Nor does even Ezekiel in any degree depart from this attitude. He severely reproaches his people with their impiety and immorality; he calls Israel ‘a rebellious house’ (25 etc.) he insists above all things upon an inward transformation (11:15-30f.); he is anxious to prevent dissoluty in every form (57f.); his zeal for the rebuilding of the Temple was a means of making Israel ashamed of its past transgressions (43f. 44f. 45f.); and one of his great aspirations was the benevolent treatment of aliens (47f.). If Ezekiel was also concerned for the ceremonial law, it was only in the view that by means of a regular order of worship the impious might be warned against a repetition of their former disloyalty. The prophets, moreover, sought to spiritualize the Law positively; thus, in contrast to Mosaic teaching, the prophets recognized that by means of the rending of garments as a symbol of mourning (cf. Mt 9:23, 31) and of the people rending their hearts (cf. König, Gesch. des Reiches Gottes, p. 317 f.).

(d) These three aspects of prophetic activity
with regard to the Law are now largely ignored, and the main emphasis is usually laid upon what the prophets say about the future. Here, however, it is to be noted that they were much less concerned with prediction (of concrete occurrences) than with truth or universal values. The prophet, in verbalizing the great regrettive lines of the future course of things. Sometimes, no doubt, they foresaw special events, such as the fall of Sheba (Is 22:6-7), the withdrawal (22:12) and the destruction (31) of the Assyrians, the later of which was prophesied nearly 70 years before (Is 10:22 ff., c.f. also Am 7:1, Jer 34:8 (2 K 25:7), Zec 7:1). In the main, however, prophetic utterances regarding the future were designed to set forth the fundamental lines upon which the divine kingdom would evolve.

The vistas of the future thus opened are manifold and glorious; a notable instance is the vision of the nations flocking exultantly to the Temple of Jehovah (Is 2:2-4; Mic 4:2). Still, these unveilings of times to come could not, in view of human guilt, but be sometimes full of menace. Thus, it was only in rarer moments that the prophets could depict the splendors of the final consummation. It must be remembered, of course, that the more ominous forecasts were given conditionally, as Jeremiah himself pointed out (Jer 4:6). Although this conditional character extends no doubt to the promises as well. The conditional nature of prophecy is a fact of the utmost significance, for it serves as a preliminary explanation of that nonfulfillment or only partial fulfillment of certain prophecies which has led some recent scholars to disparage OT prophecy in general (c. e.g. Kuenen, De Profeten, i. 114 ff., with König, Der Offenbarungsgedicht des AT, ii. 574 ff.). There are other expositions of the evil spirit at work among them lies in the supreme achievement of the prophets in the distinctively prophetic sphere, viz., the spiritualization of prophecy relating to the future of the divine kingdom.

Of this spiritualizing process we may trace the following main indications. (1) The relation between the divine kingdom and its earthly sphere is more and more relaxed. The noteworthy circumstance that the patriarchs had no permanent possession in the Land of Promise except a burial cave (Gen 35:29) and that the later historical development—the restriction of the Davidic dynasty to the lordship of Judah and its immediate neighbourhood (c. 937 B.C.), and the final overthrow of that dynasty (c. 586 B.C.). Prophecies of the coming spiritualization of the kingdom are found in the increasing clearness with which the following truths were realized: the superhuman gifts of the coming leader (Is 9:6, 11, Mal 3:4); suffering as an element in his work (Is 11:1-4); the personal God's interest in the potential human, the imparting of this power (cf. König, Gesch., pp. 207-278.

Notwithstanding these lofty ideals, the Hebrew prophets have in recent times been charged with one-sidedness and partiality, more especially by Kuenen, who (De Goddelijkheid van de Profeten, Haarlem, 1596-70, ii. 585 ff., Enc. tr. Religion of Israel, London, 1874-75) explains ourselves to be robbed of the conviction that God rules in all history. (1) This protest, however, does not really affect the design by which, according to the prophets, the future was foretold, the design was the same. A father who permits his son for a time to go his own way cannot be accused of indifference regarding that son's fate. The prophecy of the future, therefore, is to encompass even the peoples whom He suffers 'to walk in their own ways' (Ac 4:28), and He actually does more: He instructs the nations (Is 52:6); in the heavens He manifests His glory to all (Ps 19:1); He instructs the nations and teaches men (Is 48:17) to do the righteous and judge the ancient of days. (2) The prophetic design is not to give a guarantee of success, but to awaken the conscience. The facts of history are not thereby predicted, but it is a recognition that the methods followed in the past may prove also in the future. (3) Friedrich Delitzsch (Bibel und Bibel, Leipzig, 1805, ii. 38) asserts that in OT prophecy the history of the ancient world is looked at from a most oblique visual angle. Here, however, Delitzsch not only overlooks the facts just adduced, but ignores the universalism that forms the sublime element in the historical design unfolded by the prophets. He quotes Gn 12:3, but omits 12:1 (repeated in 15:18 22:16 26:3; 'in thee [or 'in thy seed'] shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' He likewise leaves out of account the excellence of the laws relating to aliens, in which the OT surpasses both the Code of Hammurabi, and the Mosaic law; a law the universalism of which is beyond delimitation on the universalistic side of OT prophecy, the history of the ancient world is surveyed from a pre-eminently ideal point of view.

The consummate achievement of OT prophecy, however, lies in the idea of the new covenant—a covenant which is to secure the effacement of human guilt, in which the fundamental law of acknowledging God is alone to prevail, and which is to be observed in hearts renewed by gratitude. This idea first emerges in Jer 31:23-4, and nothing could more clearly indicate the aspiration towards a higher stage in the development of the divine kingdom. The work of the Hebrew prophets thus culminates in a prospect which corresponds at once to the highest longing of the human heart and to the most perfect conception of God.

9. The inner sources of prophecy.—In the discourses of Micah (3:8) that prophet says, 'I am full of power, even the spirit of the Lord' (RVm), so expressing his conviction that his prophetic gift came from a superhuman source. Similarly Isaiah (51:11) says, 'The Lord spake to me with strength of hand' (RVm). These discourses are profoundly influenced by something outside the range of ordinary forces. A like impression, as from the wave-beats of some 'immortal sea,' was known also to Jeremiah (23:29); and the Psalmist (Ps 104:4) interprets these discourses as the movements of the heart at the centre of things, and sees them in the source of cosmic movement. Now, reflexion upon the origin of this cosmic movement (παρθένος κόσμου) really brings us, as far as the present writer can judge, to the conclusion that—in agreement likewise with Aristotle—that 'God is Spirit' (Is 31:3, Jn 4:24) contains the only reasonable solution of the primordial riddle of the universe. But, if we admit the possibility of an abnormal impulse proceeding from this source, then consciousness of the prophet have been affected by it in an abnormal way? May not his power of spiritual vision have been peculiarly intensified? As a matter of fact, if the prophet's conviction of his being, thus induced by an abnormal impulse has a basis of reality, this increased sensitiveness is psychologically quite intelligible. Even in the sphere of ordinary experience, sense and memory may be strangely quickened by some unusual connection; and, in the moments when a man is suddenly brought face to face with the peril of death, scenes long forgotten will pass before his mental vision, and he may make discoveries that at ordinary times seemed beyond him. Hence it is in no sense incredible that a
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soul, receiving, as it believes, an impression from a region otherwise unknown, should thereby be endowed with a capacity for a knowledge beyond the limits of ordinary experience.

The prophets also affirm that they are granted visions of what lies behind the ordinary process of events. This is implied in their repeated use of the expression 'I saw'—an assertion all the more significant when it is always pressed in a special way (over 30 times; Am 7th etc.). Thus the true prophets, when speaking of their abnormal visions, use the verb רָאָש, the Hebrew word for simple ordinary seeing, whereas, when referring to those who are not prophets they expressly denied that such could 'see' (רָאָש), saying of them that they 'follow . . . what they have not seen' (Ezk 13), and ascribing to them at most a certain power of 'beholding,' looking at (חָאָש), i.e., a purely sensuous faculty, and not 'seeing' in the proper sense at all. That the true prophets were able to speak of others in this way argues a remarkable degree of conviction regarding their own powers of prophetic vision.

It may be asked however, whether the prophets were not perhaps like Sweeney, who, e.g. (as we shall not deny, and as is admitted by Kant [Werke, ed. G. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1858–39, x. 453 f.]), 'saw' a conflagration in distant Stockholm, a letter in a secret drawer, etc. But Sweeney's pretended 'sight' was quite unassociated with the characteristics given on p. 390, anticipated the course of events, as shown in signal fashion by Is 553.

Thus, too, Isaiah amazed his fellows by his conviction that Jerusalem would be delivered from the Assyrian beleaguerment in 701 B.C. (Is 297)20 he also foretold that the Assyrian host would be destroyed by a 'not-man' (319), i.e. a superhuman power, as actually took place on the Egyptian frontier (372; Herod. ii. 141). Similarly Ezekiel (398) knew of the fall of Jerusalem the day before it took place.

These examples suffice to furnish us with a principle that governs the relations of history and prophecy (cf. König, Der Offenbarungsbegriff des AT, p. 278 f.), viz. that, while history and prophecy are so connected that no separation of the former is possible parallel to history in form and matter (§ 7 above), history is not their source. Thus Jeremiah's conviction that he was called to a great religious task doubtless came to him during the Scythian invasion of W. Asia (c. 628 n.c.; Herod. i. 103–106); his work as a prophet, however, was not causally connected with that invasion, but is simply concurrent with it. The historical events of his day merely supplied him with imagery (Jer 1239), but countless utterances of the prophet show that his commission was not derived from the course of events, and could not be so derived; cf. e.g. 20 (it is Jehovah who prevails over him) and 3262 (the symbolical action with the deed of sale, expressing his conviction that the departed Israelites would return).

The knowledge of the future which we find in the words of Isaiah and other prophets cannot be explained as resting upon 'the knowledge of historical events' (E. J. Willke, Jesus and Assur, Leipzig, 1905, p. 56). Isaiah certainly reports having received a vision (e.g. 1 the word of the Lord came to him, but by that work he means the events that have already happened. His prophetic knowledge, however, was of a peculiar kind, viz. what he had 'learned' that was the case with the king's councillors were at their wits' end (299); he himself knew what would happen, and was convinced of his superiority to the prophets whom the people called 'their wise men' (vs. 10, 14). The present writer's belief that the insight of the prophets was something distinctive and exceptional is shared by such modern scholars as C. F. A. Dillmann, F. Bleek, S. R.

Here we must once more consider the judgment passed by the true prophets upon certain of their contemporaries who likewise claimed to speak in the name of Jehovah.

(1) As regards the commission of the latter, the true prophets held very severe views. The motives of these pretenders were really of a material kind (Mic 3–4), and arrogance and presumption lay at the root of all that they said and did (cf. 33 etc.—the 'prophets' of Ezek 129). (2) As regards the sources from which their utterances were drawn, these are stigmatized as 'lying visions' (Jer 14, etc., 'what they have not seen' (Ezk 134, 16), visions by night (Mic 39), i.e. mere dreams (Jer 25–26), or 'their own heart' (Hos 14, Ezek 12, 17). As already said, these characterizations indicate a remarkable intensity of conviction on the part of the genuine prophets, all the more so because they were deeply aware of the lack of evidence for their statements.

The claim of the true prophets, nevertheless, is still being met with objections.

(1) It is said, e.g., that Ezekiel suffered from temporary blindness and hemiplegia (A. Klostiermann, SR 1, S. 271 f. 411). The 'compulsion' that moved him to write (cf. Ezekiel); A. Jeremias, Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients, Leipzig, 1896). Klostiermann finds symptoms of these illnesses in Ezekiel's prophetic blindness, i.e. in Ezekiel's claim to be a 'prophet by God.' What bodily idiocy was such critics assessing? E.g., it has been alleged that Ezekiel liked to have his baking with excrement for fuel (414), or his withholding his taxes (494)? (For a full discussion of the points at issue cf. II DB v. 172; also König, AT III, S. 129, 130; and Ezechielstudien, Leipzig, 1906, p. 72.) The theory of bodily indisposition in any case quite inadequate to account for the spiritual insight so characteristic of the prophets.

(2) The prophets were preoccupied with a particular aspect of their mission, and not with all aspects of life. This is peculiarly true of Isaiah. The latter part of his ministry (Is 620) has in fact been considered as the beginning of a 'new oracle'-Die Beraubung der AT Propheten, Götingen, 1897, p. 47), comes to the conclusion that their prophetic consciousness was not 'a conscious acceptance of the state of the late period,' but, however— not to be confounded with the 'sense of the prophets' (p. 6)—gave no hint of any state of ecstasy, i.e. unconsciousness or frenzy. It is true that Jeremiah was said by one of his opponents to be mad (2929). Hosias, again, referring probably to himself, says that the prophet is not of his own (56) quite obviously, however, his meaning is that the ineptitudes of his people (cf. Is 154, Jer 25–26 84) were enough to derange the mind of a man already sensitive and patient, so that the theory of ecstasy finds no support in the passages cited, while we have the positive evidence that the prophets lived an abnormal life, and the state of nature was one in which, all alike in construction and diction, are the work of sane and sober minds (cf. the freshness of their language); and were deeply moved by abnormal influences, they perfectly retain their self-consciousness and their memory: it was precisely in such a case that Isaiah regarded his own consciousness, and Jeremiah felt that he was too young for the task set before him.

(3) The prophets have also been charged with ignorance in matters of psychology. In answer to this we may recall Isaiah's severe picture against the sophistical perversion of moral concepts (59) and the remarkable precision of his own ideas and judgments. How often does Jeremiah reprove his people for 'the stubbornness of their evil heart' (37 etc.)? It is he who speaks of his God as searching the heart and trying the reins (170), and it is most unlikely that such a mind would indulge in phantastical or divinely given conceptions (cf. Cornill, Das Dick Jeremia erklärt, Leipzig, 1905, p. 230). This may be said also of Ezekiel, who (speaking in God's name) declares, 'I know the things that come into your mind' (115). Such utterances are not easily reconcilable with ignorance regarding the spiritual conditions of the human soul.

In point of fact, taking into account the precise intellectual distinctions and the delicacy of moral feeling displayed in the prophetic writings associated with the names of the prophets, we find it impossible to charge the prophets even with self-deception. Self-deception always implies the existence of information and of religious and moral sobriety—the very opposite of the characteristics set forth above, to ignore which would be to reject the one line of evidence that can avail in the question at issue.

Wallenhausen (p. 15) has finely said that the individual upon whom the grace of God has come remains a mystery. In view of what the prophets
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said and did, however, we must go beyond this and recognize that they were wrought upon by some mysterious force lying behind the veil of ordinary phenomena. Difficult as it may be for the modern mind to accept such a possibility, the Bible itself teaches us that there is no other way of doing justice to the historical facts. After all, as the phenomena of life and of the human consciousness cannot be explained by reference to their antecedents, it need not seem strange that the phenomena of the true prophets in the spiritual history of the Hebrew people should defy every attempt to explain it on natural grounds.

10. Non-Israelite analogies.—(a) In Babylonia and in the divination of the Sea-coast, his utterances were rejected by the prophetic tradition of Israel (§ 1), who organized an function of the State (cf., e.g., C. Bezold, Die babylon.-assyr. Lit., Leipzig, 1906, p. 44 f.), the Babylonian-Assyrian religion being in this respect on a level with the religion of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, but analogous to the Hebrew. In Hebrew literature, moreover, we hear nothing of any person like Emneduranki, to whom Babylonian literature traces the art of divination. But we must still ask whether, outside this alleged practice of divination in these lands, there were individuals of prophetic character who might be compared to the prophets of Israel.

A personality of this type has been found in Hammurabi (cf. art. LAW [Babylonian], vol. vii. p. 817 f.), who, in a relief preceding his well-known Code, is depicted as standing before the sun-god (Shamash). From this, however, we are to infer that Hammurabi is not the pupil or prophet of the sun-god. Bezold thinks (p. 3), but rather his counterpart; for in the introductory lines of the inscription we read:

‘Anu and Bel called me, Hammurabi, the exalted prince, the wise king, who must not be impeded in my duty for one who enlighten the land,’ etc. (R. F. Harper, The Code of Hammurabi, Chicago, 1904, p. 5).

Further, the particular laws are as often ascribed to Hammurabi himself as to the sun-god, and towards the close of the inscription we find such utterances as ‘My weighty words I have written upon my monument’ (Harper, p. 101), and ‘My words are weighty, my wisdom (Harper, p. 103, ‘deeds’) univalued—sayings which we cannot identify with any utterances from Monarchic or Early Israelite; Nu 11[2] (Ej 12[2]) or from the literary prophecies of a later age (cf. Is 5[1], Jer 23[4], Ezk 13[-17] etc.).

In the cuneiform literature of the 7th cent. B.C., another writer speaks of himself as follows:

1, the servant, the prophet (2), of his lord the king, utter my prophecies for my lord the king. May the gods whose names I have enumerated accept and hear these prophecies on behalf of my lord the king; may they add to him more than his portion, and give to my lord the king! But may I, the prophet of my lord the king, stand before my lord the king, and with all my heart worship my steed far has my side becomes weak, may I exert my power to the utmost by the power of my word. Who must not love a good lord? Surely it is said in the song of the Babylonians: ‘Because of thy gracious lips, my shepherd, all men look to thee’ (We follow the version of F. E. Price in Mon. no. 267; but the Babylonian tablets are rendered ‘prophet’ simply means ‘servant’, ‘worshipper’.)

Winckler (KAT 2, p. 170 f.) refers to this passage as exhibiting a Babylonian-Assyrian counterpart to the Hebrew, however, e.g., Jeremiah. In point of fact, however, a comparison confirms ‘before the king’, and is obviously subservient to him in all things, rather suggests the ‘prophets’ who, while claiming to speak for Jahveh, were but the servile agents of King Sargon I (1.829-820 B.C.) those who in the days of Isaiah were regarded by the ruling faction as ‘their wise ones’ (Is 29:10, 14, Jer 20:15 etc.—men from whom the representatives of the lawful religion of Israel distinguished themselves as the most decided way (1 K 22[26], Am 7[19], Is 2[1] 2[9] 28[20] 28[14], Mic 3[31], Jer 7[19] 29[20] etc.).

Winckler has also sought to dispargage men like Amos and Jeremiah by speaking of them as ‘political agents’ (Geschicht. Zeitschr. 1873. 43), and argues that they were no more than professional agitators of the rulers of Nineveh or Babylon (KAT 2, p. 170 f.). Thus Amos is said to have laboured on behalf of the Assyrian convenience, in the policy of Sennacherib, and of his successor Ashur-bani-pal (KAT 2, § 56). In answer to this, however, we need only recall the words of Amos 7:10, ‘When r. to leave Bethel, he asserted that he had been called to his religious office by God (Am 7:9), and in all his utterances we nowhere hear his voice representing the interest of the Eternal (13-22 etc.). As for Jeremiah, again, it is clear that the tradition which believed himself to serve was none other than the King of Kings, who had reserved for himself belonging to that great succession which had championed the supreme interest of Israel, and that the supposed national spirit and his attitude in political affairs have already been dealt with (§ 8 (b)). Jeremiah (Das AT im Lichte alter Orient?, p. 38) suggests that the Hebrew prophets were the vehicles of the Babylonian culture: ‘Mercury is the morning-star; his name means “harbinger”. Here we come upon the astral interpretation of the word nôlû, “prophet”; he is the harbinger or vehicle of a new age.’ The Babylonian-Assyrian diviners, however, found their patron, not in Mercury, but in the sun-god (KAT 2, p. 395), while the genuine Hebrew sources say nothing of any such connexion between their propheticism and Mercury, and in fact actually protest against divination in every form (§ 8).

If, therefore, we find in Babylonia and Assyria, no direct evidence of the existence of prophetic personalities who were able to manifest themselves, it remains to ask whether we have any indirect traces—such as might be afforded, e.g., by the literature. Here, however, as in Assurbanipal’s library, we find nothing higher than series of omen-tablets, in one of which, e.g., we read:

‘If in the month of Sivan (June) an eclipse occurs between the first and thirtieth day, vegetation throughout the land will lag behind.’

But where in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature do we find anything to compare with the profound religious ideas, the earnest moral exhortations, and the glowing anticipations of the future, so characteristic of the writings of the Hebrew prophets?

Attention has been directed to the following passage as indicating Babylonian visions of the future (F. Hommel, in Glauben und Wissen, i. 1903) ff.:

The god Marduk, seeing a sick person, says to his father Ea: ‘My father, disease has come upon man; I know not by what means he may be healed.’ Then Ea answered his son thus: ‘My son, what may there be that thou knowest not? What new thing might I still teach thee? What I know, thou knowest, and what thou knowest, I know: go, my son, and break the spell, sick to stick it.’ Then come the directions for exorcising the disease.

Now, while this may show that the Babylonian-Assyrian diviners were regarded as ready to heal man, it is not the main point of the story, but only of a physical kind; and, besides, the passage is not really predictive at all. T. K. Cheyne (EB 1111. 3063), however, finds the predictive element in the following passage:

‘Sea-coast against sea-coast, Elamites against Elamites, Cassites against Cassites, Kuthites against Kuthites, country against country, house against house, man against man. Brother is to show no mercy towards brother; they shall kill one another.’

But this prediction, referring probably to Hammurabi’s triumph over the neighbouring kings, is a purely political one. It is hardly necessary to point to the contrast with Hebrew prophecy, which showed essentially in the spirit of the Jews for whom the founding of a divine kingdom has as its supreme practical end the culture of the ethical-religious interest—assuredly the highest element in the life of a nation.

(b) E. Meyer, ‘Religion und ihre Nachbarstämme’, Halle, 1906, pp. 451-453 asserts that the Hebrew prophecy was derived from Egypt, and cites a prophecy (partly from the earlier, partly from the middle, period of Egyptian literature, and recently more accurately deciphered) to the following effect:

‘A wise man (or the inspired lamb) reveals to the king the future of Egypt, and then with his last word falls down dead, and is ceremoniously interred by the king. His prophecies,
however, are put on record and handed down to future ages. Their tenor is that there is coming, to begin with, a period of awful distress, in which everything in Egypt turns topsy-turvy—foreign peoples make inroads, servants become masters, people of position are slain, women enslaved, the entire social order subverted, temples plundered and desecrated, and their mysteries laid bare, while the king himself is carried captive or forced to flee to a foreign land. Then follows an epoch in which the gods once more bestow their favour upon the country, and in which a just king, beloved of the gods and sprung from the sun-god Re, expels its enemies, restores its worship and its ancient order, subjugaates the neighbouring lands, and enjoys a long and happy reign.  

Meyer maintains that this ‘fixed traditional schema’ was known to the Hebrew prophets, who, in fact, merely elaborated it in detail and applied it to the situation of the day. But there is certainly no positive evidence to show that Hebrew prophecy was based upon any such design. This schema was not followed even by the popular prophets, whose great watchword for the future was ‘peace’ (Jer 6:14 etc.). The important point, however, is this: the distinctive features of Hebrew prophecy are that its predictions of good or evil were conditional or subverted, as an enactment of a divine kingdom, which was instituted in the call of Abraham (Gen 12:2-3) in order to establish in Israel a nursery of true religion and morality (Is 5:2-6), and so to open a fountain of blessing for all nations (44 etc.). Egypt supplies nothing that may for a moment compare with this.

(c) Finally, as to a possible comparison of the Hebrew prophets with Muhammad, we find an OT scholar (J. Köberle, NKS xvii. [1906] 202) giving expression to the view that their consciousness of their vocation loses significance when we look at Muhammad, who likewise, for that matter, regarded himself as a divine messenger. In answer to this we must carefully examine the qualities of the evidence which the Hebrew prophets themselves give regarding their mission. As the value of a witness’s testimony may be measured with a fair degree of objectivity by certain of its characteristics, we shall compare the Hebrew prophets and Muhammad with reference to the following points.

(i) Clearness and definiteness. —The clear conviction which underlies the utterances of men like Amos, Isaiah, etc., meets us everywhere in their works; they had distinct recollections of their composer’s personal sympathy, as also of their conviction of the continual need to respond to it (e.g., Jer 1:9-20). Such definiteness is certainly not exceeded by the utterances of Muhammad. Moreover, scholars who, like A. Müller (Th.LZ xii. [1887] 278 ff.), are anxious to do all justice to the latter speak of his ‘indeterminately thinking,’ his ‘self-deception,’ in that he denies a divine source for narratives which, like the Joseph sīrah (xlii.), are obviously mere plagiarisms.

(ii) Difficulty of the situation in which the testi-


is propitiation is more powerful than he who propitiates; else the latter would not require to implore, either by entreaty or by offering, those things which he considers necessary to his welfare. It is with propitiation in its more definitely theological sense, i.e., as affecting the relations between God and man, that we have here to deal.

I. The Idea in primitive religion.—Religion finds its origin in the conviction of man that his life is overruled by forces other and greater than those which he finds in himself. This power man has, construed from the earliest times, and according to his light, in the terms which he applies to his own life and personality. The only difference is that those characteristics which he recognizes to be rudimentary and fragmentary in himself are conceived of as existing in all their ideal perfection in the nature of the divine. In this sense all religions, whether their development be high or low, are anthropomorphic. Again, since man, in the earliest stages of his evolution, has little self-sufficiency, and is in all things closely dependent upon Nature and her forces, even for his bodily wants, he is instinctively impelled to find this supernatural element in the existence and in the entire state of the universe. This is the stage of animism, when worship is paid to the spirit or spirits which reside in trees, fire, wind, cloud, or sky.

But the mere belief in the existence of those superior powers would not be sufficient in itself to give rise to religion. It is felt also that these powers are interested in the welfare of man; and, further, that their interest can be quickened, or restored when lost, provided that their means be adopted to achieve this result. Primitive man attributes to his god the same feelings of like and dislike, of love and aversion, of friendship and hostility, as he finds to exist between himself and his fellow-men. Hence, from the first, there are present in religion the elements not merely of thought, but also of feeling and of will. In fact, it is due to the conjunction of these that religion ever came into being. Man does not merely think of his god; since, through nature, that god manifests his power often in terrible form, he conceives of him, now with feelings of utter dependence, now with awe and fear, as of one who smiles and visits him with wrath and destruction. Yet the emotion is not entirely that of fear. Fear in itself has the effect of soothing and driving further open the path to religion, but it is but one side of the religious emotion of an exactly contrary effect upon the will. Viewed in its practical aspect, religion is the effort on man's part, not to flee from, but to draw near to his god.

While the beginning of religion is not to be attributed entirely to fear, it is unquestionable that that emotion played a great, and even a predominating, part in the awakening of the religious consciousness. The things by which primitive man was made, viz., his own sources of energy, both generally those disastrous to himself or to the community. Any misfortune or disaster that he cannot trace to known human or natural sources he attributes to the direct agency of his god. Sin, which he considers necessary to his god which is the beginning of wisdom.

But, if fear thus awakens him to a knowledge of his god, it is his instinct of self-preservation that impels him to give to that knowledge a practical turn. The aim of religion is not solely to draw near to gods, nor even to propitiate them, but to secure the worshipper's well-being and happiness. It is just because man recognizes his present happiness to be imperfect, because he feels that only through the god can the right thing be supplied, that he ever seeks to win his favour. And the means which primitive man adopted towards this end were those which he employed in his dealings with his fellows — conciliation and petition. From this arose the ancient religious system of propitiatory sacrifice.

While the broad aim of sacrifice is thus to please the gods, the meaning and content attached to it are more clearly defined by reference to (a) the nature of that god who is to be propitiated, and (b) the evil which renders propitiation necessary. It may happen that man identifies this evil not with himself, but with the essential being of his god. This god is conceived of as one who delights in violence and bloodshed, and who sends plagues, storms, and floods in order to satiate himself with the suffering of man. Man therefore offers such sacrifice as he imagines will appease this passion for blood on the part of his god, that the impending doom may be averted from himself. It is with this notion that one of the chief stages of early sacrifice are associated. A degraded idea of the god leads to a degraded form of worship.

On the other hand, man may feel that the cause of his suffering lies not so much in the nature of his god as in his own moral evil. This was the idea that ultimately prevailed. Experience accumulated throughout the ages taught him that much of his misfortune was simply his own fault, and that by methods of forethought, of industry, and of hygiene he could appreciably diminish those evils which formerly he traced solely to supernatural influence; and that which experience taught him to be true of part of his existence he came more and more to infer as true of the whole. Thus he reached the conception, that, whenever his present happiness was marred, it was due not to the arbitrariness of his gods, but to his neglect to pay deference to them or to obey their commands. Once this truth emerged, the idea underlying propitiatory sacrifice assumed a new and more hopeful trend. Man aimed no longer at changing the original nature of his gods and bringing them into a temporal state of favour to himself; he sought rather to restore to them to that normal condition of benevolence which, by his offence, had for the time being been disturbed. He could better accomplish this than by sacrificing a part of his goods and possessions, in order to show the gods that he valued their favour more than anything else? It is not, of course, contended that primitive man regarded his own confession as part of the propitiatory sacrifice. That idea lay as yet in the background. He still retained a mechanical conception of the relations between sin and punishment, between sacrifice and benefit. In his eyes not his repentance, but the material offering that he made, was the only thing of account, and he never supposed that unknown was much wider than it is now, and since also, leaving out of count man's spiritual wants, even his bodily comfort was then more open to attack, there was all the more room for the worshipper's well-being and happiness. It is just because man recognizes his present happiness to be imperfect, because he feels that only through the god can the right thing be supplied, that he ever seeks to win his favour. And the means which primitive man adopted towards this end were those which he employed in his dealings with his fellows — conciliation and petition. From this arose the ancient religious system of propitiatory sacrifice.

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tion comes to be drawn between (a) sins of ignorance or inadvertence, and (b) sins done with a high hand or of purpose.

(a) Sins of ignorance or inadvertence.—To these alone do the Levitical sacrifices apply. In this there is a certain natural fitness. The idea of sacrifices generally arose at the beginning of the development when he conceived of his relations to God as being semi-mechanically rather than morally conditioned; when, too, he imagined that the Deity could be propitiated in a correspondingly mechanical fashion, by material offerings. This idea Hebrew priests merely carried forward this idea, and gave it a greater symbolism and elaboration. In the first place, the moral sense being as yet imperfectly developed, there was in their conception of sin no element of personal guilt. The idea of sin was attached to no specific acts of which the perpetrators were conscious at the time that they were wrong; it belonged rather to the entire nature of man, as being tainted and impure. Thus sin was placed by them in that region intermediate between the purely physical and the definitely moral; i.e., it belonged to the region of the aesthetic, and partook of the nature of uncleanness. Again, corresponding to this view of sin as uncleanness was their view of the manner in which it offended against God's holiness. These are the considerations which lie at the root of the ancient Hebrew sacrificial system. They explain how the priestly offerings were regarded as atoning not for definite misdoings, but for the whole life as being imperfect or impure. They explain, too, how the symbolic 'covering,' or 'wiping out'—the root idea of the Hebrew word ẓāqār, which stands at the center of the Levitical thought on sacrifice (cf. HDB, s.v. 'Propitiation,' vol. iv. p. 131)—had in itself a propitiatory value as affecting God. Since God's justice had not been offended, and His actual wrath had not been provoked, there was no need that any positive recompense should be made. There was need only that the cause of offence to His aesthetic nature, i.e., to His purity and holiness, should be removed. That being accomplished by the priestly sacrifices, the harmonizing influence thus established may be regarded as the consideration either to God's justice or to the demands of His holiness. It simply made God's mercy take the place of the Levitical sacrifice, in that the mere exercise of that mercy was sufficient to wipe out all past transgressions, even those done with a high hand. No account is taken of the fact that not merely God's holiness, but also His righteousness, has been offended, and that this violated righteousness demands a certain satisfaction before His mercy can intervene. In the latter case, sin and suffering gave rise to the thought that suffering, and especially the suffering of the righteous, possessed a propitiatory value. Yet both these conclusions were deficient. The former certainly recognized the need for a change in the relationship between man and God, and the latter, too, recognized a change in man. But the Emphysis is now laid upon God's just indignation, and how it is by suffering that it is propitiated. Yet this is viewed wholly in a vicarious sense, and no vital organic connexion is traced between sin and suffering; it is merely said that the whole 'transaction' is wrought. The propitiation of sacrifices, then, was meted out to certain classes of sins, with which the prophets especially dealt; and for them the only remedy was for sinners to cast themselves upon God's mercy, when He Himself would cover their sins (Is. 65). Here the propitiation is effected not by any offering on man's part, but by some transaction within the being of the Divine. God's mercy prevails over His justice, so that His wrath is done away. But no hint is given that this victory of God's love or mercy is won at the sacrifice of His holiness in man's stead. Suffering is suggested that the self-surrender of the soul in repentance and prayer to God possesses an element of propitiation—'A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise' (Ps. 51). The old idea emerges into clearer consciousness when the intimate connexion between suffering and sin is recognized. Since sin is the cause of suffering, the thought inevitably arises that suffering may in turn have some propitiatory value. But the ethical note is not lost sight of. Thus it is essentially the sufferings of the righteous which are regarded as having expiatory value. This coupling of suffering with merit as having power, by vicarious means, or in a substitutionary sense, to propitiate God is witnessed to in the frequent OT. In the OT the ancient patriarchs and prophets, and reaches its culmination in the passage describing the Suffering Servant of Is 53. Yet even there the idea is not fully wrought out. It is simply stated that 'He pleased the Lord to make Him burdened with sin' (Is 53. 11). Thus is the process propitiation of sacrifices; and to the passive onlooker, who reaps the results, but who himself has no vital or active part in the transaction.

(b) A high hand or of purpose.—Just as the sense of personal guilt implies a new stage in the growth of the moral personality, so also does it lead to a higher conception of the divine nature and of the means of propitiation. The opposition between man's offense and God's wrath of God is uplifted from the physical and the aesthetic to the moral and the spiritual. Material sacrifices are felt to be no longer available to propitiate God. But the need for propitiation is even more urgent. It was this class of sins with which the prophets especially dealt; and for them the only remedy was for sinners to cast themselves upon God's mercy, when He Himself

would cover their sins (Is. 65). Here the propitiation is effected not by any offering on man's part, but by some transaction within the being of the Divine. God's mercy prevails over His justice, so that His wrath is done away. But no hint is given that this victory of God's love or mercy is won at the sacrifice of His holiness in man's stead. Suffering is suggested that the self-surrender of the soul in repentance and prayer to God possesses an element of propitiation—'A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise' (Ps. 51). The old idea emerges into clearer consciousness when the intimate connexion between suffering and sin is recognized. Since sin is the cause of suffering, the thought inevitably arises that suffering may in turn have some propitiatory value. But the ethical note is not lost sight of. Thus it is essentially the sufferings of the righteous which are regarded as having expiatory value. This coupling of suffering with merit as having power, by vicarious means, or in a substitutionary sense, to propitiate God is witnessed to in the frequent OT. In the OT the ancient patriarchs and prophets, and reaches its culmination in the passage describing the Suffering Servant of Is 53. Yet even there the idea is not fully wrought out. It is simply stated that 'He pleased the Lord to make Him burdened with sin' (Is 53. 11). Thus is the process propitiation of sacrifices; and to the passive onlooker, who reaps the results, but who himself has no vital or active part in the transaction.

3. In the NT.—It has been indicated how in the OT the idea of propitiation developed in its higher aspects along two different lines of thought: on the one hand, the consciousness of personal guilt led to the casting aside of material sacrifice and to the surrendering by the sinner of his soul to the mercy of God; on the other, the connexion between sin and suffering gave rise to the thought that suffering, and especially the suffering of the righteous, possessed a propitiatory value. Yet both these conclusions were deficient. The former certainly recognized the need for a change in the relationship between man and God, and the latter, too, recognized a change in man. But the Emphysis is now laid upon God's just indignation, and how it is by suffering that it is propitiated. Yet this is viewed wholly in a vicarious sense, and no vital organic connexion is traced between sin and suffering; it is merely said that 'all the transaction' is wrought. The propitiation of sacrifices, then, was meted out to certain classes of sins, with which the prophets especially dealt; and for them the only remedy was for sinners to cast themselves upon God's mercy, when He Himself would cover their sins (Is. 65). Here the propitiation is effected not by any offering on man's part, but by some transaction within the being of the Divine. God's mercy prevails over His justice, so that His wrath is done away. But no hint is given that this victory of God's love or mercy is won at the sacrifice of His holiness in man's stead. Suffering is suggested that the self-surrender of the soul in repentance and prayer to God possesses an element of propitiation—'A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise' (Ps. 51). The old idea emerges into clearer consciousness when the intimate connexion between suffering and sin is recognized. Since sin is the cause of suffering, the thought inevitably arises that suffering may in turn have some propitiatory value. But the ethical note is not lost sight of. Thus it is essentially the sufferings of the righteous which are regarded as having expiatory value. This coupling of suffering with merit as having power, by vicarious means, or in a substitutionary sense, to propitiate God is witnessed to in the frequent OT. In the OT the ancient patriarchs and prophets, and reaches its culmination in the passage describing the Suffering Servant of Is 53. Yet even there the idea is not fully wrought out. It is simply stated that 'He pleased the Lord to make Him burdened with sin' (Is 53. 11). Thus is the process propitiation of sacrifices; and to the passive onlooker, who reaps the results, but who himself has no vital or active part in the transaction.

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PROPITIATION (Introductory and Biblical)

(2) In 1 Jn 4:10, this idea is elaborated. The main thought of the verse is that Christ is God, and that to truly believe in God is fully to believe in Himself only when that love is completely exerted. But the realization of this divine love is checked by the presence of sin in all human existence, and the realization of love is always a function towards God (v. 5). Thus, though the situation or the occasion for propitiation is created by man, it is in God that the active situation is created. The propitiation proper is the result of man's use of this correspondence. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us; i.e., He has in fact created the situation, and correspondingly is the motive of the whole, as God as that God who feels Himself alienated from man. In the same way, it is not man, but God, who not only feels the need but also acts to change the situation. Here, then, is repeated the O.T. priestly idea of God's mercy or love 'atonning' or 'covering' the sins of His people. But it is to be noted that this is a different starting point. God's love for man permeates over His righteousness. This victory is effected at the cost of one, namely Christ. This is the only new idea, prominent in the teaching of St. John, and in many ways the dominant note of the NT, that the sending of Christ is not the gift of mercy to man, but a gift of mercy from man to God. This thought received from St. John far greater emphasis—exerts a propitiatory effect upon man, in that it shows forth, or expresses, that love which has been indeed the condition of the gift of mercy. Thus love is here laid upon the element of suffering in propitiation. According to the writer to the Epistle to the Hebrews (He 10:5-10) suffering is that 'atonement' which essentially is linked with the priestly appointment to his office (3:1) and 'at oneness' with His people (4:14). These two principles are the main lines on which Christ's appointment is ratified, and His identification with His people sealed, by the fact that He is 'made like unto His brethren, and does also suffer' (2:11). It is in virtue of His sufferings that Christ is qualified to make propitiation for the sins of His people. In this there is a correspondence with the thought of St. Paul. But the aim of the writer to Hebrews is now to develop this thought and show how Christ's sufferings produce this effect. The underlying idea is not that suffering in itself gives satisfaction to God. For what God supremely and ultimately desires is to 'bring many sons to glory' (He 2:10). That is, God is concerned to bring about a situation in which the presence of sin is not a hindrance to the presence of the divine love. This stands in the way of this perfection, and suffering is the only means by which it can be removed (2:14); hence, in this doctrine possessing in itself suffering is not only permitted but essential to the purpose of God. Again, since Christ's sufferings bring Him into greater intimacy with His brethren, they render them altogether more subject to render them greater help (2:19), suffering has the additional propitiatory effect upon God in that it further the attainment of the divine purpose. It is a part of Christian experience. It has been suggested that the view taken by the writer to Hebrews regarding Christ's sacrifice may be that its propitiatory value lies not in its suffering but in its obedience (cf. W. E. Paterson, HDB, s. v. 'Sacrifice', vol. iv, p. 245). Yet it is not necessary to place these two views in so sharp a contrast. In the interpretation of the writer to Hebrews, suffering and obedience both possess a propitiatory value, but in a different sense. The immediate purpose of suffering is not to please God. Its direct effect is (a) upon Christ, to teach Him obedience (cf. 2:5-9) and to make in Him the faithful high priest to righteously offer Himself (2:17). This confidence then passes into obedience; and in this way does Christ become the author of man's eternal salvation (5:9). Thus suffering is propitiatory only as a means; but obedience—the end towards which suffering is directed—is propitiatory in itself. It is immediately satisfied.

That this is the view of the writer to Hebrews regarding suffering is elaborated by his contrasting the pattern of the OT propitiation, Christ's sacrifice to sin. The class of sin for which Christ is the propitiator is described as a 'wicked' transgression—i.e., as a state of moral or spiritual unconformity (cf. 10:26). Because sin, then, while it offends God's holiness, does not offend His justice, He must be consoled by suffering, this suffering being as satisfying the divine wrath, the death, or the blood, of Christ, it being the death along the line of the OT Levitical sacrifices (cf. 8:5-7). His perfect love is directed to sprinkle men's hearts from an evil conscience and to wash them from the guilt of their sin (10:2). Christ's offering, He is pleased with. 'their sins and iniquities will He remember no more' (10:17). But just as, according to the Mosaic law, there were classes of sin for which expiation was required, so also, according to the writer to Hebrews, there is one especial sin for which not even Christ can atone, and that is wilful transgression after knowledge of the truth (cf. Lk 17:29), viz.

He 10:26. It is only when the unpardonable sin of rejecting Christ is committed, that the sacrifice is fully effective. But the suffering which this punishment involves, being not disciplinary but penal, in no way leads to any reconciliation with God. It is the perfect atonement for a sin which cannot be forgiven. Herein lies the reason why St. Paul uses the Greek word ἀνατέλλω instead of ἀποκτάμην. In further contrast to the writer to Hebrews, his aim is not so much to win men to accept Christ as the sacrifice as to show the necessity for that sacrifice on the nature of the God.

While the teaching of the writer to Hebrews concerning suffering is a great advance upon that of Isaiah in that it explains its educative value, it does not sufficiently make clear the divine aspect of suffering, as being a law imminent in the very character of God. But this, St. Paul's NT, is to show us the deep divine aspect of suffering as being, as he understands it, the very nature of God, who is to the divine nature, and merely imposed upon man to bring him to obedience. This defect, as is indicated above, is a consequence of the writer's failure to give up the view that sin was innate and consequent upon the fall of man (cf. Rom 1:24). Thus it is possible for God is to suffer suffering, and that suffering is a 'necessary evil' to man. This point is clearly shown in the offering made by Christ, and who, at no cost to His own nature, simply pardons or forgets the sins of His people. These sufferings of Christ, then, are in this place, he takes a more serious view of the nature of sin. It is not simply unconcealed, but a definitely moral disorder, and is connected with the sin of the world being put to death. It is because Jesus Christ is the setting forth or the declaration of the truth that He is the propitiation for our sins (Ro 3:24-25). Further, since God is the one who requires to be propitiated, and is both the provider and the offerer of the sacrifice, He is the one who possesses the personal suffering and the justificatory of the man who believes in, who accepts, or who appropriates that sacrifice as made on his own behalf.

4. Summary and conclusion.—The form of the idea of propitiation, from its appearance in early Jewish literature to its development in the NT is constant: God has been offended, and means must be found whereby His wrath may be appeased and His favour restored. It is in the content given to that form that the development takes place. Man seeks first to propitiate God by material offerings. To these, and especially to the blood-sacrifice, a symbolic meaning is afterwards attached, as representing the offering by man of his own life to God. A clearer understanding of the nature of sin then leads to the casting aside of material sacrifices and to the idea that God is pleased only with repentance and personal obedience (cf. Is 11:2-5). Side by side with this, the connexion between sin and suffering suggests the thought that suffering may possess in itself a propitiatory value. The NT, then, shows how man begins to realize that he is utterly unable of himself to make any offering sufficient to recover God's favour. Hence the idea emerges that God Himself must provide the sacrifice. But, if God is to provide the sacrifice, then the relationship of man to God in His nature which is the object of propitiation, is no longer simply the God of holiness, or the God of righteousness; but He partakes of the complex nature of a personality. Thus it is only in the aspect of his personality that God is propitiated, while another aspect or attribute provides the propitiation. But this in itself would
lead to nothing further than that God becomes reconciled to Himself. Yet it is in the interests of man that God’s love seeks to propitiate His righteousness; and therefore man must also be involved in the decision and determination. However, stand in the way of his inclusion. The first is that recompense must be given for his past sins; and the second is that, since man’s natural state is sinful, therefore there must be infused into him that divine life which alone can make him acceptable to God. The theories of St. John, of the writer to the Hebrews, and of St. Paul are all endeavours to show how in Jesus Christ these difficulties are met and overcome. St. Paul alone lays the stress on the first. The final suffering of Jesus Christ that the wrath of God, aroused by the sin of man, is appeased. St. John and the writer to the Hebrews deal principally with the second. According to St. John, God’s love, made manifest to man, appeases God’s love, and so induces him to lay open his heart to the inflow of the divine life. According to the writer to the Hebrews, suffering, borne in the spirit of and under the guidance of Jesus, is that which makes man perfect, the latter being the condition of St. Paul, and also gives consideration to this second difficulty. Faith is the contribution that man must bring before the process of propitiation is finally completed. It may thus be concluded that the propitiation made by Jesus Christ acts upon God and upon man. It acts upon man in that it is a revelation to him of the immensity of God’s wrath and of the intensity of His love. It thus wins him to draw near to God in reverence and humility, yet in faith, trusting in the efficacy of the sacrifice on his behalf. It acts upon God in that it satisfies His offended justice, and enables His love to go forth in all its fullness to the man who now has a share in the righteousness and life of Jesus Christ. Finally, just as the ‘appearing of wrath’ is only the first term in propitiation in order that ‘favour may be restored,’ so the ultimate end of Christ’s sacrifice is that God may be able to say of each of his children, ‘This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.’


C. M. KERR.

PROPITIATION (Greek).—The nature of divine anger, as conceived by the Greeks, has been considered in the art. EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Greek); the special rites for allaying the anger of the gods remain to be treated under the present heading. Briefly stated, calamities not easily traceable to human causes are referred to the gods —failure of the crops, plagues and diseases, childhood disease, disaster at sea, and defeat in battle—and when they occur, the anger of the gods is assumed. It is necessary first to remove the causes of divine anger, and then to propitiate the gods, as in the first book of the Iliad Clytemnestra must be returned to Aulis to appease the wrath of Apollo. A mule was offered to Apollo who had sent the plague. While the thought of possible anger and its propitiation was doubtless present in all worship, the proper sacrifices to an angry god were totally different from the homilean worship to the Olympian deities. The normal form of sacrifice was the communion meal, in which the animal was consecrated to the god, certain portions were burned on the altar, and the remainder was cooked and eaten by the worshipers. This form of sacrifice (thiasos) was frequently connectible with Homeric poems (e.g., II. ii. 421ff.), and with slight variations it was the typical form of worship to the greater gods of Greece. In sharp contrast with it is another type of sacrifice, called by a different name (seidyma; cf. Ill. x. 152f.), but equally efficacious and in character. Ordinarily it took place at night rather than in the morning; the animal prescribed was often black; when its throat was cut, the blood was allowed to flow on the ground; the altar was properly consecrated to Apollo and upon the intercession in ordinary sacrifice (pange) and the body of the animal was never eaten, but was usually entirely consumed by fire. Animals not suited for food, like the dog, were used for these sacrifices at times; but offerings of food as such, grain or cakes, found no place in them. These sacrifices, however, were not reduced to one definite type, but retained variations peculiar to the god to whom they were offered and the occasion of the sacrifice. An angry god or gods prone to anger differed from the Olympian deities, in that wine was regularly used for the latter but never for the former; honey and milk were the more fitting to soothe angry deities (mous). ‘

According to tradition in Greece, human sacrifice was at times demanded to soothe the anger of the gods. Agamemnon, who had offended Artemis by slaying a hind in her sacred precincts, was prevented from sailing for Troy till he had sacrificed to her. In like manner the death of Polyxena alone made it possible for the Greeks to start on their homeward voyage. A sacrifice of Egyptian youths was attributed to Menelaus as a means of stilling winds that prevented his voyage (Herod. ii. 191; cf. Esch. Agam. 146 f.); and it seems possible that seidyma offered in later times to secure favourable winds (cf. Plut. Ages. 6; Herod. vii. 191) were substitutes for human sacrifice. According to Plutarch (Aristid. 9, Them. 10), three captive Persians were sacrificed by Themistocles before the battle of Salamis. In myth similar sacrifices to secure success in battle were demanded by the oracle of Creon (Eur. Phan. 890 f.), of Erechtheus (Apoll. Ill. 11; cf. ii. 14), of Lycurgus (Aesch. Agam. iii. 5), and of other heroes. It is Greek tradition that the oracle at Delphi commanded human sacrifice on the occasion of pestilence to allay divine anger. Human sacrifice is also reported as part of the regular worship of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia, of Apollo Kastriathis in Lycia, and of Apollo at the Athenian Thargelia. The explanation given (Eus. Prop. Evang. iv. 16, p. 156f.; cf. Eur. Elef. 1026; Vir. Aen. v. 815) is that an anger of a god which threatens to destroy a whole people may perhaps be appeased by sacrifice, especially when there is a certainty of the number. The Greek practice, however, was to substitute an animal for the man, as a deer is said to have been substituted for Iphigenia (cf. the calf treated like a child and sacrificed to Diana). The gods who received propitiatory sacrifice regularly were not the Olympian deities, but spirits who had shown their anger or who were easily stirred to anger. Such were the Eumaeides at Ithaca, the Callimachides at Athens, and the Leukias at Chios. A form of word to denote the blessings which the Furies might send when propitiated (cf. Aesch. Eumen., passim); the θεῖοι μελέται of Myonia (Paus. x. xxxvii. 4). Hecate, goddess of spirits of the night, the winds and in particular Boeotia, the north wind (Paus. xii. 1); Xen. Anab. vi. 4;
PROPITIATION (Roman)

The life of the animal was given to the god, sometimes clearly as a substitute for the life of the man, in the hope that thus divine anger might be allayed. It is the peculiarity of Greek religion that ordinarily men feared the anger of other than the Olympian gods, and that therefore propitiation or sacrifice to the great gods of Greece was unusual.

PROPITIATION (Roman)—If we accept the definition of religion as an 'effective desire to be in right relation to the Power manifesting itself in the universe' (W. Warde Fowler, Religious Experience of the Roman People, p. 8), propitiation in its widest sense is co-extensive with religion. Every utterance of prayer and every act of sacrifice, as being religious, is necessarily propitiatory. But it is unnecessary to make this the occasion for a general survey of the Roman attitude towards religion, more especially since the ambition of propitiatory religion is apparently conditioned by the position of an offended deity, as distinguished from the effort to secure a continuance of divine good-will. On the other hand, propitiation is a religious act which assumes the personal intervention of a deity, and has nothing to do with the objects and methods of tabu or magic. Thus, certain ceremonial practices of which we have a record from historical times may be survivals from an era ante-cedent to the development of the national religion. Horace's trieste bidetont (Ars Poet. 471), the walled enclosure presiding ingress to the spot where a thunderbolt had fallen, is an example of a permanent tabu not associated with any particular cult. But a definite act of propitiation is involved in the sacrifice of two black lambs to Summanus by the Arval Brethren, which took place whenever the grove of the Dea Dia was struck by lightning at night (W. Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium, Berlin, 1874, p. 146). For Summanus, though an obscure personality (Ov. Post. vi. 731), was associated with Jupiter and his thunderbolt, and his name appears occasionally as an epithet of that god (G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, p. 124, n. 4). Another example may be quoted to show the difficulty of tracing the history of this act of propitiation. A mysterious rite of the 14th of May, on which day 27 straw puppets known as argi were thrown into the Tiber from the portus sublicius, is sometimes interpreted as a magical ceremony whose chief intention was to serve as a spell ensuring an adequate rainfall in the coming summer (Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 119). In that case it would be unnecessary to suppose that any deity was specially concerned with it. Much the same may be said of the rite of the lapis maquilis, which is nowhere definitely associated with Jupiter or his thunderbolt, but the above-mentioned explanation of the argi is not generally accepted, and an alternative view treats the puppets as substitutes for human victims, holding that on some occasion of stress during the 3rd cent. B.C. a peculiar sacrifice of foreigners (Argioli) was introduced on the advice of a Sibylline oracle (Wissowa, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, p. 258). We should then be in possession of a parallel to the otherwise isolated sacrificial rite of two men and two women, who were buried alive in the forum boarium in the year 216 (Livy, xxii. 171). A few examples of propitiatory rites which go back to the oldest stage of the native religion may now be mentioned.

PROPITIATION (Roman)

On the 25th of April, in order to remove from the crops the danger caused by the gnawing of rodents, a procession was held, accompanied by the歌声 of Rubipes near the fifth milestone on the Via Claudia, and a dog was sacrificed by the Flamen Quirinital (Ov. Fast. iv. 960 ff.). An extraordinary festival took place on the 17th of April at the Temple of Isis at Alexandria, where a pregnant woman (foris bona) were sacrificed to Tellus as well as to Isis, as a sign of the fertility of the land (Wissowa, Etrusc. Religion, p. 217). Volcanus, the god of fire, had his special festival on the 23rd of August at the time when it was considered to be particularly safe to smelt iron for the new grain. The antiquity of his cult is shown by the existence of the festival (Livy, vii. 7), but, beyond the appearance of the Volcanalia in the calendar, very little is known about it. Domician probably followed an ancient precedent when, in erecting a temple to Volcanus, the divinity got a male and a female, Faunus and Fauna, Liber and Libera, Quirinus and Roma, and that there were grades of dignity among them, as is shown not only by the distinction between flamines maiores and minores, but also by the fact that peculiar offerings were made to the flami diui as well as to the diui themselves (Wissowa, Religion und Kultur, p. 19). Even the great gods of the city, Mars, Jupiter, and Quirinus, being disconnected from any traditional mythology, were, as originally worshipped, devoid of any personal characteristics (E. Aus, Religion der Römer, Münster, 1899, p. 19). Thus propitiation was only in a limited sense possible for the Romans, who, apart from Etruscan and Greek influences, had no conception of any personal god. Varro (August. de Civ. Dit. iv. 23) made a very instructive comment on the spirit of the old Roman religion when he stated the remarkable fact that for a period of 170 years, that is, up to the time of the building of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the old Romans worshipped the gods without making images of them, and added that the man who first made such images for the people not only destroyed the fear of God, but introduced a source of distraction.

Whatever possibilities of spiritual growth lay in the recurring festivals of the old agricultural communities were conducted in a particular direction by the rapid development of the city-State and the increasing influence of the priestly colleges. The general tendency of Roman religion to place every department of human life under the protection of a separate numen, which is displayed in its most conspicuous form in the pontifical classifications of the Romuini, Triumphalia, and the practical and utilitarian outlook of the average Roman, who desired to settle his relations to the gods upon fixed and definite terms, combined to produce that rigid formalism which made the ius divisorum and the State ceremonies accepted to adapt the poz decorum upon every possible contingency. It has been succinctly stated that the general object of the Roman festivals was so to propitiate the gods as to forestall any hostile intention by presenting a regular and under an obligation (C. Bailey, in EB xi. xxiii. 578). It was the interest of the State to see that its concord with the gods remained unbroken. This purpose was secured in particular by the periodical observance of iustrations, which both served to purify their object from all contact with human impurity and to ensure renewal of divine protection against the danger of foreign incursion. The illustration was accomplished by symbolic acts of cleansing with water or fire, or by a procession conducting the sacrificial victim round the area which required purification. The former method was observed at the Parilia (Prop. iv. 4. 355 ff.), the latter at the Ambarmalia (Cato, de Rust. 141; Verg. Georg. i. 343 ff.), and both together at the Lupercalia (Plut. Rom. 21).

Besides these annual celebrations, illustration was also used on special days in the invasion of an enemy's territory or the departure of a fleet. Above all, it became necessary when special notice had been received by means of extraordinary portents that the poz decorum had been broken and the anger of the gods incurred. Among these signs were thunder and lightning, solar eclipses, showers of stones and of blood, and monstrous births, all of which are frequently recorded in the pages of Livy (e.g., xxii. i.). On the announce- ment of an uncleanly day, the first duty of the senate was to determine whether the report was trustworthy, and, if so, whether the event had happened within the limits of the public jurisdiction (cf. Livy, xlviii. xiii.). If these questions were answered in the negative, the religious duty fell to the consuls, who would take the advice of the sacerdotal authorities so far as might be necessary. Before the innovations consequent upon the introduction of the ritus Graecus, the emphasis was upon the illustration of the usual "animalorum" (Lucan, i. 592 ff.), i.e., an additional celebration of the amburbiun annually held on the 2nd of February (Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1817). Old-established tradition required that the portent of a shower of stones should be purged by a nonnullum sacrificium (Livy, i. xxxii. 4). The introduction of the ritus Graecus at the suggestion of the Sibyline oracles prepared the way for the employment of new methods in the placation of divine disfavour. The most remarkable of these was the lestistesiron, or the Sibyl's censer, the use of which was occasioned by the appearance of the six Greek gods, Apollo and Latona, Heracles and Diana, Mercurius and Neptunus, in some public place (Livy, xiv. lix. 7) by serving a banquet before the images, each of which reclined upon his couch, and was followed by the representation of the secular games, as recorded by Livy that the first institution was due to a severe pestilence in the year 399 (v. xiii. 6). After the disaster at Tarsimine in 217, when the altogether exceptional consecration of a mercuriam was vowed, a lestistesiron of unusual magnificence was celebrated in honour of six pairs of deities who were identical with the twelve great Olympian gods of Greece (Livy, xxxii. x). Another method adopted for restoring the poz decorum in times of national crisis was the supplicatio. On such occasions the senate had always been accustomed to decree extraordinary fere, during which the people, clad in suitable garb, passed from temple to temple imploring the assistance of heaven (Livy, iii. v. 14, vii. 7). But the systematic institution of the grandest and most magnificent of the ritus Graecus, as is shown by the regular mention of pulbinaria, by the fact that it was usually the result of an application to the Sibyline books, and by the responsibility for its administration being given to the confiding senator, was a development of the ritual-practice (cf. Religion und Kultur, p. 358). Among the details of the celebration may be mentioned the wearing of wreaths and the carrying of laurel branches by the participants (Livy, xli. xxxviii. 14, etc.), the solemn invocation of help (obsecratio), a chant led by the magistrates and repeated by the people,
was the climax of the whole proceedings (IV. xxii. 5).

The portrait of a monstrous birth at Praesina in the year 207 was placed under a commission of enquiry, which, as required, was to make an accurate and exact record of the case. A second commission was appointed, whose business it was to decide on the validity of the Dioscuri, and to establish the rights of the cause. The business of the commission was to be conducted with the utmost care, and every precaution was taken to ensure the accuracy of the report. The commission was to be composed of two members, and was to be attended by the consul, who was to be the chairman. Behind the masts were carried two images of Juno Regina, made of cypress wood, and hung up in the temple of Castor and Pollux, while the masts, all holding to a rope which passed from hand to hand, sang a hymn composed for the occasion by Livius Andronicus, and accompanied their singing with appropriate dances (Liv. xxvi. xxxvii. 7-15). The Greek origin of this rite, which in certain of its details is identical with the ceremonies venerated in Morocco, is a matter of speculation (H. Diels, Sybilinische Blätter, Berlin, 1880, p. 89 ff.).

The various modes of restoring the former good-will of the gods which have been enumerated are often described as piacular—a nomenclature which was sometimes adopted even by the Latin authorities (Liv. xl. xxxvii. 2). But, according to the strictest acceptance of the term, a piacular is not a prayer for divine protection or renewed favour, but a compensation rendered in reparation of an offence. Thus the pious offering of the ius sacrum, arising out of a fault either of commission or of omission (Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, p. 329). Every sacred ordinance had to be carried out with the utmost precision and accuracy, and even the slightest irregularity in the ritual proceedings was sufficient to make the piacular offering of little or no effect. It was therefore necessary to purify the celebrant from the effects of any offence which might have been previously committed by him in the performance of the funeral rites of any member of his household (Aul. Gv. iv. 32). The object of the contract was to give a claim for compensation (postllo [Cic. de Har. Resp. 20]) to the gods whose interests were involved. The occurrence of a portent was a notification to the citizens that the claim must be made good. It followed as a matter of course that the celebration of the rite where even a slight irregularity had occurred became null and void, and it was essential that the whole of it should be repeated. Hence Cicero remarks in his oration in Magnesian:

1. If a dancer halts, or a flute-player suddenly stops, or if the carefully selected youth who drives the sacred car slips from his seat or drops the reins, or if an aedile misses a word or uses the wrong hymn, even the whole procession becomes irregular, the mistake must be expiated, and a renewal is necessary in the matter of sacrifices (Aul. Har. Resp. 25).

The same circumstances caused Plutarch to marvel at the scrupulousness of Roman piety:

2. If one of the horses that draw the chariots in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty seven times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it (Plut. Cato. 25).

But the public renewal did not exonerate the individual whose fault had made it necessary. If his sin was wilful, he became impious, and the favour which he had forfeited could not be restored to him (Varro, de Ling. Lat. vi. 30). If the act was involuntary, or for little well-intentioned indulging an inevitable need, it could be expiated by an appropriate offering, as when the sacrifice of a dog was prescribed as compensation for the performance of pressing agricultural duties during feriae (Cic. de Nat. Deor. iv. 38). But the whole ceremony was generally fixed by precedent; but all cases of doubt were referred to the pontiffs for decision (Liv. xxix. xii. 9). In this connexion it may be remarked that there was a noticeable tendency to act upon liberality in the matter of sacrifices required for expiatory purposes. Thus the complete offering of suovetaurilia was reserved for lustrations (Tace. Ann. vi. 37, Hist. iv. 53), whereas in the expiation of prodigies hostia maiores were the rule, and often in considerable numbers (Liv. Xlix. xii. 7, xxii. 7; 7). In the case of the failure of an ordinary agricultural undertaking, the second portent, from which kind as the first was required as a piacular (hostia succedanea [Aul. Gell. iv. vi. 6]).


A. C. Pearson.

PROSELYTE, PROSELYTISM.—1. Meaning of term.—The term ‘proselyte’ is usually employed in both a wider and a narrower sense to include all who is attracted by, and inclines less or more to, another form of faith, as well as one who has altogether come over and been incorporated. The half-proselyte, or the quasi-proselyte, who accepts a part but not the who, is to be distinguished from the full and strict proselyte, who becomes a convert and is born in the new religion. A comprehensive use of the term is recognized by A. C. Lyall: 1

1. . . if the word proselyte may be used in the sense of one who has come, and who has been readily admitted, not necessarily being that has been invited or persuaded to come.

This permits consideration of specific forms of religion whose growth is by agglomeration over and above extension by missionary zeal, and the inclusion of religions non-proselytizing in character as well as those which are admittedly proselytizing.

2. Scope of article.—The scope of this article is restricted by leaving out account religions that are professedly missionary—e.g., Christianity and Muhammadanism, which have been already treated (see arts. Missions). The proselytism of sects may also be omitted as falling to be dealt with in the numerous articles under this head (see art. Sects.). Inasmuch as the gain resulting from missionary propaganda is concurrent with loss to the religion or religions forsaken, the converse of proselytism is to be found in apostasy (see art. Apostasy).

In this way it is possible to narrow down consideration of the subject to nearly the usual limit of articles on ‘Proselyte appearing in Bible dictionary, who have treated the subject solely as the feature of the Jewish faith. At the same time it is fully recognized that the religion which has given the name (proselyte) to the world has not stood alone in the practice of the thing. Within Judaism itself the period of missionary activity, during which proselytes were sought and found, is comparatively short. It is generally recognized as having ended in the beginning of the 2nd cent. after Christ, when the Jews were forbidden by the laws of Rome to make proselytes, and when they also ceased to desire additions to their number and retreated more and more upon themselves. The rise of proselytism is found in post-Exile influences, particularly the Dispersion, and the period of its bloom is set in the age of Helenism.

A great deal of our information regarding proselytes is subsequent to this period of activity, being stored in the Talmud and reflecting the views of the Rabbis upon the past, with or without historical basis, as one born in the tradition of the high covenant righteousness and ‘proselytes of the gate,’ full as opposed to quasi-proselytes, was evolved by the later Rabbis, but is to be regarded as without

2. I. Philo, de Parn. 2, where proselytes are contrasted with apostates.
meaning for the life of the past. The distinction may be still binding upon the orthodox of the Jewish faith (see art. JUDAISM, vol. vii. p. 592); cf. vol. iv. p. 245)—although for various reasons the proselytes of the gate have ceased to be recognized, and until recently it was an admission of acceptance with most Biblical scholars. To E. Schürer belongs the credit for the discovery of the right historical perspective in this matter. With the fall of such a main prop the greater part of the superstructure collapses. Proselytes of the gate, once employed as a "convenient anachronism," is now dismissed as a "misnomer."44

44 In view of the restrictions imposed both from without (chiefly on account of persecution) and from within (because of insistence upon circumcision) proselytism might be regarded as almost non-existent in Judaism throughout the Christian era from the 2nd cent. onwards. A modern Jewish writer has collected the evidence for the survival of proselytism in spite of adverse circumstances, and he affirms that in the last two and a half centuries tens of thousands of proselytes have entered the Jewish fold, notwithstanding the laissez-faire attitude of modern Judaism towards the proselyte question.6 The strict adherence to the laws as required from those converted may be judged from the fact that until the last decade of the 19th cent. no official sanction was given to relaxing the bond by which the proselyte was fully initiated to the Jewish (Reformed) faith (see art. CIRCUMCISION, vol. iii. p. 664). It is only in a wider sense, therefore, that proselytes have been added. Intermarriage has accounted for most of the gains, yet has given occasion for some losses.7

3. Materials essential for the study.—Although the term "proselyte" is more universally employed, we shall use interchangeably the material essential for the study of proselytism in the centuries immediately preceding and following the coming of Christ to earth. An introduction is generally found in a discussion of the position of the gentile, the "stranger," or rather the "novice," in relation to the gentile (ERE vi. 77) of OT. The LXX reproduces this word some 75 times by προσελκυόμενος, and in a few cases by other Greek substantives, but a detailed examination of all passages would fail to disclose a scientific distinction of the ideas and results which might in any way be compared with the results yielded by the modern documentary theory. The term προσελκυόμενος seems to have been already so familiar to the LXX translators that it was made by them to do duty for nearly all occasions, even when the current sense of the term failed to suit past historical circumstances (e.g., the Israelites are called προσελκυόμενοι in Egypt).8 Commenting on the difference between D and P regarding the γέρ, S. R. Driver states:

"In π the term is already on the way to assume the later technical sense of προσελκυόμενος, the foreigner who, being circumcised and observant of the law generally, is in full religious communion with Israel."9

W. C. Allen concludes10 that in the LXX a later meaning like that of the Mishna was read into the word. But even if that be the case when it is not so evident that the word προσελκυόμενος was made to do duty for most cases, and it seems better to regard the LXX usage as on the whole dictated by the freer conditions of the Hellenistic period, when proselytes were recognized in both the wider and the narrower sense. The usage of Philo, Josephus, and NT (Acts) will be found to accord with this. The designation "half- or quasi-proselytes" is now employed by the phrase φασάλαμες or σφαλαμείς τὸν δῆμον (Ac 10:27 13:18 26:6 11:16 17:2 18:3), in which opinion he stands opposed to Berthelet, who endeavours to prove at length that they are equal to "proselytes of the gate" in the narrower sense. Apart from the question of a specific term for each, we may admit the existence of two main classes, and we then find the crucial difference to be that the one class adhered to the Jewish theological and moral ideal, while the other was bound by the ritual also, in particular having submitted themselves to circumcision.3 It is conceivable, indeed, that there were not two but many kinds of proselytes, according to the degree of root and the amount conceded to the Jewish party or required by the other. In the provinces and among the Jews of the Dispersion the proselytes, or quasi-proselytes, would have laboured under slight disability, but in Jerusalem within the Temple precincts they would have had the same privileges as full citizens. The Greeks of Jn 129, e.g., seem to have been proselytes in the wider sense, yet they had to stand without the κήρυ, or terrace, like other Gentiles (cf. Ac 2196).4 It is not to be supposed that at the very centre of the faith born Jews would have stopped short at any intermediate stage in their efforts to make proselytes, yet in general their own position among the nations was such that they had to content themselves with what they were able to secure.2 That the Jews of the Judaisms before the time of St. Paul is not to be denied; even Hellenized Jews remained Hebrews, with a zeal for the whole law.5 Yet in the main there was a cleavage between Palestinian Judaism, a religion of law, and Hellenistic Judaism, a religion of hope and, corresponding thereto, there were particularists v. universalists, legalists v. apocalyptists, literalists v. spiritualists.7 The atmosphere of Mt 238 is suggestive of the one, and of Acts (see ref. above) of the other. A way of reconciling the two by a suitable interpretation of the word is suggested by the verse in John supposing that the proselyte of Mt 2310 is a proselyte to the sect of the Pharisees, not to Judaism in general;12 but this is against the meaning of the word προσελκυόμενος, or at least is pressing it to an extreme.

The rivalry of the Jewish sects of the period has indeed to be reckoned with, and even the exclusive and separatist Pharisees must be credited with a zeal to win converts, who, it is true, had to come over wholly or not at all. The Essenes secured proselytes notwithstanding a strict and prolonged novitiate, and they even adopted children to ensure additions to their number (see art. ESSENES, vol. v. p. 397 f.). For the methods employed by the sects in order to gain adherents there is no direct information, but it is probable that they correspond in general to the propaganda of Judaism as a whole. The testimony of Josephus as to the outcome of

1 E. Schürer, GJV iii. 127 ff.
3 J. B. Lightfoot, Galileans, London, 1876, p. 296 n.
5 G. A. Schramm, p. 1014.
11 Ehril, p. 432-343.
13 Relative to the term "Jews of the Dispersion." See ref. (c).
15 The term proselyte is used of Gentiles and Jewish converts in the first century. A. Schenkl, Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu dem Fremden, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1906, p. 200; Schürer, P. S.
17 The term προσελκυόμενος is used of Gentiles and Jewish converts in the first century. A. Schenkl, Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu dem Fremden, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1906, p. 200; Schürer, P. S.
18 Deuteronomy (TOC), Edinburgh, 1896, p. 165.
19 Æx x. (1894) 204-275.
20 Vol. x. 24-26."

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such efforts is clear, while beneath the contempt in the allusions of classical writers to the Jews we can detect the measure of their success in making converts. This, it must be remembered, was accomplished in spite of the obloquy to which the convert exposed himself—a point elaborated by Philo. During the short period during the Maccabean triumph, when force was employed to bring over the Idumeans and Ituræans to Judaism, the propaganda made headway through the inherent merits of the Jewish system of religion and the administration of its laws. The Maccabean triumph permitted both Greeks and heathen learned to copy the observance of the Sabbath, fasts, kindling of lights, and many restrictions in the matter of food. These last invite comparison with certain of the decrees of the Council of the Apostles in Jerusalem (A.D. 15) and with the 'Seven Noachian Laws' (see art. NOAChIAN PRECEPTS, vol. ix. p. 379), but in neither case can identity be established. None of the items specified by Josephus touches the vital point, which is circumcision, and the conclusion to be drawn is that the adherents proceeded to the utmost. The preponderance of female proselytes is taken to indicate the unwillingness of males to fulfil all that the law required of them. According to the Talmud, three things were required of the full proselyte: (1) circumcision (mitâh), (2) baptism (têbîâh), and (3) sacrificial offering (hârèsh'âth, dûmîn, bôrâbîn), all of which may be taken to have been in operation at the time of Christ. (2) fell into disuse with the destruction of the Temple, although substitutes for it were found. (1) has already been referred to as essential at all times for full proselytes. (2) would have passed un questioned as a requirement among the Maccabean law but for the dispute which arose in the 18th cent. regarding the priority of Christian v. Jewish baptism (see art. BAPTISM, vol. ii. pp. 378, 408 f.). It may be assumed that the instruction of proselytes was a necessary preliminary to those ceremonial acts (see art. CATECHUMEN, vol. iii. p. 256, n. 3; INITIATION [Jewish], vol. vii. p. 524; HILIELE, vol. vi. p. 638).

4. Historical sketch. The limits of the period of the Maccabean triumph in Judaism have already been assigned. The Rabbis afterwards maintained that the Dispersion was with a view to securing proselytes, but the truth is rather that in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Dispersion the Jews first gained the incentive to add to the number of the faithful, 'the evidence for the existence of proselytes among the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt (5th cent. B.C.) is doubtful.' The nature of the records prevents us drawing any conclusion as to the conditions among the Jews in Babylonia at the time of Ezra. During the period of Hellenistic influence the development of proselytism was rapid, the influence of Jewish colonists and their synagogue worship in every place being supplemented by literary aids of many kinds: the LXX, the Targums, the Tannaitic midrashim, the commentaries of the Mishna and more especially the Talmud, philosophical and historical books, apologetics and even forgeries under the manner of the Sibylline Books. The issue of this all is plainly to be seen in the many cities and towns in which proselytes are expressly mentioned as being found (see ref. to Acts already given). At the time of Christ a keen missionary spirit prevailed among the Jews, their trading proclivities going hand in hand with religious propaganda. Until the destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70) they persevered in their efforts to extend their religious influence. While the Marcion persecution, and the bitterness engendered by the subsequent revolt against Rome, the Rabbis were prompted to change their attitude towards the outside world, and henceforth the terms of conversion were made more flexible, but the proposal may be said to close with the prevalence of Gentile over Judaistic Christianity, or, from another point of view, when Pharisaism conquered Hellenism.

5. Numbers and outstanding instances. The number of proselytes made during the centuries of missionary zeal was doubtless very large—amounting to millions, though there is reason to believe that they were mostly adherents, and not members in the proper sense. Syria appears to have been the most fruitful field, but it was in Jerusalem at the time of the feasts that the most striking testimony to theuperiority and need of Jewish propaganda could be obtained (Ac 9:29-31).

Outstanding proselytes in the wider sense are to be recognized in the centurions of Lk 7:2 and Ac 10:26 and the eunuch of Ac 8:27-40. The most complete triumph of Judaism is to be seen in the conversion of the royal house of Abiabene, the story of which is instructive as revealing a temporizing spirit among the leading Jews of the time on the question of the chief ceremonial requirement. Among the imperial family there have been reckoned as converts Flavins Clemens, cousin of Domitian, and his wife Flavia Domitilla (see art. JUDAISM, vol. vii. p. 592), although most authorities incline to regard them as converts to Christianity. A historical instance, which might be brought within the Rabbinical category of 'Esthère proselytes (whose motive in conversion was fear), is forthcoming in the Roman general Metellus. Instances within the department of literature are Aquila (Onkelos), the LXX, and the Scripture translations of Aramaic and (especially) Talmudic. Within the realm of Rabbinism are R. Akiba, R. Meir (son of a proselyte), and other Talmudic sages.

6. The ethics of proselytism. In judging of the motives which led the Jews to seek for proselytes during the period of their missionary zeal we must believe that they were actuated chiefly by a desire to impart to others that best form of religion which they felt they had received of God. This serves to explain their keenness as missionaries. The agents whom they sent forth to make proselytes were imbued with the same earnestness to convert the world as were the first Christian apostles. Their propaganda succeeded, they believed, because of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and their new-found power to accommodate themselves so far to those whom they sought to win as to present first the most attractive features of their faith, as judged from the outside, they steadily kept in view the ultimate purposes of their mission to bring the world, in whose hands they found themselves, filled with a zeal for the whole law and willing to make sacrifice of themselves in body to the noblest service of mankind.
and estate. Being of a subject race and in a hopeless minority among the nations, they were under no temptation to employ violent methods. The proselytes when made were, in theory at least, subject to no disability, save that which must ever attach to the naturalized as compared with the native born. In actual life and practice disabilities must have existed, although these are not brought to light until Talmudic times, when they may no longer have been operative.

It cannot be supposed that there were not disinterested motives present in the seekers any more than in the sought. The gifts of the converts helped to swell the riches of the Temple, and Josephus openly allows an instance of misappropriation by a Jew and his accomplices of purple and gold made over for this purpose by Fulvia, a Roman convert of great dignity. In other ways the Jews doubtless invited others to follow them ostensibly for their soul's good, yet with an actual view to the material advantage to be reaped by themselves and their nation.

Those who were the sought were for the most part in a position to invite themselves, if they felt thus disposed. They were Roman citizens, or under some of the conditions of the conquering power that time, or else were inheritors of the professedly superior culture of the Graeco-Roman world. Yet many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves to Jewish influence, abandoning the gods in whom they had placed their hope, and submitting to the higher morality of Judaism, or refuge from the heentious spirit of the age. The latter motive is said to have had special weight with heathen women. The monotheism and moral purity of Judaism had a powerful attraction for minds of a philosophic cast in every province. Considering the obloquy to which the converts were exposed, and the persecution of a later day, which led many to profess the Jewish faith in secret, proselytism must have been attended by a greater or less measure of conviction. Josephus admits that not all who came over continued in the faith; some had not courage and departed. Yet the vast majority of devout Gentiles certainly sought in the synagogue nothing but the true God.

Of course, the proselyte to certain unworthy exceptions must be allowed for, viz. those who came over to avoid military service (from which the Jews were exempt), those who were actuated by superstitions motives, and those who were led by a commercial privilege or social advantage through marriage with a noble or wealthy Jewess.

The judgment of the outside world upon the proselyte movement, as conveyed by classical writers (red. above), counts for little. The most grievous charge they make, viz. atheism, has no foundation, nor yet has the scoffing dictum of Seneca: 'Victi victoribus leges deducerunt.' The references in NT are favourable to proselytes, with the single exception of Mt 23: 25, which after all is more a condemnation of the leaders than of the followers, and that perhaps within a sect only.

The most abundant materials for forming a judgment on the ethical value of the proselyte appear to be found in Talmudic literature, but their worth is discounted by the fact that these are often contradictory (e.g., stories of Hillel v. Shammah), that they were evolved apart from actual historical conditions, and that in the main they are disparaging.

They 'chiefly serve to illustrate the strong animus which a large section of post-Christian Jews displayed against proselytism.'

The judgment of the present day is determined according as one belongs to a religion which considers proselytism, in the modern sense, to be an essential and a sacred duty, or to a religion, such as the Jewish, which reckons that the fulfilment of this mission does not require the support of numbers.

Christian opinion is largely moulded by a sense of indebtedness to proselytes, for they, in the wider acceptance, were the founders of Christianity at its beginning. By this standard of judgment the 'God's own,' regarded as proselytes, are superior to those—their number relatively few—who became punctilious in observing all the ceremonial requirements of the law. In the case of these the saying, 'the more converted the more perverted,' may well have been true. Proselytes in the strict sense formed no link between Jew and Gentile, and did not prepare the way for Christianity.

All that legal Judaism achieved over against Christianity, which came after, has been, with only some summing up by Stopford A. Brooke thus:

'A few swallows do not make a summer, nor a few thousand proselytes a regenerated world.'

Modern Judaism is concerned to clear itself of this reputation by its own right, and assert that the Jewish religion is, and has ever been, hostile to the reception of proselytes. It points to past successes in this respect, to the debt which Christianity owes to Judaism for providing it with universal sympathy, and it further maintains that willing proselytes are still freely received, once their good faith has been proved. But the missionary zeal has departed from Judaism, and indifference as to numbers prevails. How great the change is between the present and the era of proselytism, which has been considered, appears to be reflected in the following condemnation of the missionary methods of Christianity and Muhammadanism:

'The history and experience teach us that the proselytizing spirit, which enables a Church after universally, generally to engender a tendency which develops into an indirect negative of the human heart, or barrenness of churchmanship.' To the Moslem as to the Christian, questions of heredity and community were left to the spread of their religion; the stranger could only become their brother through the consent of his implanted faith.

While remitting nothing from the duty to strengthen the confidence of Christians over against the world as still lying in unbelief, the apologist for Christianity is free to admit the presence and operation of an objectionable proselytism, whose root is found in particularism, not universalism.

A judicial estimate of the principles and methods governing Christian and Muhammadan propaganda will be found in art. Missions, vol. vii. pp. 743 ff., 748 ff.

LITERATURE.—E.R.E., art. 'Judaism;' (H. Loewe) and other art. quoted above; art. s.a. in HDB, (F. C. Porter), SDB (J. Churcoa), Hist, (W. H. Bennett), FREE (E. von Dobschutz), EUR (L. Alter), and the JEB (O. C. MacCulloucher) in the presented form in the spread of their religion; the stranger could only become their brother through the consent of his implanted faith.

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PROSTITUTION

Greek (W. J. WOODHOUSE), p. 404.

PROSTITUTION (Greek).—The Greeks had but little notion of moral purity in the modern sense of the term. The virtue of chastity with them was confined within very narrow limits,1 being obligatory upon the wife (or daughter), while the husband (or son) was required only to refrain from adultery. But the husband was in the family rights of his neighbour. The husband's honour was fully protected by law, but the wife had no legal remedy against her husband's irregularities;2 nor did public opinion, capricious and ineffective at best, supplement the law's deficiencies, except in cases of gross neglect and transgressions of the forms of respectability.3 Morally, according to the opinion of the day, this sort of indulgence was upon exactly the same plane as any other satisfaction of appetite. The question was one simply of more or less. Self-control, if borne itself carried to undue lengths, was, it is true, something to be admired, and by common consent must be a main element in that careful and worldly-wise balancing of competing desires to which Greek thought paid so much attention and to which the art of correct living (cf. the saying μήδεν δύνατον)4.

The philosophers themselves took no higher ground than this (see, e.g., Socrates in Xen. Mem. i. 36; 37, and Sympos. iv. 58, where he lays down the rule with his accustomed crudeness and simplicity). Even Plato practically goes no farther than to say that a wise man will attach no great value to these particulars (cf. Plato, Protag. 324 E). However, the opposite extreme, to which the Athenians very naturally resorted, would so far consult the weakness of the flesh as to allow promiscuous intercourse to both sexes when past the age for rearing children for the State—always provided that incest be avoided, and that no child be born of such unions (Rep. 401 B: ἐνότατον δὴ ὁ παῖς, αὐτὸς τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν ἄνδρων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀτέστατον τὴν ἤλευσιν, ἀφήμονον περίκλης αὐτὸν συγγενήτευσιν ἢ ἐξ ἀνδρόν, ήτοι). In the Laws he hopes to be able to restrict such intercourse to persons legally married, or at least to enforce a regulation that in other cases it shall be covered with a double veil of secrecy (Laws, 514). Aristotle is of the same mind (Pol. 1266 a 34, 35). For, in his own words, the family is, and must be, the bulwark of the state. In this respect there was no difference between the Athenian family of the natural (Xen. Mem. iii. 5. 1) and the unnatural (cf. Aristotle, Pol. iv. 1265 b 24). This, however, is too much to say of the Tarsian married women (Xen. Mem. iv. 1. 44), who are allowed to be purchased, and were not bound to remain in the same household.5

In this matter, then, the Greeks are to be pronounced not so much immoral as non-moral. Their practice was due to the social conditions with which they regarded the facts of life and human nature. There were few facts of human nature for which they felt it necessary to apologize. In a very literal sense they were naked and not ashamed. Not that they interpreted life simply in terms of animalism, though there were among them also plenty of men to whom bodily indulgence was the sole end or the chief end of life; for the average man, as for the better sort also, it meant just the sober exercise of natural faculties and the moderate enjoyment of natural pleasures. Taken in the mass, the Greeks were probably just as far from being sensualists as from being ascetics. Aristotle's somewhat mechanical doctrine of virtue as a meant expressed in a deeply-rooted instinct of the race.

1 This is so in Homer also, where Odyssey's hangs his inconstant handmaids simply on the ground that their unchastity has dishonoured his family (Od. xxii. 450: ι δαίμων ἀπαράμετρος: and 454: ἐνότατον δὲ ὁ παῖς, αὐτὸς τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν ἄνδρων τῶν γυναικῶν ἀτέστατον τὴν ἤλευσιν, ἀφήμονον περίκλης αὐτὸν συγγενήτευσιν ἢ ἐξ ἀνδρόν, ήτοι). See also Aristotle, Pol. 1266 a 34, 35.
2 E.g., the case of Alcibiades (Aphrod. iv. 14: οὕτως ἀλκibiάδης ὡσαμένος ἀτέστατος ἐστιν κακοτέρας, καὶ διόπλως καὶ λέγεται, αὐτὸς γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα κάτι τὸν τύχον. It is worth noting, however, that Alcibiades, though addicted to the broken home, shows himself a remarkable exception to the general rule (cf. Plato, Protag. 324 E: οὐ δέχομαι κακοτέρας, αἰτείται μὲν τὴν ἀρχαῖαν ὑμνίμα σαφέσιν. See also the intolerable condensation of plagues and perils in the form of the model Greek gentleman (εἰς τοὺς εὐθυμούς), in Xen. Anab. vi. 17).
3 Cf. Xen. Mem. i. v. 4: ἐὰν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπὸ πάντα δεῖ ψυχήν ἔχοντα θυμὸν εἰς τὴν ἐγκακίαν ἀρέτης καταβαίνει, καταβαίνει γὰρ ἐν ζωῇ καὶ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τῆς κακοπάθειας καὶ τῆς μακράς καταπάθειας ἀπαντῶν. But this is not the case with Homer, where the king of the gods is also a model of the average Greek (οὐ δέχομαι κακοτέρας, αἰτείται μὲν τὴν ἀρχαῖαν ὑμνίμα σαφέσιν. See also the intolerable condensation of plagues and perils in the form of the model Greek gentleman (εἰς τοὺς εὐθυμούς), in Xen. Anab. vi. 17).
4 Cf. the case of the citizenship in B.S. viii. [1901-02] 1917; L. vii. 11. 422 ἀτέστατον δὲ ἐστιν δὲ τὸν τύχον κακοτέρας, καὶ διόπλως καὶ λέγεται, αὐτὸς γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα κάτι τὸν τύχον. It is worth noting, however, that Alcibiades, though addicted to the broken home, shows himself a remarkable exception to the general rule (cf. Plato, Protag. 324 E: οὐ δέχομαι κακοτέρας, αἰτείται μὲν τὴν ἀρχαῖαν ὑμνίμα σαφέσιν. See also the intolerable condensation of plagues and perils in the form of the model Greek gentleman (εἰς τοὺς εὐθυμούς), in Xen. Anab. vi. 17).
5 See also the inscriptions published in B.A. viii. [1901-02] 1917; L. vii. 11. 422 ἀτέστατον δὲ ἐστιν δὲ τὸν τύχον κακοτέρας, καὶ διόπλως καὶ λέγεται, αὐτός γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα κάτι τὸν τύχον. It is worth noting, however, that Alcibiades, though addicted to the broken home, shows himself a remarkable exception to the general rule (cf. Plato, Protag. 324 E: οὐ δέχομαι κακοτέρας, αἰτείται μὲν τὴν ἀρχαῖαν ὑμνίμα σαφέσιν. See also the intolerable condensation of plagues and perils in the form of the model Greek gentleman (εἰς τοὺς εὐθυμούς), in Xen. Anab. vi. 17)
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PROSTITUTION

(Greek)

405

Coming,
resident in Athens was very different.
as most of them did, from Asia Minor, traditionfreedom
measure
of
hirger
ally accustomed to a
than the native-born women, they for a time bade
fair to bring about a radical alteration in the
attitxide of Athenians towards women and the

Athens, as a centre of maritime trade, was
probably from the earliest times familiar with
women of this class. Drakon (Athen. 569) seems
to have legislated against them, but after his time
the State not only tolerated and protected, but
even to a certain extent exploited, them. The

Suddenly this
jilace in society.
normal development of liberalism received a rude

change was traditionally fathered upon Solon,
who is said to have established State houses of
prostitution, and to have built a temple of Aphrodite Pandemos from the profits

question of their

37 ; Ar. Ath. Pol. 26. 4), rigidly defining the conditions of Athenian citizenship, had the further
effect of drawing a sharp line between alien and
native-born, making it impossible for the children
of mixed unions to attain citizensliip. This vitally
affected the general relationship of alien women to
Athenian male citizens, and virtually compelled a
large number of women to rely upon their own
physical and mental endowment as a means of
livelihood. 1
From this period, then, dates the

beginning of the enormous expansion and social
importance of the class of iraipai in Athens, and
For the
through Atliens in Greece generally.
main profession henceforth open to such alien

women

was, in fact, that of companion (iralpa).
From this time on the professional companion
played a definitely recognized and accepted role
accord
in Greek society, and one thoroughly
with the economic and spiritual factors of the age.
nothing
surprising
in
tiie
naive
and
Hence there is
striking definitions expressed by Dem. lix. 122
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Tas

fxei'

yap

eraipat; yiSovqi evsK

ex.oiJ.ev

Tas 5e TroAAafcos,

Trji

Ka6' rjfxepav 6epa7reia? toO <7(OjnaTos, Tas Se yvvalxa^ toO TraiSonoi.ei<T0ai. ytTjaiws <cal tuiv ecSov <l>vKaKa jriorrji' exeiv

—

definitions which ought to preserve us from
illusions as to the real nature of the demands
which the class of irdipai existed to satisfy.

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tm^trox

Trpia.ii.ev6v Trore

yuvaiicas Kara. tcJitovs KOifds avain

<cai

(Athen. 569).

KaTtcTKevaxTp-evai;

However this may have been, it is the fact that
in post-Solonian Athens tiiose who followed this
profession paid a licence fee to the State, which
was farmed out in the usual way to reXwfat (also
TTopcoTeXcDcai).^

The superintendence of this tax was one of the
duties of the iarwdfioi.^ The non-existence of contagious disease for which they were responsible
made the policing of prostitutes in ancient times a
comparatively simple problem.
The vase-paintings of the early 6th cent., and later, indicate
the great importance of the traipai in the social life of the
time, 3 and furnish a score of names of courtesans then flourishing (see W. Klein, Die f/ricch. Vasen mit Meistersignatxtren'^,
Vienna, 1S87, passim, or P. Hartwig, Die griech. Meistemehalen,
Berlin, 1893, passim).
Sparta naturally stood in great contrast,
because her men had little time and little money to spend on
such things (I'lut. de Fort. Rom. 4 iatntep oi ^TrapTiarai Tr\v
'X^poSCnqv ^t'you<rt, StajSatVouo'ai' toi' Evpwra^, ret fiev euoirrpa
Koi TOvs x^"5'">'<is t*' Tov Kearov a.noBe<T6ai, &6pv Se leal aairtSa
Kafieiv KO(Tti.ovixevT/\v tu AuKoupyw) ; and Keos boasted, or others
did for her, of her poverty in this respect (Atlien. 610 : ev rais
Kei'uv TtiX.eo'i.v ovre erai'pas oure avArfrpi'Sos iSelv etni). On the
other hand, Corinth was notorious throughout the Greek
world for her eroipai, most of whom were in the service of the
great temple of Aphrodite there (cf. the sa3'ing, ov itavro<;
av5po<; h Kdpcvdov €<rfl' 6 ttAous ; see art. HiKEODOCLOi [Qraeco:

Roman]). *

the word eraCpa is used without any opprobrious
significance (cf. the similar fate of the English word mistress '),
just as even in the days of Athenasus (end of 2nd cent, a.d.)
girls applied it to their female friends (Athen. 671 D
KaAouo-i
yovj' icat at eKevdepat yvvoLKe^ €Tt Kat vvtf koX al TrapOevoi ra?
As early as the time of
<rvvri6ei.'s Kai (|)i'Aa? ejai'pas is ri 2a7r(|)w).
Herodotus, however, it was applied by way of euphemism to a
woman who followed a life of promiscuous intercourse for gain,
for whom the proper word was nopvr) (-nropvCSiov),
wliore
(Herod, ii. 134 f., where he sketches the history 'PoSwrrios
tTai'pTjs yvvaiKO^, with whose fame Hellas rang:).2
A long list
of synonyms for the class is to be gathered from Hesych. and
In this sense the word eraCpa had a wide
Pollux, vii. 201.
range, from the concubine (properly TroAAaic^), who was wife in
all but legal status (like Aspasia), through the tTatpai TroAuTcAets
(/leyoAdnitcrSoi) to the lowest prostitute that was kolvov awaa-i, for
which the Greek language, rich in opprobrious epithets, had a
great variety of terms of terrible significance. These were
doubtless appropriated to infinite fine gradations of the pro-

Among the Athenian eraipai two main classes
must be distinguished. Probably by far the greater
number were slaves" bought or otherwise obtained
by owners, male and female, who as iropvo^oa-KoL
kept them in a n-opve'iov (also otK-rnxa, ip-ya<TTT)piov, and

fession.s

Aafi^di'Ei;'

By Sappho

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attaching to such cases. See also the interesting experiment
in domestic production, suggested by Socrates, in Xen. Mem.
ii. 7 f.
cf Horn. II. xii. 433 f
yytrri xep>'i)Tts oAijflrjs
tva
noLio-lv aeiKea niaSov aprjrai, and Aristoph. Thesm. 445 f. (a widow
with five children who earns her living <TTe(t>avTiirKoKov(ra ev rats
:

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^vpptVais).
1 Cf. Amphis, in Meineke, Frag.

many

other terms)

^

ipya^6fi€vai

awh toO

irdt/iaTos.

These would be under the general conditions
..Escll. i. 119
airoOavixd^ei yap el ^t) navref fiep.yr)<T6' on
eKaUTOV eviavjov rj ^ovKt} TrwAet to nopviKov Te'Aos, ktA.
So also apparently in Corinth cf. Justin xxi. 5
apud
aediles adversus lenones jurgari.' As regards Athens there is
some confusion. Speaking of the Astynomoi, Aristotle says, in
1

Cf.

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KoJd*

2

;

A th.

Pol. 50

:

Ka\ Tas t< auAijTpi'Sas

Ki.Bapi(npia<; ouTOt (TkoitoCo'iv ijirws

'

:

ixt\

(ca'i

tos i//oATpias «cai tos
i) ivelv Spaxfialv

irAeiovos

but he does not mention prostitutes.
According to Suid. 8. v. 5idypa^i/xa Jte'ypac^oi' ydp, oaov eSei

p.Kxdio&ria-oi'rai,

ktA.,

:

rnv kraipav eKaarriv, the Agoranomoi (sic) fixed the
tariff oi the licensed prostitutes ; this must surely be a mistake
(Kafi.pd.veLv for KaTa^oAAciv) for the amount of tax to be paid by

them— if,

indeed, the notice refers to Athens at all. There
was a similar tax in Roman Egypt (B. P. Grenfell and A. S.
^ Cf. Athen. 676, where Themistocles is said to have driven
through the Athenian Agora with the courtesans Lamia,
Nannion, Satyra, and Skione. See also Athen. 533
own-<u
:

Com. Gr., Berlin, 1839-57,
(contrasting the eraCpa with the yv;^)
va/oteTij)
-q &' olSev on
17 nev voiJ-io yap (caTai|)po»'oO<r' evSov fi.evei,
rj
TOts TpoTrot! liinjTe'os
ai-flpioTros eanv t) irpbs aXKov anireov
which puts the matter crudely, as simplj- one of supply and
demand and market competition.
2 Rhodope (or Rhodopis), a Thracian slave at Naucratis in

—

'A0rjvaLiov p.eQv(TKop.evit>v ov5' eraipai xptoueVojj', c*c<^ai^d»s TedpLTnrov
^ev^as tTatptfiajv Sid ToiJ Kepa/iet/coO ttAtj^uoi'TOS ewQivo^ riXauev
a fact vouched for, he says, by Idomeneus, who, however, did
not make it quite clear whether the eTaipai were on the car or

Egypt, was ransomed by Charaxus, brother of Sappho, who
'roundly rebuked him in a poem '(Herod, ii. 135). According

were themselves yoked to it
Although the information about it comes to us through
Greek sources, and the practice prevailed among many who
doubtless counted themselves genuine Greeks, we do not here
treat of what may be called sacred
prostitution, in which

iii.

301

= Athen.

559

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to Strabo, p. 808, the name of the eraCpa. to whom Charaxus
fell a victim was Doricha, and, according to Athen. 596, it was
Dorioha whom Sappho attacked, and not her brother, Doricha
and Rhodopis being two different peraons. The poem first
published in Oxyrh. Pap. i. [1898] lOf. (see also J. M. Edmonds,
in Class. Quart, iii. [1909] 249) must allude to this.
Herodotus
(ii.
135) mentions also a courtesan Archidice who became
aoi'i5i|U.os ava ttji' "EAAdSa.
He was evidently interested in the
subject, and in this respect is a foreruimer of a large number
of writers who afterwards wrote many books Trepl eraipiov, or
nepi TMv 'AOrivria-iv eraipiSuiv, which were the sources from
which Athenaeus gathered the material of his own 13th book on
Courtesans.'
s Cf. what Antiphanes says in his Bydria, frag.
1 (Meineke,
iv. 124), speaking of an dcmj turned eraCpa
^dds rt Ypv<rouv
Trpbs ape-n)v iceKrifijAvr)^,
oi/tcos eraipas" ot niv oAAai towo^mi
/3AojrT0V<n TOts rpoTrots yap oirws ov koXov.
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before marriage, or for a season, respectable women must give
themselves up to promiscuous intercourse (e.g., in Cyprus
in Lydia girls earned their dowry bj- this
[Herod, i. 199]
means, though that was probably not the raison d'etre of the
practice [ib. i. 93 Athen. 515]). Cf. W. M. Ramsay, Cities and
Bishoprics of Phrygia, Oxford, 1895, i. 94 f., and J. G. Frazer,
5 Hence in Aristoph. Eccl. 721 f.
Kai Tds ye Sou'Aas oux' *«'
;

;

:

The temple
(COtrfiOu/xeVas
ttjv rioveKevBepoiV ixpapTTd^eivKvTrpiv.
prostitutes were simply a variety of this class, for the most
part certainly all those in Corinth.
8 Akin to these places were the taverns (/tamjAtta) in which
also nopvai. were to be found. Cf. Sanger, Hiet. of Prostitution,
In Strabo, p. 578, at Karoura in Asia Minor i^t
p. 560.
TTopt-o^otT/cbi' av\i<r6evTa ev tois navSoxeioi^ <rvv ttoAAq) irArjfiet
yvvaiKCiv vvKTbip yevofievov <rei<T(XoO (rvva4>avi(T&rjvai Trdtrois. But
perhaps this was an itinerant company.
i

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governing the institution of slavery in Athens and elsewhere (see art. SLAVERY). This class must have been largely recruited from the number of female infants 'pot-exposed,' i.e. cast out to their fate by fathers unwilling to rear them.1 Of this slave class the female born in slavery was adopted by the freedwoman Nicarette to stock her brothel (Dem. lxx. 18 f.), she being herself a slave, and paid the same with a slave's life, with the consent of the court, and for her daughters, apparently a common deception—

to enhance the price.

Often such slaves were instructed in accomplishments, and were then hired out as flute-girls, harpists, dancers, etc., at banquets, where, as we see from countless vase-paintings and literary references, ample opportunity was as a matter of course given for other services. This species of more or less educated prostitute treads upon the second, the courtesan, and, indeed, the conditions of Greek slave life, it was possible to rise from the one class to the other. This higher class consisted partly of freedwomen, partly of free-born aliens, more rarely of native-born Athenians,2 who for various reasons adopted this occupation, and partly of such as were set free by Sino in Terence (Andria, 69 f.). 'Its auit ingenium omnium hominum ab labore proclive ad ludibium' (77) was doubtless as familiar then as now; and that of Corinna, daughter of Crokre, forced by her mother into a life of shame (Luc. Dial. Mor. 6), is perhaps not less common. These independent courtesans, again, fell into varieties—from the ρόδον πόρος of Hesychus to the ἄδεη τελείας (Athen. 589) at the head of the profession in the hey-day of the neoclassics (see the story of Hierocles and Laia, in Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. i. 8).

In spite of her would-be apologists, Apasia (of Miletus) the concubine (παραλληλὰς) of Pericles, must still be taken as a type of the higher grade of ἀρχαῖα in the 6th century. The most absurd claims have been made on her account, both in ancient and in modern times (e.g., in the Meineke, generally ascribed to Plato), she is a rhetorical, instructress of both Socrates and Pericles. Cf. Xen. Hec. iii. 14: συντάγμα το αὐτοῦ Ἑρατεία προς τούς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνδρείας ἀνα-ληπτομένους λέγεται. In fact, Meineke says Socrates, referring to the subject of female education—but surely he is speaking with his accustomed irony. She was doubtless, however, and highly gifted, and presumably had adventures with a very practical turn of mind; but that does not imply our acceptance of the gross stories and epithets associated with her, in the works of Herodotus and Heracleides (see Acharn. 284 f.; Plat. Per. 541 f.) Far more illuminating as to the real character of ancient Socraticism is the whole of the conversation of the Socrates with the ταρπόν Theodote, in which he discourses with her pleasantly and quite as a matter of course upon the general subject of professional women (ἔτεροι ἀνδρείας ἀλληλοκαθαρτοὶ). But not all interviews with ταρπόν were of so innocent a sort.

It is to the 4th cent. B.C., and later, that the most famous names of ταρπόν belong—e.g., Phryne (story of the orator Hyperideus unveling her bosom before the jury, and so securing her acquittal as the τήν ύποθήκην καὶ θησαυρὸν Αφροδίτης, in Athen. 590, where also are other examples of her insolence and extravagance); Thais, the evil genius of Alexander the Great at Persepolis (burning of the palace at Persepolis).2 (Cf. Xen. Hec. iii. 14, referring to the indispensable nature of such women, as the probable number of children thus exposed and as to the proportion of those who were rescued from death as a special miracle, to the occurrence of which fact such accident sometimes took place, can be drawn from the frequency of this motive in the New Comedy.)

2 That native-born Athenians did sometimes sink into the class of ταρπόν is certain, from Antiphanes, Hyp. frag. 1 Meineke, that the ἄστειον ταρπόν (a woman who either kept a house or acted as a midwife) was the same as the ἀνάθειον καὶ χειρουργόν, as well as from the apologies put forward in Dem. liv. 34 f., already quoted—even if we were not sold that one famous case, Ctesibius, a mistress of Demetrios Poliorcetes, was daughter of Cleon an Athenian, and presumably therfore herself of free birth (Athen. 577).

1 Cf. Aristoph. Frogs, 1190: ἑλέσθαν ἐν ἀρχαῖα, and Clouds, 533 ἔστη ἐν τοῖς ἄρχαί ζωῆς, 'she lived both as to the number of children thus exposed and as to the proportion of those who were rescued from death as a special miracle, to the occurrence of which fact such accident sometimes took place, can be drawn from the frequency of this motive in the New Comedy.)

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3 But the predominance of the courtesan in the New Comedy must not detract from the importance of the heroine, who is in fact a necessary outcome of the convention which tied the scene always in the street, into which respectable women could not venture, except under escort and upon rare occasion; into the plays mirror social, but not domestic, life, and work threadbare a few stock motives.
source of prostitution may have been generally closed (Macdonell and Keith, l. 488).

(b) In the law-books.—Manu (Law, ix. 259) directs that "for a hundred and fifteen in the Brahman is forbidden to touch food given by harlots, which excluded him from the higher worlds (iv. 206, 219). The same prohibition applies to food given by an unchaste woman, and libations of wine are not to be offered to a wife who through lust with many men (iv. 211, 220, v. 90).

(c) In the Buddhist age.—A Brahman was forbidden to witness dancing or hear music, the trade of the eunuchs (T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, London, 1885, p. 157). Unfortunately there are no direct references to prostitutes in the Jātaka show that they were tolerated and to a certain degree held in respect. The fees paid to some of them were exceedingly high (The Jātaka, Eng. tr., Cambridge, 1895, ii. 40, 261, i. 419; iv. 157); 700 courtesans are found in the palace of a king (vi. 145). Sakka, after giving money to a harlot, does not visit her, but rewards her continence by filling her house with jewels of seven hoards (i. 259 f.). One of this class is said to keep the five virtues (i. 414). On the other hand, the capacity of prostitutes are referred to, and it is regarded as a misfortune for a virtuous man to be reborn in a harlot's womb (vi. 117). Somadeva, who used much Buddhist material, writes: 'Thus, O King, even heathens are occasionally of noble character and faithful to kings as their own wives, much more than matrons of high birth; he also speaks of the famous eunuchs of Ujjainy, Devadatta, who had a place worthy of a king (Kathā-śāstra-sūtra, ed. C. H. Towne, Calcutta, 1880, i. 364, ii. 621).

In the Buddhist legends we read of Ambāpāta, the famous courtesan of Visula, and the princess Sādāvatī, the daughter of the king of Pāharpur, and the Manual of Buddhism, London, 1853, p. 244). An inscription of the W. Chalukya dynasty of Bābāni, early in the 8th cent. A.D., records gifts made by a prostitute to a temple (Bījī p. ii. (1898) 372, 396).

At the present day prostitutes are tolerated in India to an extent which can hardly be paralleled in any other part of the world. It is considered lucky to meet a prostitute at the beginning of a journey, probably because she can never become a wife. The trade, however, is fully organized (E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of S. India, Madras, 1909, i. 139). One class of dancing-girls, known as mātany, are held in much respect, and among those castes in which girls are prostituted this is done after a regular session of the council (below, § 3).

(d) Under Muhammadan rule.—The Muhammadans kept prostitutes under supervision.

Under Akbar 'the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number) had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called Śāhāpīndra, or Devīvile. A Dārghah (superintendent) and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indude in such connections, provided the toll collectors heard of it. But, without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing-girls to his house, except those who were under the special protection of the Mahārāja of Scindia (in Madras). After they had called on the temple of the god Virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty, and get his permission (Abul Fazl, Amā-i-Akbar, tr. by H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1857, ii. 152).

Kāli Rāma (Munṣhakba-ī-īlābī (H. Elliot, Hist. of India, London, 1860, p. 333) states that the rules on the subject were copied from Persian regulations of reputation in the service of the Court were made ashamed of their occupation, and were advanced to the dignity of mantas. Public and private ceremonies were made portions of their performance. It is said that one day a number of singers and minstrels gathered together with great joy, and having fitted up a litter with a good deal of display, round which were grouped the public wallahs, they passed under the Emperor's jāhār-ba-kā- in order to see what had happened to them. Thrown down by the bear and the minstrel, the music shows that Music was dead and they were carrying his corpse for burial. Aurangzeb then directed them to place it deep in the ground, that no sound or cry might afterwards arise from it.'

According to Manucci (Storia do Mogor, ed. W. Irvine, London, 1907, II. 65), in the reign of ShahJahan, public and women enjoyed great liberty, and were found in great numbers in the places of public resort. At the beginning of his reign, Aurangzeb said nothing, but afterwards he ordered that they must marry or clear out of the realm. This was the cause that the palace and the harem were reduced to a regular state, and they were charged by some observers, that marrying or becoming a harlot was now as bad as dying a martyr. In Trivandrum, the 15th cent. is described by Ablur-razzāk, Māla'la-sa-dā'ā (Elliot, ii. 114 f.)."
higher class of cortesman, who is not allowed to sing and dance in public. Her duties in the temple are to sweep and purify the floor by washing it with cow-dung and water, and to wave a fly-whisk before the god. The male members of the caste, known as gopas, are forbidden to come in contact with the temple priests to avoid the goddess's displeasure.

In a temple at Lucknow, a bhangerin, a prostitute recruited from the untouchable caste, was allowed to enter the temple with consent of other members of the caste and received their blessing. She was then taken in procession to the temple of Anjaneya, where she sat on the women singing. She is given holy water (brihat) by the priest, and sits on the knees of three men and of one of her caste people. Rice is poured over her by basar prostitutes and married women, and the ceremony ends with a feast. She then makes her farewell sacrifice.

Such women are said to remain faithful to their protectors when kept as concubines, and it is asserted that they may be flogged and fined by the castemen if they prove false. A woman who does not enter into a connection more or less permanent with a man is known as prositute, provided her lover be not of a caste lower than her own. A basari, or dedicated prostitute, if she wishes to live a chaste life, can be married, and she then ceases to perform acrobatic feats in public. Her children born before the marriage are left with her relatives (monograph 13, Ethnographic Survey, Mysore, Bangalore, 1908, p. 12 f.). In the same province the Beda, Golla, Kurbba, Madiga, and other castes often dedicate their eldest daughter, in a family where no son has been born, as a basari prostitute, who is with her father's consent to be left unmarried, with the usual result (B. L. Rice, Mysore, rev. ed., Westminster, 1897, p. 256).

LITERATURE.—The authorities have been quoted in the article: see also Al-Biruni, India, ed. E. G. Sachau, London, 1916, ii. 143 ff.

W. CROOK.

PROSTITUTION (Roman).—The difference between Roman and Greek views on this subject flows not so much from a deeper appreciation of the family as from a deeper conception of personality and the value of the individual citizen as such, independent of sex. Doubtless there was hence reflected back upon the family a sentiment that contributed much to the enhancement of its dignity and authority; but the primary result was to create an attitude of mind, on the part of the state, towards free Roman women in general, and especially towards the 'wives' (matronae), position of which was one of dignity. There was a sense, however, that this had driven her to be a servant, but mistress ('ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia,' ran the old marriage formula). She was denied neither freedom of movement nor share of social intercourse, within or without the house. Custom debarred her from direct access to public affairs, but her position was free from any suggestion of intentional personal abasement, though it was true that in the larger Roman system she was subject in law in the strictest degree to her husband or to another male tutor (see T. Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Eng. tr., new ed., London, 1901, i. 74 f.). The Greek influence, when it was finally brought to bear upon Roman society, proved one of its

1 Cf. Cic. de Off. i. 54: 'nam cum sit hic nurture communem animasitum, ut habentur lobidinem Lucae, priina societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in libera, deinde una domus, communem omnia; id antem est principium urbis et quasi seminarii rei publicae.'

2 Cf. Corn. Nepos, Praefat.: 'Contra ea plerique nostris moribus sunt decora, quae spad illos turpis putantur. Quem enim Romanorum undique vocant deurni et deurni, qui intercommunia materiae, non primun locum tenere aestimant, etque in celebratem versaturo quid multo fit alterius in Graecis. Nam neque in convivio adhibetur, non proponatur: neque sedet, nisi in interiore parte aedem, quae gynaecinitia appetit, utque non modo consteat propria sua esse.'

For freedom of social intercourse see Cic. pro Cal. 20: 'qui discrent uxoribus sae a causa reductas attestas esse Caelio'; cf. Plut. Rom. 20: 'ut de melius polia tue vagaente in tota" 

Διήνεμοι . . . Ιενισισια μεν δουλοι βαλευσικα, κτλ.: Cic. Verr. i. 94.
most powerful solvents, so that the tone of those grades of society which find expression in the literature of the Empire was in complete disaccord with that of the early Republic. It is, in fact, a striking phenomenon that, while the Greeks, on the one hand, maintained no profession of principle in reference to the intercourse of the sexes, but maintained upon the whole a high degree of outward decency, the Romans, on the other hand, whose principles, and for a long time their habits, were upon a higher plane, exhibited a declension which apparently reached a depth far below that ever attained by the Greeks, save in isolated cases. This difference must, in part, be explained by the existence in the Roman of some degeneration that has no parallel in the history of society in Greece, and one all the more grave as it was for the most part independent of economic pressure.

As a matter of strict principle, then, among the Romans prostitution was per se shameful (fornitum)—for both parties. That this was the Roman sentiment, as its best, is clear enough even from the very fact that Cicero's usual verbal insincerity as an advocate, denies it (pro Cael. 48: ‘Verum si quis est, qui eum meretricios amoribus interdixit injusti pulsat, et ille qualiter sedes necessario—navigo non modo ab huils sacellum licentia, verum etiam a malorum consciendi atque consentia. Quo enim hunc non factum est? quando reprehensum? quando non permisiuin? quando denique fuit at quod ilicet non faceret?’). Perhaps from the earlier existence of a use in Rome of the police regulation analogous to that found now in most European countries. Women adopting the career of a prostitute (meretricia, sorior, procuratrix) were required to register themselves before the assidly's office, and to take out a licence upon payment of a tax (licentia); and the public had access to the names, addresses, personal circumstances, whether her professional name and price, etc. Once placed upon the register, the name could never be erased, but remained as a permanent stain on the woman's name. That the moral tendency of the act of prostitution itself (quinquies corpore facere) was felt to operate completely all other aspects, so that rejection in marriage, sickness, debility, and general misfortune was the fate suffered by the Roman mind to draw upon its own duty of legal fictions in order to open a way to repentance and recovery for the prostitute is in startling contrast to the humane and reasonable attitude of the Greeks towards this class. From this same thoroughgoing attitude of the Romans springs also the minute regulations which imposed upon prostitutes a distinctive dress, dyed hair, or yellow wig, and other civil disabilities, designed to mark them out for public reproach and to realize their profession.

As wealth and luxury increased, the spiritual strength of the Republic declined, while Greek, and especially Oriental, models of profligacy, springing from a quite different religious and social conception, poured into Italy in an ever-swelling flood. These repressive regulations were of no avail to maintain the state of society so open to crime.

Of course they are frequently alluded to, especially by the poets, but not in such a way as to reveal any specifically Roman details, or to make it necessary here to multiply quotations which have already been the subject of wide prevalence of vice in Roman brothels and other meeting-places.

When Cicero is his purpose, his language is very different;—e.g., pro Mil. 55: ‘Inefficacia, semper exoleto, semper lupus docet;’ and cf. Cat. ii. 10.

When the two were worn the matrona, stilta, but must wear a topia of sad stuff (toga pulla); cf. Liv. Xut. ii. 60: ‘talem non summet damnavi tamen;’ Hor. Sat. i. 63: ‘quid impleam in ortu vestris, aut in exoleto, aut in lupus docet?’; and cf. Cic. Phil. ii. 44: ‘quid te a meretricio quaesta abdixit et, tanquam stultum delicat, in matrimonio stabili et certo concubavit.’

SECRET prostitutes from even the upper strata of society. Amid the general depravity prostitution ranked merely as one form, and that not the gravest, of immorality. As emperor, Tiberius tried to check it by more stringent enactments,1 but the violation of the law was looked upon in the same light as murder and treason was by the law of 132 B.C., and was finally abolished in a century later, by Constantine, when the old registers of the prostitutes were also consigned to destruction. Justinian, in the 6th cent., removed some of the civil disabilities of prostitutes (possibly only to enable himself to marry the reformed prostitute Theodora; see E. Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1898, iv. 215).

Probably the influence of Theodora is to be seen in the interesting experiment which he who overturned a palace on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus into a monastery as a rescue home for 500 reclaimed prostitutes of the capital. Here, to be saved from themselves, they were kept in a proper frame of mind, and were maintained by the income from the monastery, so that the experiment was a failure.

It marks, however, an approach to the modern attitude of charity and sympathy in dealing with the class, as contrasted with both its theoretical repudiation by the Romans and its frank acceptance by the Greeks. So far as our scanty knowledge goes, neither the Greeks nor the Romans had to face the problem of dealing with prostitution in the interests of national hygiene. The Roman system of registration and public supervision is of interest as it represents practically the ultimate form that, as yet, appears possible in dealing with this problem.

With the exception that there is no tax, and that the door to recovery is not legally closed, the procedure of most of the Continental peoples is simply a reversion to the Roman system.

The object of both is the same, namely, outward control of the phenomenon in the interests of public order and decency; to this, for modern societies, the protection of public health falls to be added. There has been further complication, towards the solution of which the ancient procedure can offer no suggestion.

LITERATURE.—Save for incidental references, mainly upon the general subject of social morality under the Republic and the Empire, nothing dealing with this specific topic is known by the present writer.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

PROTAGORAS.—Protagoras was the most famous of the Greek sophists of the 5th cent. B.C. (see SOPHISTS).

1. Life and writings.—Protagoras was a native of Abdera in Thrace. Plato, our best authority, tells us that he was seventy years old when he died, and that he had spent forty years in the practice of his profession (Menon, 91 E), and he visited Athens not for the first time after the production (in 420 B.C.) of a play by Pherecrates. With such data as we have, his birth seems to fall between 500 and 480 B.C. The subjects

1 Tac. Ann. ii. 81: ‘gravissimus decretis libidinum meretricia cau
ta, ne quantum corpore facere, quae semper in plebis habebat, et quae semper in publico habebat, semper scortam et semper semper lupam et semper numerus pupas docet.’

2 Cf. W. E. H. Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, London, 1890, vol. i. p. 203: ‘As a matter of fact, there is no history when virtue was more rare than under the Caesars; but there has probably never been a period when vice was more extravagant or uncontrolled.’

3 Suet. Cat. 60: ‘ex capturis prostituturam quantum quaque una consultis meretur,’ etc.
that he taught included oratory, grammar and the right use of words (Plut. Themist. 267 C; Diog. Laert. ix. 53), the interpretation of Homer (Plato, Protag. 339 A ff.), and, generally, those accomplishments which enabled a Greek to take a prominent part in the politics of his native city (ib. 318 A). His popularity was unbounded (ib. 300 C, Theat. 161 C): Plato even pits him against Homer as an authority on the education and improvement of mankind (Rep. 600 C).

At the same time, like Socrates, Protagoras incurred the dislike—indeed the open hostility—of the Demagoge Anaxys (Menec. 91, 102 C ff.), who explained the publication of a work on the gods is connected with the traditional story which we find in Cicero (de Nat. Deor. i. 63) and earlier still in Timon (Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. ii. 55-57), that the Athenians condemned Protagoras and publicly burnt all the copies of his book which they could collect; and that he saved himself by flight, but on the voyage to Sicily he was drowned at sea. This account receives some slight support from the words adduced, e. g., by Plato (Theat. 171 D).

A few fragments, or at least the titles, survive of some sixteen works attributed by the ancients to Protagoras (Diog. Laert. ix. 55; H. Diels, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, Berlin, 1906-10, p. 247). There was no doubt a connexion between theology and medicine, and the title of the work, which contained the famous maxim that man is the measure of all things, is quoted by Sext. Emp. (adv. Math. vii. 50) as καθαρότατα αρσενικά (sc. λόγου), but the reader of Plato is forced to infer from many allusions that the work was commonly known as the Truth of Protagoras (J. Bernays, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Berlin, 1885, i. 117-121). Considering his great fame, it would be interesting to recover some specimens of his style; Gomperz conjectured that the apology for medicine, one of the lost works of the Hippocratesan corpus, is by Protagoras. With greater certainty peculiarities of his stately method can be inferred from Phantonic imitations (Protag. 316 C ff., 320 C-322 D, 333 D ff., 329 A-D, perhaps even 342 A ff., Theat. 165 E-168 C) and from the unmistakable allusions of Aristophanes in the Clouds (112-114, 658-671, 677-679), though the sophist is not named in that play.

In the dialogue of Plato named after him Protagoras speaks as an expert and a champion of customary morality—Plato's ἱστορική ἀπέρχεται. The human instincts of reverence and right (ἀλήθεια, δίκαιος) are the weapons by which helpless men has been protected against the teeth and claws of other animals (Protag. 322 C, 329 C). Man's history is a record of progress; the criminals of a civilized society would be virtuous if compared with downright savages (ib. 327 D). Hence the aim of legislators and educators is to displace harmful opinions by wholesome and profitable ones (Theat. 167 A ff.). Hence, too, the aim of education should be to reclaim the offender and to deter others from his offence (Protag. 324 A ff.). Virtue is inculcated in an enlightened community by public opinion, by good laws and institutions, forces working slowly (ib. 328 D ff.). Hence the flexibility and contradictions of this unwritten code the sophist has little conception. Indeed, when the Phantonic Socrates offers him a foundation in a bold schism, a principle of political principle (ib. 351 C ff.), he declines to accept it, and stands against it. The same vagueness is shown in the sophist's claim to turn the 'weaker' into the 'stronger' case (ὑπὸ τῶν μικρῶν κρίνει τῶν μεγάλων). The discussion is a fatal passion with Greeks, especially to win forensic right. But this pursuit of this branch of excellence impairs another—a scrupulous regard for right? Absolute inability to see where the Socratic elenchus will land him is a main feature of comic relief in Plato's presentation of Protagoras, as of other early sophists. What other weaknesses of his at the time, Protagoras took part in the protes of philosophers against the aesthetic opinions of the poets. His famous utopia runs thus: 'of the gods I cannot say whether they exist or not, nor of what may consist the nature of them, I do not know; but I do know especially the obscurity of the problem and the shortness of life' (Diog. Laert. ix. 55).

Here the nature of the gods is obviously the real problem, the agnostic disposition towards a deistic or even preorganic of odium, was in keeping with the highest thinking of an era of enlightenment. The most original opinion ascribed to Protagoras is of course that man is the measure of existence and nonexistence. Ever since its publication this maxim has been a subject of controversy, as Plato's Theaetetus proves. It seems to be an affirmation of the subjective element in all experience, all thought and language. There may have been 'implied' for at least two centuries in the very forms of giving evidence (ἀξιόλογον, εἰδικτημένον) were a perpetual reminder that in the law-courts, at any rate, in the investigation of facts, it was impossible to go beyond the individual. Some may that the maxim amounts to a recognition of the relativism of all judgments. It shows that opinion. There is nothing in it to forbid the conclusion that absolute knowledge is impossible, but that opinions are relatively true; and so Plato seems to have understood it. That its author never intended it to bear any destructive practical consequences is admitted by Plato (Theat. 165 B-168 C). Nor would it be fair to link it up, as Plato has done, with Heraclitean doctrine—all things are as they seem to all, for 'all things flow like a stream'. 3 In speaking, it is most improbable that the first fragment which appears in the writings of the Irenaean—may be inferred from the fact that he did not foresee, much less intended, all that acute metaphysicians like Plato and Aristotle have deduced from it. Even the psychological implications of the doctrine have never been perfectly understood at a time when no one could explain why perceptions of tastes and flavours were variable, while men agreed in their perception of weight. It seems safest, therefore, to make of Protagoras neither a positivist nor a pragmatist, whatever superficial analogies to these later doctrines may be ingeniously read into his maxim.


PROTECTION. — See Economics.

PROTESTANTISM. — 1. Derivation and definition. — The Lat. protestari, a post-Angustian word found in Quintilian and frequent in law, means 'to profess,' 'bear witness (or declare) openly,' so that it is equivalent to proferre; in both cases the preposition adds the idea of openness or publicity to that of witness or declaration. It has no inherent negative force as a protest against
something, though it is often used in law as a
declaration that the speaker's meaning has been
misunderstood.

Of the cognate English words, we find 'protesta-
tion' in Hampole (c. 1348), and thenceforth they
were used as another form of an open declaration.

Thus in Shakespeare, Much Ado about Nothing, v. i. 149: "Do me right, or I will protest your cowardice;" Madamet, v. ii. 119: "I will at once protest to the Pope of mani-
acles.

The negative meaning common in modern English
came in later. Thus a bill might be 'protested,'
(from 1622), i.e. an open declaration made that it
had been presented and not paid. There were also
'protestations' (later 'protests') in the Lords from
1626 and in the Civil War, though they were not
common till after the Restoration. Johnson,
however (1755), still defines 'protestation' as 'a
solemn declaration of resolution, fact, or opinion,'
though he notices the negative meaning under the
noun 'protest.

2. Theological meaning.—The word received
a technical meaning in theology from the protest
made by the Lutheran princes and some free cities
before the Diet at Speyer in 1529. An earlier Diet
at Worms in 1521 had put Luther and Mansel on the
Bond of Rome and ordered the suppression of heresy.
But the heresy spread nevertheless, and, when
another Diet met at Speyer in 1526, it was
supported by strong princes, and a comprome-
ise had to be made on the principle of 'Cujus regio,
ejus religio.' It was decided, and that unani-
mously, that, till a General Council met, every
prince should be free to make religious changes if
he thought fit. But by a second Diet at Speyer in
1529 the compromise was annulled; all further
interventions were forbidden to Lutheran princes,
and the Zwinglian doctrine was made unlawful.
Hereupon (19th April) the 'protestation' was
drawn up. In the cities (of Saxony, Branden-
burg, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Anhalt, Hesse) and
fourteen cities (some of them Zwinglian) declare
that they will not carry out the new edict or tolerate
the Mass in their dominions, further maintaining
that the unanimous decision of one Diet could not
be reversed by a mere majority in another, and
that, if insisted on according to Scripture and con-
ciousness, they could not in any case admit the
right of a majority to control them. There is no
question here of any particular doctrines—only an
assertion of the liberty of particular churches; the
actual doctrines of the princes were set forth next
year in the Confession of Augsburg.

3. Lutherans and Calvinists.—Thus 'Protes-
tants' at first meant Lutherans as opposed alike to
Papists and Zwinglians. The word was convenient
from a political standpoint, and came into use in
spite of Luther's own dislike of it, so that it soon
became the current name for Lutherans in Germany
and England. Then came a double development.
On one side the Romansists persisted in stigmatiz-
ing the heretics of the Reformation all over Europe
as Luther's, and thenceforth they came to adopt from the Lutherans the common
name of Protestants. The unifying force was the
consciousness of a common cause against Rome; but it worked slowly. The breach between Lutherans and Zwinglians was in 1529.
So four of the fourteen cities presented a separate
Confession (Tetrapolitana) at Augsburg, and
Zwingli sent a third. Calvin some years later
signed the Augsburg Confession of his own accord ;
but, on the whole, the second half of the 16th cen-
tury was a period when the Protestants hated each
other as they hated Rome. The Lutherans established their principle of 'Cujus regio, ejus religio' at the
Peace of Augsburg in 1555, and henceforth were
(supposed) respectable heretics, but the Calvin-
ists had no protection. They bore the brunt of
the battle with Rome, and they gained on the
Lutherans in Germany. So the quarrel was
bitter, and the misfortunes of the first period of the
Thirty Years' War (1618–24) were in great part
caused by the unwillingness of the other side to
help Calvinists, and it was only under the pres-
ure of the calamities which followed that they
learned to sink their differences under the common
name of Protestants.

4. England.—In England the Lutherans
had little influence after the time of Henry VIII.,
and their constitution is repudiated in Art. xxvii.
('only after an heavenly and spiritual manner'). The Reformers looked to Bullinger and Calvin, rather than to Melanchthon and Zwingli. In doctrine, then, the Church of England leaned
more to Calvin; but it had a political tie with
Lutheranism. Among the ever-changing phases of
Elizabeth's policy in her early years was the idea
of gaining something from the Peace of Augsburg
by therin will absolve off as substantially a
Lutheran ruler ordering the religion of her own
people like the German princes. The strange
tricks in her private chancell indicate this policy
rather than any learned knowledge of the
Erastian obedience of the Lutherans, and detested the ecclesiastical inde-
pendence of Calvinism. Thus there was a true
affinity between the Erastian church of Elizabeth
and the Erastian churches of N. Germany, and
English Churchmen of the official sort learned to
call themselves Protestants like the Lutherans,
while the Puritan section clung to Geneva, and
was not forward to adopt the name. It is not
found in any revision of the Book of Common
Prayer, nor was it recognized in any Act of Parlia-
ment; nor even the Canons of 1604 only claim that the
Church of England is 'a true and apostolical church.' But by 1608 we find mention of 'Papists, Protestant, Puritans, Brownists,' where the word is
used strictly of the Church in opposition to
Puritans as well as Romanists. In this sense it
became a watchword of the Caroline divines, and
was frankly adopted by Laud himself. Even
Chillingworth's Religio of Protestants a Safe Way
of Salvation (Oxford, 1638) has the Church in
view, and for the first time gives to a wider meaning only
because the supremacy of Scripture is the doctrine of
all the Churches of the Reformation. So, too,
when Charles I. declares his attachment to the
Protestant religion, he is disavowing Popery and
Puritanism together. So also Laud. But in the
Thirty Years' War did for Germany was done
for England by the Puritan policy of the Common-
wealth and the Protectorate and by the Romaniz-
ing policy of the Stuarts. In different ways both
brought the Nonconformists nearer to the Church
in a common consciousness of antagonism to the
common enemy, so that they began to be known as
Protestant dissenters in contrast with Popish
recusants and some of the extreme sectaries.
Thus Protestantism, as such was, is the social
phenomenon in every set ecumenism from the Reformation which could be considered passably orthodox.

The Quakers were included, but the claim of Socinians and Deists was more doubtful. They are not among the Protestant dissenters made subject to
the Act of Toleration, 1662. We find 'Protestant dissenters' in a bill of 1679, and constant mention of the
Protestant religion or the Protestant interest. At
the Revolution the Prince of Orange declares
(10th Oct. 1688) that he comes over as the
Protestant religion's champion; Delamere in
Cheshire rises in defence of it; and the Bill of
Rights limits the Crown to such persons as 'being
Protestants' shall make the declaration imposed on
members of Parliament in lieu of denying tran-
substantiation and disavowing the worship of the
Virgin Mary or any other saint and the sacrifice of the Mass as 'supertitious and idolatrous.

By the Act of Settlement the sovereignty must be a Protestant—perhaps a Lutheran like George 1.—but he must 'join in communion with the Church of England as it is established.' So the law still remains, except that the declaration of 1675 was abolished for members of Parliament in 1829, and softened for the King in 1911, though he is still required to be a Protestant.

5. The modern view.—The word has undergone no serious change of meaning since the end of the 17th century. But, being now opposed to Romanticism instead of to Puritanism, it was disliked by some of the High Churchmen a century ago, such as Alexander Knox; and it is now cordially defended by the Tractarians and their successors, not only as summing up most of the things that they chiefly hate, but even more as linking the Church of England with Churches of Christ which they count no better than unlawful assemblies. But, if we look at the general position—setting things instead of words—there can be no doubt that the official doctrine of the Church of England is as definitely Protestant as it can well be. To sum up in the words of Bishop Stable of Oxford:

"With characteristic frankness he [the compiler of the full Catholic character unembarrassed by any such committal (to the dogmatic utterances or disciplinary machinery of any of the Church doctrines that have called themselves) Protestant], would in the strongest way condemn the idea that would repudiate the name of Protestant as a mere name of negation, as well as the name of all the things from the negation is the whole or the most important part of our religious work and history. I should unhesitatingly reject the theory that regards Protestantism by itself, either at home or abroad, as a religious system devoid of spiritual constructive energy" (Visitation Charles, London, 1894, p. 1045).

LITERATURE.—It will be enough to name OED vii. 1594: 1. W. Wace, in Church and Faith (Essays on the teaching of the Church of England by various writers), Edinburgh and London, 1899; the ordinary histories of the Reformation, and for the Continent the elaborate art. by F. Katzenbusch, in PREP. xvi. 158 ff. II. M. G. WATKIN.

PROVERBS.—1. Definition.—While the formal definition of a proverb is difficult to frame, and every authority attempts to give his own, there is a general agreement as to the characteristics of proverbial sayings. Four qualities are necessary to constitute a proverb: brevity (or, as some prefer to put it, conciseness), sense, piquancy or salt (Trench, and popularity. Aristotle, in writing of proverbs, embodied these three of these properties in his definition, and pointed out the advantages of their conciseness (συνθεματα) and correctness (δεξιωσια), have been saved out of the wrecks and ruins of ancient philosophy. 1 More modern definitions, such as a short pithy saying in common and recognized use, 2 or 'much matter decocted into a few words,' 3 or 'the wisdom of many, and the wit of one,' 4 set forth the same elements in slightly varying phraseology. Mere brevity, however, will not give an expression the force and authority of a thousand. It must possess a serious thought, and expressions dealing with trivialities can never gain the force and prestige of proverbial sayings. By piquancy or salt we understand the wit that is embodied in a genuine adage. In its wit the proverb expresses a pungent criticism of life which frequently has a flavour of cynicism about it. On this quality depends the power of a proverb to do more than amuse the hearer. Its wit, like the barb of an arrow, makes the maxim stick in the memory. There are many sayings in all literatures which are not recognized as proverbs because they lack the element of popularity. To attain the rank of a proverb, a saying must either spring from the masses or be accepted by a people as true. In a profound sense it must be the vox populi. Eiselen, a German collector of proverbs, has emphasized this element in his definition: 'A proverb is a sentence coined with the public stamp, current and of acknowledged value among the people. To put it more briefly, a proverb is a household word of the people. James Howell, an English paronomiographer, incorporated in his collection 500 proverbial sayings which he himself invented, but, as they were not coined with the public stamp, they have never been used or quoted. A true proverb, then, is a spontaneous growth out of the soil of national character; it is in a sense autochthonous, and among the people who gave it birth it possesses a finality from which there is no appeal. This popular element is implied in the etymology of both the Latin and Greek terms. In the former language the term was proverbium, signifying 'a word uttered in public.' The synonym adagium, which is usually traced to the phrase ad aedem optimum, and from which we get our English 'adage,' besides connoting a popular origin, also suggests a moral tone and brings out the practical nature of the proverb. The Greek correlative is similar in import, παροιμια, signifying a trite roadside expression.

The stamp of public approval gives proverbs a profound influence even when they convey a false morality. A genuine proverb may not embody a true ethical principle, yet it is an index to what the people regard as true, and presents their ideals of life and conduct. Certain great names have a peculiar authority for some, and in sense an artificial, reason. All the sayings of the canonical book of Proverbs among Jews and Christians, those of the Vedie writings among the Hindus, and those that are embedded in the Qur'an among Muslims have yielded a tremendous authority, on account of the inspiration claimed for these books. Many of the sayings of Jesus are in the form of proverbs, and He frequently used proverbs to make His teaching impressive. He took some from Jewish sources and others from the current speech of the people; still others He coined Himself. The authority of these and their influence on ethics and religion are due to the unique position of authority in which the Founder of Christianity stands, to stand out of the religious the proverbial sayings of Jesus have exercised the widest and most pervasive influence of any group of proverbs.

2. Origin.—In discussing the origin of proverbs it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between the popular proverbial saying and the literary proverb, or gnomon. The latter is the product of reflection, and its final form is likely to be the result of considerable literary polishing, while the former is naive and was originally uttered spontaneously and in connection with some occasion or event that stirred the imagination. It is in keeping with its popular origin that the author of a genuine proverb is unknown; it is a spontaneous utterance which has been called forth by an unusual or stirring occasion and not experienced, or originated with the people and has gained circulation and authority through universal acceptance of its

1 J. Eiselen, Sprichworter des deutschen Volkes, Freiburg, 1840, p. x. 'Das Sprichwort ist ein mit öffentlichem Uebermenschen, auffallendem Glied, guten Correlation, wie das Wort derith men kndet.' (Second edition, Vol. 1.)

2 OED, s.v.


4 Lord John Russell (1792-1879)

5 Proverbs and Old Sayed Saws and Adages, London, 1809.
PROVERBS

truth. The sages of Israel may have started with the popular proverb as the basis of their work, but their finished product shows evidence of careful later additions. The maxims are collected under the gnomes, and its lineage can very frequently be traced. If this distinction is maintained, the polished gems of the canonical book of Proverbs are gnomes. They are fruits of selective inspiration.

The genuine popular proverb takes us back to the infancy of races and civilizations; in their origins they belong to the age which gave birth to the folk-song and the ballad. The OT reveals the material of which the genesis of the folk-wisdom. An impressive event called it forth. The incongruity of the situation when Saul felt under the influence of the prophetic ecstasy produced such a profound impression on the popular mind that it led to the utterance of the proverb. Is Saul also among the prophets? (1 S 10:6). We also know an ancient Egyptian proverb which owes its origin to some historical event. Alluding to Merenptah's fame in Libya, it runs: 'The youth say to youth, concerning his affair, 'It has been done since the time of Re.'" Freytag thinks that many of the oldest Arabic proverbs arose in connexion with some notable event in the history of a tribe or some striking personal experience. The historical occasion that gives birth to famous proverbs is more easily traced in the Greek and Latin literatures. With the words, 'Don't move Caesaria' (μη κινείει Κατάκερα), the Greeks were accustomed to caution each other to give questions fraught with uncertain issues a wide berth. The allusion is historical and refers to the draining of the lake north of Caesarea contrary to the advice of the oracle, thus weakening the defences of the city. The famous Latin adage, "Romans sedendo vincit," sprang from the effective tactics of Hannibal's opponent, Fabius Maximus. The popular proverb, 'When you go to Rome, do as Rome does,' is an interesting instance of how an aphorism may grow out of an incident which was subsequently forgotten. Few who use it know that it had its origin in connexion with Monies, the mother of St. Augustine. As the Sabbath was a fast day in Milan according to prevailing Roman usage, but a fast at her native place of Tagaste, Monies was perplexed as to how she should observe it. St. Ambrose settled the case of conscience by uttering this oft-quoted adage.

Another group of proverbs were derived from riddles (q.v.), and it may well be that many of the maxims of the OT collection originated in this way. The adage of Pr 22:1, 'A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour than silver and gold,' is probably the finished form of an answer to a riddle. The riddle was probably propounded as follows: 'What is worth more than gold?' The answer would be, 'A good name.' Again, a proverb may be the condensation of a fable or parable into a single phrase. Thus arose the popular Greek adage, 'To play the fox to another fox' (έμπορευσταί πώς εμπορεύτηκαν). A popular maxim in modern times, 'Every cock on his own dunghill,' can be traced back to Seneca, who thus summed up the quintessence of one of Esop's fables ('Gallus in suo sterquilinio plinurum'). This process accounts for the genesis of English proverbs like 'sour grapes' and 'dog in the manger.'

Famous proverbs which owe their popularity to their well-balanced symmetrical phraseology have long individual histories behind them. This literary history is somewhat difficult to trace, and in connexion with the languages of antiquity. But the process by which a popular saying was cut and polished into a gem by a succession of artists may be seen in the case of Sterne's famous adage, 'God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' The same process is exemplified in the writings of George Herbert (1640) in the form, 'To a close-shorn sheep God gives wind by measure'; Herbert in turn borrowed it from the French, and it has been traced back to the Latin.

3. Form.—While the folk-proverb, when it originates, may not circulate in poetic dress, yet well-established proverbs and gnomes are almost invariably expressed either in rhetorical language or in poetic proper. The Hebrew proverbs of the OT canon, as well as those of Sirach, possess all the characteristic features of Hebrew poetry, the most notable of which is parallelism. Sumerian proverbs, among the most ancient that have come down to us, show a marked preference for some characteristic. Arabic proverbs are couched in the various rhymes of Arabic poetry. Gnomic poetry forms a large section of the ethical side of Sanskrit literature. The Chinese proverbs are in the form of couplets.

With the Hebrew it has been a favourite practice in the schools for the teacher to give one line and the scholar to furnish the second. The majority of Greek proverbs are metrical in form. The Greek gnomic poets, like Theognis and Solon, did for Greek literature what unknown poets did for the Hebrew—gave many of the popular proverbial sayings a literary setting and thereby invested them with a permanent influence. The usual meters of Greek proverbs are the anapestic, iambic, trochaic, and dacyleic. In modern literatures proverbs usually assume poetical form, for rhyme and alliteration lend charm not only to English proverbs but also to those of all modern nations. A few samples may suffice: 'A king's face should give grace; 'Slow help is no help'; 'Who goes in the body, unhappy goes a-sorrowing'; 'Qui prend, qui rend'; 'Chi va piano va sano, e va lontano'; 'Gute Wort find't gute Statt'; 'Wie die Arbeit, so der Lohn.' A popular Italian proverb combines the three qualities of brevity, rhyme, and alliteration: 'S'faringue, chi s'arlingue.' In the letter of Paul to the Hebrews Proverbs abound in certain figures of speech which add to their impressiveness. The two most characteristic of these figures are hyperbole and paradox. The fornications of the proverb is largely due to the employment of these figures of speech, which the Oriental especially affects. As an example of hyperbole let us cite an Arabic proverb: 'Fling him into the Nile and he will come up with a fish in his mouth,' or the German 'Wes Glück hat, dem kalbert ein Oebers' ('The lucky man's ox calves'); as a paradoxical proverb, note 'No answer is also an answer.'

4. Occurrence.—Proverbs are of universal occurrence; there is no speech or language in which they are not found. Going back to the remotest antiquity, this is true of the Semitic speech, which remains of Babylonia and Egypt. The oldest are found in a Sumerian text. Rawlinson, ii, 16, is the copy of a tablet inscribed with examples for instruction in Sumerian grammar, and a number of the proverbs are composed of a word or a verse. In all, this tablet has preserved eighteen proverbs and riddles, some of which are very

1 In addition to commentaries on the Apocalypse, consult art.
2 Sirach, in JDB.
3 A. H. Smith, Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese, Shanghai, 1902.
4 An excellent art. on classical proverbs is to be found in Quarterly Review, xxxv., (1869) 217 ff.
similar in structure to those of the OT. Among the Egyptians the viziers Kegnemne, Imhotep, and P'tahotep, of the Vth dynasty, put their wisdom into the form of proverbs. As these officials belonged to the King's household, their moral instruction with that conception may be gaines of the antiquity of proverbial literature among the Egyptians. Long before the days of Confucius the Chinese had embodied their wisdom in proverbs, and they were a favourite people for moral instruction with that age.

The proverb had reached a position of commanding influence among the Greeks prior to the great gnomic poets, Solon, Phocylides, and Theognis. The great lyric poets who preceded them, and the seven so-called wise men who followed, put into literary form the popular wisdom of preceding generations. An adequate testimony to this fact is the famous anthology, Sorgnadhara-Padhati, of the 14th century, containing 6000 verses culled from 284 different writers.\(^1\) Bohlingk collected 7615 verses of Sanskrit gnomics, and published them under the title Indische Sprache (Leipzig, 1870-74). Aphoristic ethical poetry was zealously cultivated among the Hindus. Turning to one of the standard collections of proverbs, the Mahabharata, and Ciceron’s De Amicitia; 2 a monument, a monumental dictionary of proverbs, we find catalogued in it proverbial sayings from every nook and corner of the world. The race, whether high or low in the scale of civilization, has always cherished and used them. Not only was this, proverbial and gnomic literature two of the seed-plots of Greek philosophy. The political and moral philosophy of the Hellenic race had its origins in the isolated maxims and proverbs of Greece and the gnomic poetry of Theognis and his contemporary, Phocylides (6th century B.C.).\(^3\)

While Greek philosophy outgrew these humble beginnings and developed into an elaborate metaphysical system, the spirit that produced the proverbs of Solomon and Sirech reached its full development within the pale of later Judaism. The number of proverbs was legion, and they were used by the learned rabbis, were current in social intercourse, and were the favourite means of imparting ethical instruction to the youth. The two Talmud, Jerusalem and Babylonian, the Mishnah, and the Midrashim, as well as the Targums, are rich in proverbs and proverbial sayings. They occur both in Aramaic and in Hebrew, touch upon almost every conceivable subject, and stretch over a period of more than 800 years of Jewish history, from Simon the Righteous (high priest, 310-291 B.C.) down to Rabbi Asher. The best known and most popular collection of Jewish proverb is found in the Mishne tract entitled Pirqui Aboth ('Sayings of the Fathers').\(^4\) Another famous collection is the Abbahu de B. Nathan. The former, usually bound with a Jewish prayer-book, contains the sayings and proverbs of 63 rabbis and teachers arranged chronologically and covering a period of 500 years, from 300 B.C. downwards. It's importance may be judged from the rule requiring a reading of one of its sections each Sabbath. The Abbahu de B. Nathan, a Tosefta or Haggada of the Mishne, contains Ababhou, consisting of 41 chapters which contain writings on proverbs and their explanations, reached its final form in the 5th century A.D.

The Jews of this period delighted in proverbs. A quotation from the Midrash Rabbah to Canticles will give an idea of the esteem in which they were held:

> Let not a proverb be despised in thine eyes, for by means of a proverb one is able to understand the words of the Torah (Malk. Cant. 16).

It was all the more highly esteemed if it could be supported by a proof text from the OT. In this

1 M. Jäger, Aesyrisches Räthsel und Sprichworte, B.A.E.S. II (1891) 274 ff.

2 This Sanskrit work is analyzed in ZDMG xxvii. (1873).

3 They are found in the verses of Hesiod and Homer, among the lines of the lyrist Pindar, the gnomic poets Solon and Theognis, the great tragedians and comic poets. The moral of many of the stories of the Hound of the Baskervilles was summed up in a proverb line which gained currency as a proverb. The great Latin poets loved the proverb, and many proverbs that are common in the modern world go back to Horace, Juvenal, or Terence; e.g., the Frenchman characterizes the favourite of fortune as 'le fils de la poule blanche,' a phrase which can be traced to Juvenal's 'gallina filius alce.' Shakespeare has given popularity and authority to many a striking sentence which has become a proverb in cultu.

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Our investigation leads to the conclusion that among Orientals and peoples of primitive culture a gnomic literature forms the foundations of moral and political philosophy. In races of advanced civilization and culture it plays no part in the teaching of formal schools, but continues to exert an influence over the character and conception of character. Proverbs continue to be employed by poets and religious teachers to impress upon the minds of the masses fundamental principles of morality and noble living. The proverb was often a florid and picturesque description of human life and the people generally because they constitute the hoard of a nation's wisdom, the silent unconscious accumulation that grows up in a long lapse of time.

LITERATURE.—R. C. Trench, Proverbs and their Lessons, London and New York, 1865 (the best general work in English, with a valuable bibliography including a list of proverbial collections in various languages); G. Gerber, Die Sprache als Kunst, Berlin, 1855 (the author discusses the proverb as a literary form, p. 397–442); Erasmus, Adagiorum Chilidades, Venice, 1508 (a great treasure-house of classical proverbs from which all subsequent writers and collectors have borrowed); G. Strassollo, La Sapienza del Mondo, 3 vols., Turin, 1858 (an elaborate encyclopaedia of proverbs; and, an edition of the Adagiorum, translated into Italian); H. Bois, Le Poëme gnomique chez les Helvetes (Paris, 1865), Toutain; important works have been mentioned in the article and notes.

JAMES A. KELSO.

PROVIDENCE.—I. USE OF THE WORD.—The English word 'providence' is derived from the Latin providentia, foresight, and, in practice applied to thoughtful preparation for future needs. As used in religion, Providence is understood in a theistic sense to denote the care of God for His creatures, His general supervision over them, and the ordering of the whole course of things for their good. There is no corresponding word in Hebrew, though the thought is present throughout the OT. In Greek προβαίνεσθαι is used freely in classical literature for forethought, human and divine. It is employed by Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato as an expression of the watchful care of the gods, and it forms one of the names under which Athene was worshipped at Delphi. It occurs twice in Wis (14: 1; Thy providence, O Father, guideth'), the vessel amidst the waves (Job 19: 27; lawless men are exalted from the eternal providence'). In the NT προβαίνεσθαι is found twice only (Ac 24: 20, Ro 13: 3), in both cases to describe human provision. But the doctrine of the Divine ordering of the affairs of the world pervades all the NT writings. In a very wide sense some outward or internal arrangements seem to be in the control of a Deity, which responsible teachers would not countenance.

In the more restricted area of Christian theology Divine Providence is theoretically distinguished from Divine grace on the one hand, from God's preservation of all His creatures on the one hand, and on the other, from His moral government. The latter is said to concern the character and education of men as moral creatures, their welfare and destiny, while Providence is concerned with the affairs and events of life and the way in which a Divine purpose is accomplished in and through them. The two are, however, almost inseparable even in thought. The Christian doctrine is one of faith, resting upon the attributes and character of God generally, but specifically in His foreknowledge and providence. It implies a God of unbounded wisdom, power, and goodness, who unceasingly directs human affairs, great and small, for the accomplishment of the highest spiritual ends. Divine action depends on a Divine purpose; and this perfectly explains the Divine nature and perfections. Christian faith holds that God rules and overrules all that
taketh place in the universe, so as ultimately to realize His own eternal purposes. It is always to be understood, however, that while such a thing implies a measure of symbolism. As in creation God is not a Divine 'artificer,' though the phraseology employed may seem sometimes to imply this, so in Providence He does not need to 'plan' and scheme, in any meaning of the term, as in sub specie aeternitatis. But, allowing for the imperfection of human speech, the truth as to the relation between God and the world is best conveyed by some such phraseology.

II. Historical. — 1. Introductory. — Beliefs implying some kind of living relation between divine and human beings are found in all religions; in proportion as these die down, the character of the system changes from a religion to a philosophy. Even in fetishism, or in Cilician description of Setebos, some kind of purpose is discernible, some measure of protection is granted to worshippers who take the steps necessary to propitiate the ruling power. In polytheism, with its gods many and lords many, such a word as 'Baalim' may stand simply for unknown forces in nature or for particular deities who quite arbitrarily reward their favourite devotees. But, as in Greek mythology, an order may be discernible in the pantheon. Such a measure of superiority may be assigned to Zeus, a power of which as thus outlined, is blind or intelligent. The Buddhist idea of karma — the inexorable linking of all acts with their consequences — excludes Providence. Karma does not indeed, as has been said, necessarily lie outside the pale of religion proper. A moral order may be bound up with it; a saviour of a sort may appear, and there may be, in other ways than by nirvāṇa, an end beyond the end. But in none of these cases can the word 'Providence' be applied in its usual acceptation, since this implies intelligent purpose and an end, presumably good and beneficent, together with active and constant operation for the attainment of clearly conceived designs.

2. In the OT. — The OT conception of life is dominated by the thought of Divine Providence in some form or other. The deists, who entertained the idea of God's purposes and methods and of man's relation to them. In the early stages of Israel's history these were necessarily crude and partial. Tribal and national ideas of deity prevailed, and only after the Exile was the God of Israel identified with the God of the whole earth. Without attempting in this sketch accurately to distinguish the stages of development, it may be said that, throughout the whole, God is recognized as accomplishing His purposes for men (1) in the ordinary course of nature, and (2) by means of special interventions, or miracles. Ps 104 gives a striking illustration of the belief that God in nature works for the benefit of all His creatures, making winds His messengers and lightning His minister. In Jer 31:29-32 the succession of day and night is viewed as part of a beneficent Divine 'covenant' with man, which cannot be violated or modified. The great symbolic picture of the new covenant (Mal 3:1-5) is understood as a new form of sovereign Providence. Miracles are special proofs that God, who can do whatever He wills, makes all forces to subserve His designs, especially for His own people. He works, however, not as fate, mere chance, or headstrong will; man's choice and voluntary action is presupposed; appeals are made for obedience, and disobedience will be punished. Ultimate control, however, lies with the All-Sovereign, who moulds His material as a potter the clay; in dealing with the headstrong wills of men, — and this is the essential characteristic of Joseph shows how actions intended for evil were made to accomplish good. The moral of this and nearly all OT stories is summed up in Pr 16:17: 'A man's heart deviseth his way: but Jehovah directeth all his ways.'

Even where exceptions arise so serious that it would appear either that the idea of superintendence is a mistake, or that God has forgotten, or that 'my way is hid from Jehovah,' the godly man will not dissipate his energies in vain. Some standing riddles of Providence were explicitly raised e.g., the visiting of the sins of the fathers upon the children, the sufferings of the righteous, and the prosperity of the wicked. These problems were faced by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in certain Psalms, and in the book of Job, more or less unsuccessfully. The book of Ecclesiastes stands by itself, and its main drift has always been disputed. Its presence in the canon is probably due to the view that the awkward knots presented in earlier chapters were cut by the sharp knife applied to them all in 12:7. But some of the sceptical suggestions made in Qoheleth were recognized in passing moods by the writers of such Psalms as 40, 76, 77, and 88, who hint at a possible reconciliation of their belief in a Providence both wise and kind.

3. In the extra-canonical writings. — In the extracanonical writings of the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. Greek and other external influences are occasionally manifest, but they show no weakening of belief in God's righteous government of the world. Anthropomorphic expressions become less frequent, and the transcendence of God is emphasized, but the moral qualities of the Deity — righteousness and loving-kindness — are as fully maintained as in the canonical books. In Wis 8:16 Divine wisdom is identical with Providence, which 'ordereth all things graciously,' and in 11:29 the same power is said to have 'ordered all things by measure, number and weight.' Delays in the execution of judgment are due to the fact that 'Thou, being sovereign over thy strength, judgest in gentleness, and with great forbearance dost thou govern us.' A power of choice is given to man, for the Lord who may have 'left his works undone', or 'that before man is life and death; and whosoever he liketh, it shall be given him.' (Sir 16:5). The language of Josephus in a much-quoted passage is not quite clear, but he seems to ascribe to the Pharisees a belief in 'fate, which co-operates in every action,' while the Sadducees 'ascribe all evil to man's free choice.' (BJ II. viii. 14, Ant. XIII. v. 9). The chief differences, however, in the Jewish doctrine of Providence during this period are due to a growing belief in a future life and in judgment beyond the grave, as well as to the general tenor of Apocalyptic teaching concerning the relation of the present and the coming age. In 2 Mac 7 the hope is several times reiterated that 'the King of the heavens' will execute 'his laws unto an eternal renewal of life.' (vv. 25, 36 etc.)

4. In the NT. — The NT is continuous with the OT, but its doctrine of Providence is more minute, more personal, more tender. The teaching of Jesus is the key-note. Not the Lord of heaven and earth, mindful of Israel alone among the nations, is there celebrated, but 'your Father which is in heaven,' who clothes the lilies with beauty, and without whose will not a sparrow falls. The Lord's Prayer is addressed to a Father who can and will care for both the bodies and the souls of His children. The impartiality of the Creator
under a ‘reign of law’ is recognized in Mt 5:8, as well as the special response which He makes to the belief of his hearer in his divine origin (Mt 22:28).

Rash conclusions concerning the character of those upon whom grievous calamities have fallen are condemned (1 K 18:1-3); the anomalies and inequalities of earthly conditions will be rectified at the great Day of Judgment, is to control the rewards and punishments then to be allotted. The parables of the Tares, of Dives and Lazarus, and those recorded in Mt 25 are sufficient indications of this.

The Apostles in their teaching follow the lines thus laid down. St. Paul occasionally affords a glimpse into his philosophy of history, as in Ro 9-11 and 1 Co 15:-23. The teaching of 1 Peter on suffering, of Hebrews on the two Covenants and their lessons, of 2 Peter on Divine forbearance, and of the Apocalypse on present and future judgments shows how largely the early Church in times of severe persecution found its theodicy in expectations of a coming age. The OT teaching concerning the Divine purposes in ordering the course of this world is for the most part preserved in the NT with special emphasis on the redeeming love, as well as the judicial righteousness, of God. But nothing less than a revolution was created by the revelation of a future life and the Resurrection and Second Coming of Him who had abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel. Whilst the same elements are preserved in the spiritual landscape, the focus of the picture is so altered, and its proportions and values are so different, that this is what is called the new. Problems of Providence almost disappear in the light of grace and the glory which shines into the present life from beyond the grave.

5. In Greco-Roman teaching.—Greco-Roman teaching on what corresponds to a doctrine of Providence is chiefly represented in the Stoic schools. Earlier traditions are found in popular mythologies, which present for the most part a superficial view of life and human affairs. The schools of philosophy represented by Herakleitos and Anaxagoras inculcated a belief in the Eternal Reason, while lofty views of justice and retribution appear in the great Greek dramatists. Plato stands for the supremacy of the Right and the Good, for a World-Reason, and a World-Process, the deep reason of which is the Law. But he taught no doctrine of the personal care of a personal God. Aristotle followed on similar lines, and may be said to have taught monotheism without God. He believed in order, harmony, unity of control in the course of the world, but the fact that his interpreters still debate concerning the connotation of the term ‘God’ in his writings speaks for itself. Cicero represents the best side of paganism when he makes Balbus say that, granted the existence of the gods, it must be acknowledged that the administration of the world is carried on ‘eorum consilio’ (De Nat. Deor. ii. 30).

Epicurus and Zeno represent opposite poles of thought. The Epicurean held that fear of the gods was servile, that those who wish to live in serenity care nothing for the gods, as the gods, if there be such, care nothing for them. The Stoic, on the other hand, emphasized the unity of life and the will of Providence, though without theistic implications. His doctrine is a form of pantheistic monism, the world being a single substance, a kind of self-evolution of the Deity. God was but a mode of matter, or matter a mode of God. The two systems thus meet. Stoicism and Christianity is superficial and largely a matter of phraseology, though the coincidence of words and phrases is often very striking. Lightfoot, in his essay on

Paul and Seneca (Philippiens, London, 1878, pp. 270-288), has illustrated this subject at length. Parts of Cleante’s Human to Zeno might be illustrated by a theist believing in Providential government. But the God of Stoicism is synonymous with nature, necessity, fate, the all. The Stoic said ‘God is spirit,’ but his πνεῦμα was an etherealized form of God, a spirit. The Stoic’s God is alive. The Providence of the Stoics was a kind of causal nexus running through the whole universe. All that happens is through determination, ἐκπροήνυς, that which is fixed by fate. The glorification of the world was a superficial, external characteristic of the Stoic. It shows that no personal interest or care was ascribed to the abstraction called God. To ‘live according to nature’ meant that each man formed part of a mighty and orderly system, in harmony with which it was his duty to live, submissive to that 'universal of which Marcus says:

‘O Nature! From thee are all things, in thee all things subsist, and to thee all tend’ (Meditations, lv. 19).

Neo-Platonism exhibits more affinity with Christianity on the mystical side, but its speculative doctrine of an immanent Neoplatonism stands diametrically opposed to such a relation between God and the world as is implied by a fatherly Providence.

6. Patriotic and Scholastic.—In the Patriotic and Scholastic periods of the Christian Church interest, so far as our subject is concerned, circles chiefly round the great standing problems of the existence of evil and of predestination versus free will. A general doctrine of Providence is assumed by Calvin in his teachings on grace and the belief in God. The Greek Fathers from Clement and Origen onwards taught human freedom and responsibility, and were disposed to explain the presence of evil in the world by describing it as negative, not as an essential substance. The teaching of predestination in the West was in practice held side by side with a belief in Providence, Augustine furnishing a striking example of this. In a famous passage (Conf. bk. vii. chs. 11, 18) he describes God as the only really evil being at the same time ‘the good’ and ‘partial good’ (see also Soliloq. i. 21). But, combined with these distinctly Neo-Platonic elements, Augustine taught a clear and elaborate doctrine of Providence as controlling events in their utmost details. His treatise de Civitate Dei formulates a philosophy of History, and maintains a God-centered conception. Scholasticism, by its intimate blending of philosophy and theology, did much to develop Christian doctrine on the relation between God and the world. Thomas Aquinus brought all his resources to bear on questions of this kind. His position is that of a modified predestinationism. The Divine foreordination which he teaches leaves room—at the expense of some inconsistency—both for human free will and for a doctrine of Providence which theoretically embraces all details in human history. Roman Catholic doctrine as formulated at Trent is based on Aquinas, and exhibits God as Ruler and Guardian of men in the ministration of individual life, as well as in the broad outlines of national history.

7. Protestant.—Protestantism manifested little divergence on the great fundamental questions of natural theology. Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli alike understood by Providence a Divine foreordination, which included the operations of man as well as the divine. Theirs was a practical faith. The actions of wicked men are so overruled by Divine wisdom and power that the presence of evil in the world is no blot upon God’s character and government. Few attempted to work out the theistic problems of Malebranche, which implied the continuous interposition of the Deity and treated finite things as
affording only "occasions" for Divine operations, may be mentioned as one hypothesis. It was not accepted by many, and was obviously open to the charge of implying a kind of perpetual miracle. It made way for the more reasonable theory of 'concurrence' (see below). The rationalism (q.e.v.) of the 18th. cent. produced both the Theodote of Leibniz, with his "ultimate principles of the concurrence of all its imperfections, the best of all possible worlds, and the caustic scepticism of Voltaire, who in Candide satirized an optimism which could accept the earthquake of Lisbon with a light heart. It was left for the 19th. cent. to prove that "the fact nor the sneer of the cynic was adequate to deal with the facts of life and history.

III. Modern Conceptions. — 1. 19th. cent. theology. — The changes discernible in the course of the 19th. cent. were produced in the main by the following causes, themselves more or less closely connected: (1) a change in the conception of God, which may be described as a passing from deism to theism, from a belief in a transcendent Deity, set over against the world which He originally created, to a God immanent as well as transcendent, informing and sustaining a created universe, which continues to be entirely dependent on His indwelling power; the cold rationalism which was sometimes associated with such a change displaced belief in One who meets the craving of the human spirit for union and communion with the living God; (2) the influence of modern physical science, which in the first instance attacked the mechanism of the universe, but which ultimately, through its doctrine of evolution, revealed the world as an organism developing under the influence of indwelling life; (3) philosophical tendencies of an idealistic type, operative mainly at the close of the century. These affected very deeply the view taken of the relation between God and the world, and consequently the meaning of Providence. As a matter of fact, in the Christian theology of the period the name 'God' covered various undefined meanings, ranging from bare theism to views which approached pantheism. The prevalent orthodox opinion was described by the term concursus, adapted from the Schoolmen, implying a joint activity of God and man, so that the effect of every act is produced not by divine but divine-creative influence. There is one efficiency of God and the creature, the evil in sinful deeds being due to man alone.

2. The crucial question of to-day. — The significance and bearings of 'concurrence' had certainly not been thought out. The scientific discoveries and philosophical activities of the 19th. cent. forced upon theologians a number of questions which they were only partly prepared to answer. The worlds of theology, philosophy, physical science, and ordinary practical life had been so far apart that what may be called the necessary exosmosis and endosmosis of ideas was not effected. Such intercommunication is still far from complete, but the process has been carried far enough to show that the complex questions raised by the term 'Providence' can be answered only by a new and nuanced understanding of the relations between God and man.

Hume, among other questions which roused men from dogmatic slumber, put this very searching one: in the many cases in which the material is wholly empirical? If so, all depends on the definition of experience. 'What are the facts on which an inquiry into Providence — in the sense of belief in an Orderer of human life, both omnipotent and beneficent — can be based? As it is, they are clearly insufficient. The whole experience of man must be taken into account, and mere colligation of happenings will not suffice. Their interpretation is all-important, and in the process postulates are employed concerning which fundamental differences of opinion exist. The hypothesis of blind force as the originating and sustaining cause of the universe may be read into what are called facts, as well as the hypothesis of a celestial Arbiter, or of an indwelling as well as overruling Deity of the universe. The hypothesis, of course, implied the question, Which of these theories best accounts for all the facts of human experience, and what doctrine of Providence, or the maintenance of a Divine purpose in human affairs, is warranted in the light of the evidence? Why is it, then, that the doctrine is one of faith, is the faith reasonably based upon all the facts, physical, moral, and spiritual, of human life? Is it from this standpoint that the subject has been approached during the close of the 19th and the opening of the 20th century.

Does the theory of an overruling Providence, all-wise, almighty, and all-good, 'work'? That is, does it give a permanently satisfactory account of the facts of life, and result in a permanently satisfying explanation of them from a moral and spiritual point of view? If it be granted to the theist that there is a God, who operates within, as well as over, the existing order, do the facts warrant a belief that He has power and wisdom enough to correspondingly order the whole and create it beneficial enough to bear out the statement that He is as gracious as He is powerful and wise? No doctrine of Providence can satisfy the modern mind which cannot frankly meet this question. But the issues raised are so vast and complex, and they are so distinctly personal and ethical, rather than philosophical and scientific, that they are, as they always have been, differently determined by different inquirers.

3. General Providence. — The answers given by the best representatives of modern Protestant theology may be described under two headings—general and special (or particular) Providence. Certain general principles in the ordering of human affairs which imply a controlling Deity are such as these: (1) God works by law, i.e. by a regular and uniform, not by an irregular and arbitrary, method; and this recognized order, while it raises serious difficulties in particular cases, is obviously advantageous to the welfare of the whole. But the Divine design is not in any way the simple result of a plastic material substance, but upon the partially independent and largely recalcitrant wills of men. Hence conflict is discernible, contradictions appear, and at best, delay arises in the accomplishment of results. The principles of (2) solidarity and (3) sacrifice are also discernible. These imply that men as a race stand or fall together; that, in the family, in society, in the nation, and as time advances in the history of the race, individuals are made to realize the importance of self-denial, self-sacrifice, and it may be self-surrender, for the good of the whole. The relation between the parts and the whole in the organism, imperfectly understood at first, and still ignored in thought and practice by many, becomes increasingly clear as the knowledge and experience of mankind extend. And the twin principles of solidarity and sacrifice are pillars upon which any doctrine of Providence must ultimately rest. (4) While advance in the accomplishment of Divine design is slow and impeded by only too obvious retrogression, progress is on the whole discernible, though the goal which by hypothesis is being aimed at can be reached only by advance of an example imperfect but a perfect kind. The above considerations belong to the doctrine of Providence. (5) The believer in a special Christian revelation turns naturally to that as normative and determin-
ative amidst the baffling complexities of human
history. Faith in Christ holds a clue to the
infinite which unaided reason disdains to see.
Whether Christian faith can be proved to be
in itself reasonable or not depends upon the extent
to which the Christian solution, resting upon the
Incarnation, the Cross, and the Resurrection, can
be demonstrated to be true.

4. 'Special Providence.'—The term 'special
Providence' dates from the time of the Schoolmen,
who distinguished between Providence universal,
general, particular, special, and most special.
Divinity was brought upon the idea by the
way in which it was viewed and the
inferences drawn from supposed Divine
intervention in particular cases. But it is obvious that the
Providence which does not concern itself with species
and genus as well as with universum, and with
the individual as well as with the race, is none at
all. A deity who is 'careful of the type' and
'careless of the single life' does not exercise pro-
vidence in the usual acceptation of the word.
The doctrine of special Providence means that God is
able and willing, not only to promote general well-
being, but also to secure to every one who trusts
and obeys Him that all things shall work together
for his true personal welfare. God does not gener-
alize without particularizing. Such a process is as
meaningless in the realm of individual
creatures in the realm of morals. The Father in heaven
makes His sun to shine on evil and good alike;
He operates by general laws. But He also
orders their working in the natural and spiritual
world, taking the whole thing all in
made, sooner or later, to contribute to the allaying
welfare of the faithful servant of God. In
this ordered whole there is no distinction of small
and great, as the words are often understood.
The criterion of magnitude and importance is to be
found in the spiritual world. The care for the
welfare of the individual does not abrogate general
laws. A doctrine of special Providence does not
imply the deliverance of the individual from
specific dangers or the granting to him of specific
advantages, but it does mean that man has a fully differ-
ental signification for different men. Opportunities
proverbially come to him who is ready to use them.
And all things may 'work together for good to
themselves that love God,' in a sense that is not, and
cannot be, limited to those who are specially found
in union with Himself and in harmony with His
great designs.

It may be said that some belief of this kind is essen-
tial to a theistic religion. It is tested in practice by a belief in the efficacy of prayer
and by a corresponding doctrine of values in personal,
social, national, and racial life. It cannot be proved by a
priori reasoning or established by a
complete induction from the events of experience,
especially as understood by those for whom the
word 'spiritual' has little or no meaning. But it
represents a reasonable faith, not a creduulous or
superstitious attitude towards the universe, because
it is open to receive all well-attested facts and
furnishes the best explanation of experience as a
whole, when studied from a moral and spiritual
point of view.

IV. PROBLEMS RAISED.—The difficulties in the
way of the acceptance of a doctrine of Providence are in
the main those raised against theism (q.v.). This
theory is more prominent in those who are
in the prominence of the
in spite of the prevalence of pain, failure, death,
and other factors of existence, of which under the
rule of a perfectly good God only partial
explanations can be given. The doctrine of Providence is
the feature of thatism most frequently assailed and
least difficult to defend, making, as it does, the
lofty claim that all human activities are subordi-
nated to the accomplishment of the Divine will and
to purposes of perfect benevolence. Some of the
problems raised are metaphysical and concern
the relation of the One to the many, or the compati-
bility of Divine foreknowledge with human free
will. Others are ethical and can be satisfactorily
dealt with only as parts of a complex whole (see
Ethics). These demands must be
met.

1. Evolution and design.—Evolution as part of
the Divine method in the genesis and history of
life is an inseparable part of the theism. It does not
exclude purpose. The study of processes need
not interfere—though in practice it may often do
so—with a belief in ends. The principles of evolu-
tion as traced in the lower organisms can be
applied to human society only with very important
modifications; but, so far as evolutionary methods
are discernible, they do not interfere with design.
Though they may destroy the evidence for certain
separate and specific designs and ends, they help
greatly in building up a conception of one vast
purpose, which, as yet only hinted at, is that Man is
on this planet the consummation of life, and it is quite consistent with all that is known of
his development to hold that by the operation of
Providence the history of mankind is being so
organized that the human race may realize its highest con-
ceiveable capacity.

2. Immanence and transcendence.—The idea of
Divine immanence, which has gained such hold of
recent years, may seem to undermine belief in
Providence—a doctrine essentially dependent on
Divine transcendence. The theist claims to main-
tain both doctrines side by side. If immanence is
accepted as sometimes taught, it approaches
pantheism, and the possibility of Providence pro-
portionately disappears. A professed theist, who
yet ignores or denies the transcendence of a personal
God, has no real belief in Providence. But even
Matthew Arnold's 'The Eternal, not ourselves,
that makes for righteousness' at least prepares the
way for a doctrine which Shakespeare's 'divinity
that doth apply itself to mortal ends, removes the
will,' carries a stage further. Also, 'immanence'
is a word only recently adopted to express, not
quite happily, the fact that the Divine relation to
the creature, and especially the course of human
history, is not necessarily contradicted by the modern
contemporary writers frequently does, imply move-
ment in one or more of the following directions:
(a) a proposition against undue reliance on Divine
intervention from without, especially in
immanence, the acceptance of self-limitation on the part of the
Deity as beginning in creation and continuous
PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

throughout in His relation with the creature; (e) hence the admission that the course of human history, whilst ordered for good, is not the best possible or conceivable. Man has a measure of power to delay, or annul, a Divine work which he cannot ultimately prevent. If the action of Providence is discernible in the destruction of the Armada or the basishment of Napoleon to St. Helena, account must also be given of the murder of Lincoln at a critical moment in the history of the United States, or of the death or life of the egocentric of the German Emperor Frederick III. and the succession of so different a ruler as William II. (d) Arguments for or against a belief in the Divine control of human affairs can never be satisfactorily based on isolated events. It is the power to compel all seeming and real discordos into universal harmony that is asserted; and this by means of an indwelling life, rather than a merely external control and mastery.

Divine omnipotence.—Discussions concerning the nature of Divine omniscience and omnipotence, and the relation of these to man's freedom of choice, cannot be dealt with here (see Free Will, God, Predestination). It may be said, however, in a word that the doctrine of omnipotence has often been attributed to the creaturely will. The reality of the creaturely will may be real and operative within limits without impugning the doctrine of Divine control. As Herbert puts it,

'Either thy command, or thy permission,
Lay hands on all: they are thy right or left.'

(The Temple.—Providence.)

A line in the context of the same poem puts the truth still more succinctly;

'All things have their will, yet none but thine.'

4. Some moral problems.—One large class of perpetually recurring problems arises from the constitution of nature as a whole, man forming only a part of this, and sometimes a distinctly subordinate part. The phenomena of physical pain and death fall to be considered under this heading. The theistic contention is that the facts point not to essential dualism in the order of nature, but to the development of designs which include the welfare of the human race as a whole, but as a relative rather than as an absolute end. The existence and course of moral evil or Error which will constitute a still graver difficulty, which is discussed in Art. GOOD AND EVIL, but which does not necessitate either, on the one hand, an explanation of sin as mere negation or, on the other, a denial of the holy love of God.

5. Immortality.—No doctrine of Providence can be complete which does not deal with the question of immortality. If life beyond the grave is wholly denied, our estimate of human nature and the significance of human life is altogether changed. Natural theology cannot prove immortality, but it can build up a strong argument in its favour, 'since a contrary supposition is negatived by all that we know of the habits and methods of the cosmic process of Evolution' (J. Tykel, Life Everlasting, London, 1901, p. 86 f.). But, at the best, strong and confident hope is all that can be reached on the basis of natural theology, and hope cannot be used to establish a doctrine of Providence. If, however, the Christian revelation is to be trusted, the solution of the most perplexing relation to the Divine government of the world may be postponed until the dawn of a future life illumines them. Enough if it be true concerning God as revealed in Christ that 'of Him, through Him, and in Him are all things' (Phil. iv. 19), that the far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves' will be realized in the End beyond the end, when the Son has delivered up the Kingdom to the Father and God is all in all.


T. W. DAVISON.

PRUSSIANS.—See Old Prussians.

PSALMODY.—See HYMNS, Music (Christian).

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.—During the ages of universal belief in ghosts and spirits, phenomena were commonly attributed to their agency. In antiquity visions, hauntings, hallucinations, and clairvoyance were, as a matter of course, referred to spirits. The old Romans practised crystallogamy and hydromancy, i.e. clairvoyance by gazing in crystals and at the surface of still water. They knew also the 'divining rod' in the form of the pendulum explorateur. The forked rod for centuries has been used to discover treasures, and even to trace criminals to their hiding-places; and the belief in premonition, received in dreams or in waking dreams at ages older than Gurney's 'Census of Hallucination.'

But these and other unusual phenomena, real or alleged, readily explicable through spirits while the belief in their existence was unshaken, grew in the hysteric period. The troubled mind was lost, and clairvoyance were, as a matter of course, referred to spirits. The old Romans practised crystallogamy and hydromancy, i.e. clairvoyance by gazing in crystals and at the surface of still water. They knew also the 'divining rod' in the form of the pendulum explorateur. The forked rod for centuries has been used to discover treasures, and even to trace criminals to their hiding-places; and the belief in premonition, received in dreams or in waking dreams at ages older than Gurney's 'Census of Hallucination.'

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issued contain extensive reports upon telepathy (thought- and feeling-transference), automatism of various sorts (divining-rod, table-moving, automatic writing, slate-writing, etc.), clairvoyance, levitation, psychical rappings, phenomena of premonitions, spirit-communications, and other topics.

For convenience the facts studied may be roughly classified as physical and psychical. The first class includes levitation and translation (of tables, of attendants, of bodies), evaporation (of ghosts and other objects), the production of noises, music, etc. To the second class belong premonitory or otherwise significant visions (crystal-gazing, apparitions), the discovery of occult or means of the written clairvoyance, clairaudience, slate-writing, and the alleged ‘messages’ from spirits expressed through a ‘medium.’

The outcome of the work of the S.P.R. with regard to the physical phenomena may be conservatively summed up as the establishment of the improbability of there being anything in them but conscious or unconscious fraud—unconscious when the medium performs while in a trance. The evidence for this unfavourable verdict cannot be adduced here. But it is clear that the conditions under which the performances of ‘physical’ mediums are conducted, the difficulty of obtaining their consent to satisfactory test-conditions, and what happens when those conditions are accepted, are so brief the case of the latest and best studied great claimant to the possession of mysterious power, Eusapia Palladino.

Palladino, an Italian peasant woman, who had from her early youth an extraordinary faculty of powers, became known to the S.P.R. in 1913 as a series of sittings held in Milan before a meeting of chemists. Her power was detected therapeutically, and was under investigation by a number of noted chemists, but also her evoked avarice to really scientific control, and the impotency to which she is reduced when she submits to conditions of test that are not favorable to his experiments, the investigation of Palladino’s possession of an unknown power. It was found that, whenever the two feet of the table nearest to her, one of the feet was lifted, and an increase in her weight, corresponding to the weight of the table, and whenever the two feet opposite the end at which she was seated were raised. This was evidenced by the apparatus. It is just what would be expected on the supposition that the table was moving. The table might be the case of the former cases the weight of the table rested on her body, and in the latter she pressed upon the near end of the table in order to cause the raising of the opposite end. Her success in defeating ‘without contact’ a delicate balance gave way to complete failure when it was protected in various ways. It was, moreover, discovered that a long hair and a pin were among the apparatus apparently required for the performance of this feat.

These and similarly suspicious or confounding facts might, it seems, have convinced the committee that they were investigating merely a very clever prestidigitator; yet their researches were not finished. They were directed to examine the apparatus and the possession of an unknown power. It is argued that deception in a medium does not preclude the possession of supernormal power, and that the demonstration of even occasional deception is not sufficient warrant for judging all the tests to be tricks. The argument is based on the combination of frequency of deception, kinds of performance, and the number of the required conditions. The committee has been permitted to examine the apparatus and the possession of a medium’s power. This combination of factors is realized in Palladino’s case. The most suspicious test in the French investigators he operated under the following conditions. The room in which the experiments were made was dark, or at times, quite dark. The darker the room, the more the control was exercised by the performances. The control of the medium’s hands was theoretically secured by two persons, each holding one of hers; but in practice she insisted, when she chose, upon the right place to hand her hands on those of the controllers, and even, at times, to give them gentle tape instead of remaining in uninterrupted contact with them. Corresponding conditions existed as to the control of the table. The various statements she was making were with those of the controllers. She refused to have pieces of tape seven centimetres long sewed between her hands and the table, and the controllers agreed to allow observers to be stationed in the room elsewhere than around the table. After the first flash-light photographs had been taken, the S.P.R. committee refused to permit any to be taken outside of it, in order to prevent anyone from photographic the apparatus. In the second sitting in Milan, after she was caught at tricks of the same sort as those in which she was:

(1) every one of the conditions that she maintained against the work of deception, and to be necessarily familiar with the apparatus. Why must there be a cabinet closed in front of a curtain? Why must the stand, the other objects, be the legs of her table or feet? Why the poor illumination? Why was she not willing to suffer the annoyance of an unexpected flash of light of a safe control of her hands and feet? Were she occasionally honest, she might, it seems, occasionally dispense with some or all of these suspicious conditions. That certain requirements must be observed in order to make possible the manifestation of any power is not disputed. But why is it that those demanded are precisely those that would afford the medium a chance of deceit? We need not be deterred from a negative conclusion by the writer’s declaration that they cannot possibly understand how, in light sufficient for observation and with her hands and feet under control, Palladino could by normal means accomplish the same effects. It is quite possible to show how easy it would be for the them to have their sittings anywhere they chose, without anyone having to recognize their faces in the air appearing on the medium’s neck and head. Their judgment as to the sufficient of hands and of the location of the medium’s hands while under control can evidently not be relied upon.

What is true of Palladino is true in substance of all mediums, so far as the production of physical phenomena is concerned. Every one of them, with the single exception of Daniel Dunglas Home, has been detected in deception. The distinguished personality of this famous medium inspired too much respect among the small and carefully selected circle before whom he performed to permit of the suspicion of trickery. He was, therefore, spared the humiliation of an investigation implying the possibility of fraud.

Certain of the wonder-excitng phenomena recently subjected to scientific study are complicating being examined and by means of mediums, and even in some cases in the agent of unusual susceptibility to certain sensory stimuli. It has been established, e.g., that the movements of the rod which indicates the presence of water is unconsciously imparted to the rod. These are movements of the object, by a person in contact with one knowing its location, is achieved by the ‘reading’ of slight unconscious movements. But automatism is only the beginning of an explanation of these phenomena. Why should the hands of the dowsers move when over water, and how is it that movements seemingly too slight to offer any guidance are, nevertheless, in the experiments referred to, sufficient to lead the percipient to the hidden object? The existence of the percipient of an invisible medium of kind, the pertinent explanation. Should cases occur which this explanation does not fit, the possibility of telepathic communication between the persons in contact, or even perception of the mind-perceivable, or can the person in contact him, would have to be considered. Neither one nor the other of these explanations is applicable to the dowser. Vision, or another kind of perception of the water or the object is impossible, interposition has been suggested as a possible explanation; but, before reconnoitre is had to clairvoyance, it may be demanded that the fact itself be more firmly established than it now is. The doubter must, however, admit that the reported experiments (W. F. Barrett, ‘On the so-called Divining Rod,' _Proc._
The greatest achievement of the psychical researchers is the well-nigh unquestionable demonstration of occasional communication between living persons without any known intermediary (telepathy). The evidence is now of such quality and quantity even particular sceptical investigators find it impossible to deny its adequacy. The evidence consists of experimental and of spontaneous communications. Among the notable experiments are those conducted by Prof. and Mrs. H. Sidgwick, in which a percipient named numbers of two digits taken out of a bag by the former. Of 644 trials 133 were entirely successful—i.e. the two digits were correctly given; and in 14 trials the right digits were given, but in the reverse order. None of the tricks known to an experienced prestidigitator could apparently find application in this, or in several other instances of the same sort.

In Phantoms of the Living Edmund Gurney has published over 200 well-attested instances of spontaneous hallucinations. These phenomena are termed 'Hallucination' and the subsequent more elaborate census of a committee of the S.P.R. apparently prove that the number of veridical hallucinations is much greater than is indicated by the rule of elenct of the S.P.R. x. (1894) 303. It must, moreover, be acknowledged that, when hallucinations include several veridical incidents not logically connected, none of which is ordinary or to be naturally expected by the percipient, a small number of such cases is sufficient to exclude coincidence as an explanation.

But, even were it possible to dismiss these spontaneous, premonitory hallucinations as due to coincidence, mistake, or deceit, there would yet remain the weighty experimental evidence for thought-telepathy. Nevertheless, the critical investigator may well stop short of complete assurance when he considers that these experiments are only sporadically successful. The only persons able to produce, whenever desired, alleged telepathic feats either are definitely known to be deceivers or are open to serious suspicion. No fact may be incorporated in any science unless the conditions of its appearance are known sufficiently to make possible either its reproduction or the circumstantial prediction of its recurrence. Conviction of the reality of telepathy will not become general among men of science until one or the other of these conditions is realized.

As to the tentative explanation of telepathy, we may say here merely that the dominant tendency is to seek for a physical explanation on the analogy of the wireless transmission of electric energy. Vibrations of some sort, produced by a brain in a particular physiological state, are supposed to be transmitted to another brain in a condition that makes it an appropriate receiver. The main difficulty in the way of this theory seems to be the distance (half the circumference of the earth) through which these waves would at times reach the receiving brain. But, until we know more about this transmission and acknowledge the insufficiency of little force in the objection that its energy is insufficient.

Clairvoyance, or, as it is also called, teleesthesia, is commonly produced by gazing in a crystal or at other perfect know and skill. This may have been able to reproduce correctly, remains for future investigations to disclose. As long as we can affirm with Podmore that 'the trance personalities have never told us anything which was not possibly, scarcely anything which was not prob-
ably, within the knowledge of some living person' (p. 312), telepathy will appear the more plausible and the less revolutionary hypothesis. But who will venture to formulate the test which will measure particular phenomena as not within the 'possibly known' to some one living anywhere on the surface of the globe?

The telepathic hypothesis of spirit-messages received suggests the knapsack of meaningless assertions from the 'revelations' made by the alleged spirits regarding their state and the circumstances of their existence. They have been fairly loquacious; yet none of them, not even those from whom much could have been expected, have revealed anything more definite of the spirits' nature than the insignificance of their remarks concerning the other life is the pertinacious effort of these alleged spirits to avoid answering the many and pointed questions addressed to them on that subject. From Richard Hodgson, the late secretary of the S.P.R., nothing enlightening has been learned, despite his haste in giving sign of his existence. For several years after his death Mrs. Piper scarcely held a sitting without some manifestation of what professed to be her influence. Of trifling incidents which may be useful in establishing his identity he talked abundantly; but, when questioned concerning the circumstances of his existence, he either drivelled or excused himself clumsily and departed. Frederic Myers and William James have been equally disquieting.

It has been urged that the spirits may find it difficult to work with the muscular mechanism of the medium; a disincarnate soul may be inefficient in the matter of physical control for a time not fully conscious and muddled. The fact is, however, that spirits do communicate a great many things; it takes volumes to record their utterances! The difficulties are apparently of such peculiar nature that nothing concerning the other life, and only things that have taken place on this earth, transpire. None of the hypotheses offered accounts for this puzzling aspect of the communications—not even the latest suggestion which would shift the blame from the spirit to the medium. Here we are asked to admit that, because of the peculiar condition of spirit-existence, the spirit's mental content is transmitted whole to the medium—in a lump, as it were—instead of coming out in the organized and selected form which his questions demand. Were it so, it would be small wonder that the medium should grow confused, contradict himself, and speak irreverently. But why, when he knows that the sitter seeks information on things above, does the medium not succeed once in a while in choosing in the total consciousness of the spirit something which would gratify the sitter's curiosity? Why are the things picked out always trifling, meaningless, or ridiculous? To this pertinent question no satisfactory answer has ever been given. The limitation of the knapsack of meanings of spirit to earthly facts points to an earthly origin of the medium's information.

One may, perhaps, venture to quote William James as a fair representative of those among the well-informed who regard the mediumship death mark as unsolved. Shortly before his death he wrote:

'For twenty-five years I have been in touch with the literature of Psychic Research, and I have been acquainted with numerous Researchers ... yet I am theoretically no further than I was at the beginning' (American Magazine, lviii. [1900] 28).

As to those who regard the results of the S.P.R. as proving survival, they must admit that no amount of optimism and ingenuity in explanation can hide the repulsiveness of such glimpses of the future life as they have caught and its lack of the essential features of the Christian conception. In any case, then, the belief in the Christian hereafter, elaborated by humanity under the pressure of exalted desires, remains entirely unbuttressed.

If, after thirty-four years of activity, many of the mysteries which the S.P.R. set out to explore are still unfathomed, much has, nevertheless, been explained. Thus the mischief which mystery works upon credulous humanity has been lessened by the extension of the field of scientific control. This is particularly true with regard to the various forms of automaticism. But the greatest accomplishment to record is the approximate demonstration that, under circumstances still mostly unknown, the human mind may be directed by other than the usual means, perhaps by direct communication between brains (telepathy) at practically any earthly distance from each other. This dark opening is indeed portentous. It may at any time lead to discoveries which will dwarf into insignificance any of the previous achievements of science.


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PSYCHOLOGY.—I. DEFINITION AND SCOPE.

1. Psychology the study of the world of experiences. Our cursory glance at the literature of this subject shows that it deals chiefly with the direct impressions of sense, such as colours, sounds, tastes, and smells; with their complex integrations, such as visual forms in one, two, or three dimensions, groups of consonant and dissonant tones, verbal sequence, melody, and the localization of these sensory experiences; with our apprehension and appreciation of space; with our perception of objects and our general notions regarding them; with memory, imagination, thinking; with feeling, passion, and sentiment; with voluntary activities of all kinds, whether ideal or practical; and with a number of general questions arising out of these topics. It does not deal with the parts and processes of the material world, but with all our reactions to it. One might almost say that the real world, so far as it is known to us, is the world of psychology. Or, if the difficulty of separating the material objective world from our activity with it is pointed out, we may say that psychology deals with all of the world that is immediately or directly before us; or with the world in so far as it is momentarily dependent upon our own activity; if we shut our eyes, all colours and their forms and localizations vanish from us as actualities; if we cease to remember, the things of the past are no longer with us; when love takes the place of hate, the object which is hateful vanishes from us as a world. Or, if the difficulty of separating the material objective world from our activity with it is pointed out, we may say that psychology deals with all of the world that is immediately or directly before us; or with the world in so far as it is momentarily dependent upon our own activity; if we shut our eyes, all colours and their forms and localizations vanish from us as actualities; if we cease to remember, the things of the past are no longer with us; when love takes the place of hate, the object which is hateful vanishes from us as a world.

This obvious distinction between the world in so far as it is dependent upon itself and upon us is commonly expressed by saying that, whereas the natural sciences study the world of nature, psychology is the world of mind as it appears to us. The objects which psychology studies are known as experiences. There are many other special sciences that deal with experiences; but psychology is the fundamental one. It holds the same place in the world of mind as physics does in the world of nature. It is the basic mental science.
In such a statement of the subject-matter of psychology as this three terms inevitably emerge into prominence: 'nature,' 'experience,' and 'self.' The world appears to us in experience. Experience is that aspect of the world that is (more or less accurately) the object of our activity. The world is the manifold of implications of experiences that is not momentarily dependent upon our activity. We are that which, over against the fleeting medium of experience, partakes somewhat of the permanence of the world.

Now, if it is commonly admitted that the primary object of psychology is the study of experience, the further question must arise as to what concern psychology has with the relation of experience to the world and to the self.

2. Relation of experience to the world.—(a) Psychology and epistemology.—In its broadest form the relation to the world is the problem of epistemology—not, How in actual fact do we become aware of the world? (that is a purely psychological problem), but, By what right do we assert the existence of a world independent, to whatever extent, of experience (and of the self)? It might well be asserted that the only possible answer to the question of right is the correct answer to the question of how. That an answer that is often made to the effect that psychology can have no legitimate concern with truth or error. It is the business of logic to establish correct conclusions, and perhaps to classify fallacies; psychology will record and describe with impartiality the correct conclusion drawn by one man and the wrong conclusion drawn by another. Because the problem of psychology includes both the 'correct' and the 'false' process, it will make generalizations about experience, valid or invalid, for what is logically true or rational. And in any case it requires a separate, not descriptive but normative, discipline to distinguish between the true and the false. That seems to be the line of argument taken by those who hold this view. They often give further support to their view by reference to the unconcern of natural science for truth, beauty, good, or weal. Two stars disrupt each other—it is a case of impact or tidal motion. The beauty of it is a problem in the chemistry of coloured compounds. The woe of mortal disease may be the struggle of two forms of life-force equally valid as biological energies.

That is all quite true, of course. But, though the sciences of medicine study health and disease impartially—if not indeed disease rather than health—and make generalizations valid for both, do they not also strive to win a special body of generalizations valid for health alone? Similarly, though the psychology of cognition will speak of the forms common to both truth and error, will they not also separate the variations peculiar to truth from those peculiar to error? If there is none such, then how does the other discipline proceed to distinguish between truth and error? If a general rule that is valid for the general methods of scientific procedure, can gain knowledge of the ways of truth, will not a special, introspective, experimental method that looks microscopically through the experience of sickness, of experimentation, and to distinguish between the end? If a man by introspection cannot discern the forms of truth, how will they ever be discerned? And, if the method is introspective, will it not be improved as much by the exact methods of experimentation as the two are the forms of the same discipline? Psychology have been? The discipline that distinguishes between the true and the false does not make or create the truth any more than it makes the falsehood or than a chemist makes or creates new organic compounds. And yet this, of course, does no prejudice to the possibility that there may be many aspects of knowledge that are much broader in their scope and relations than are the minute aspects of knowledge, such as come within the range of a few seconds' duration. These broad aspects may be studied by a special broad method, just as certain broad aspects of health are studied by certain broad (statistical) methods which ignore the single individual. But the broad aspects rest in the end scientifically upon the narrow ones in all regions.

Psychology, therefore, has full right to all that it can accomplish regarding the relation of experience to the world, and no discipline that concerns itself with that relation can afford to ignore the relevant work of psychology.

(b) Psychology and physiology.—In so far as psychology is concerned with the proximate relation of experience to the world—the relation to the body and specially to the nervous system of the individual—its science merges into that of psychophysics. The science which holds the other end of the relation is physiology. Much obscurity prevails regarding the relation of physiology and psychology, so that it is necessary to review it here in spite of its simple mixture.

Psychology is the scientific study of experience, physiology that of the functions or activities of the body. Whatever asserts the existence, the time, the manner, the properties, or anything whatever, directly about an experience is an item of psychological science. Whatever asserts anything about the body or a part of it other than its topography and morphology is an item of physiological science. Consequently, the work of psychology consists in the increase of psychological sciences, in the increase of statements about experience. An assertion regarding a touch-organ, an eye, an ear, or a nerve is an item of physiology, no matter how it was gathered, whether by the microscopical examination of the organ, or by inference from the observation of sensations of vision or of sound, or of loss of memory, or what not.

This obvious distinction is not in itself important in an exposition of psychology. Most people would agree to it at once. But they generally object to do anything by physiology, and to let it, and so to dispel their favourite prejudices. It is, e.g., a common prejudice of scientists especially interested in physiology that psychology claims to be able to do what they already know they cannot yet do. It tries to show how we can know the truth, but with flimsy, superficial methods, such as the asking of questions, the recording of reaction times; ignoring all the while, e.g., such a flagrant fact as that the occurrence of intelligence is dependent upon the proper functioning of the thyroid gland, and so on. It is in face of such a mistake that it is so necessary to point out that the fact regarding the thyroid gland belongs to psycho-physics, and that it does not add anything to our knowledge of psychological science. Much physiology has definitely excluded any consideration of experiences from the scope of reference of their science. That is all the more reason why they should admit the scientific study of the field of experience as the task of psychology.
gathering of facts of observation, but, when they come to the problem of explanation, they are often completely diverted to the terms of physiological explanation, ignoring, it may be, altogether their duty of gaining psychological systematization for the facts gathered—in other words, a psychological explanation. This prejudice commonly governs professed psychologists even in dealing with questions relating to higher experiences, such as memory, attention, etc. In the field of sensory experience it is almost universal.

The psychologist is in his holding that, if he, specially active in the direct study of the functions of the body, and not ignorant of the indirect sound of physiological knowledge, cannot advance a true theory of neural action in some special department, such a theory will hardly be deduced solely or chiefly from indirect sources. On the other hand, the psychologist, who is specially active in the direct study of experiences, is more likely to be able to systematize these completely in his special department, and so to explain them psychologically, than he is to be able to deduce from them, in their un-systematized and therefore unregulated and haphazard state, the completion of the knowledge and for the systematization of a neural field that has not been specially the object of his direct study. All this is, of course, without prejudice to the fact that one man may be equally fitted for, and may do equally complete, work in some field of both psychology and physiology. If so, he is merely formally two scientists in one, and must in both capacities work as perfectly, without prejudice, in the interests of each science as he would if he were a specialist in one only.

Psychology, then, is primarily a pure psychology, the scientific study of experiences in terms of experiences, involving their complete description, analysis, classification, and systematization. In the connecting science of epistemology it has equal rights with physiology. In the connecting science of epistemology it has equal rights with any philosophical discipline which may concern itself with that science—and so on for all other sciences in which psychology may be related to other sciences.

3. Experience in relation to the self.—Having dealt thus with experience in itself and in relation to the world, we have now only to deal with experience in relation to the self. But there is this difference between the world and the self, that, whereas there are highly developed sciences other than psychology that deal with the world, there is no other distinct science than psychology that deals with the self. In fact, psychology is by name the science of the soul, or self, that which is of the nature of experience perhaps, but certainly transcends the single, momentary, fleeting experience.

We might, then, expect psychology to include a special field devoted to the study of the self. A science of psychological literature, however, will hardly reveal this field. In fact, there are many who flatly deny that there is any such thing strictly as a self, distinguishable from the sum total, or field, or stream, of experiences. And, where there is no such thing, there is no existent model of the frequent difference of view as to the nature of the self.

About the popular view there is no doubt. The self is something more than the experience of any moment. Though in sleep its activity is tempo-

rary, in illness, yet persistence, survival, to itself through years, and it is the leader of all the mind's activity. It thinks, observes, feels, and senses. And yet common sense in this region often gets into difficulties; it has to distinguish between the true and false, better and worse, selves. Its doubts about the independent nature of the self reveal themselves in frequent scepticism as to the survival of the self beyond the life of the organism. The popular self, then, is quite problematical. After Hume's leading it is commonly agreed that there is no unity of experience, no common reference of introspection. What we mean by the self may therefore be the unity of experience in detail, or the continuous unity of it throughout life, or a certain logical or real implication of experience.

(a) Primary and Secondary Argument against the view that the self is to be identified either with the sum total of experience or with the stream of experience that by no conceivable means could a mere series of experiences turn into a consciousness of that was even a unity, much less the sum total of experience simply could not exist as a sum total, unless we suppose that some miracle of unification is perpetually happening. The stream of experiences can be unified only in so far as it is stream-for-a-self. It is only through the presentation to one self, through the common relation to one self, that the mass becomes individual.

It is true that we cannot rationalize the process of unification or synthesis that we find broadcast throughout the frame of human knowledge, the synthesis of atoms to a molecule, of molecules to a cell, or of cells to an organism. But, admitting that, we have the strength to perceive that a reference to one subject is impotent and irrelevant. It is irrelevant because it blandly begs the question. How do experiences ever arrive before one subject's gaze? And what is this gaze? It is impotent, because no amount of reference to one subject will explain the great variety of forms in which experiences integrate to units, or the laws of this integration. If it is difficult to conceive of an experience by itself having an object, it is just as difficult to conceive the rationality of a subject thinking objects through experiences. In short, the hypothesis of the self as a unifying form, though it undoubtedly gives a sense of great comfort and satisfaction to many minds, is nevertheless useless. It is of no service whatever in a scientific sense, and that must be the final test in a science of psychology. Its acceptance cannot be advanced on this ground.

The doctrine is really an inheritance from Kant. The leading idea of his philosophic reconstruction of experience was the postulation, not of one single-all-important synthesis (Hume), but of a whole hierarchy of them, forming an easily exhaustible system. But Kant failed to draw the proper inferences from this idea and from what success he achieved in applying it in detail. He failed especially to see that the data of experience and the forms that emerge from them must synthesize themselves from below upwards according to common laws. In the search for a source of synthesis he then looked upwards in experience instead of downwards, and found the synthetic unity of apperception, the consciousness of 'I think.' The efficient reason, however, is nothing but the notion of synthesis itself; and so nothing was gained by his whole procedure. At the same time, almost everything was lost. For the confusion into which Kant worked himself in his various deductions was a confusion which we now know that all such deductions are hopeless undertakings. So the very valuable idea with which Kant started was emasculated beyond further usefulness. In his successors, and especially in Hegel, it was degraded to the status of dogmatic and metaphysical forms, whose only claim to actuality was the vague atmosphere of logical connexion that pervaded them. At the same time, the universal function ascribed by Kant to the synthetic unity of apperception was exaggerated until the real world seemed to fade utterly away and only
the self remained in its universe of experience. Had Kant succeeded in solving the problem of the scheme of synthesis in experience from below upwards, there is no doubt that he would never have developed his phenomenalism, nor would the idealistic extravaganzas of his successors ever have been provided.

(b) The metaphysical Ego.—So much, then, for the self as the fount of unity in experience in its details. There is, of course, just as little reason for assuming that the self is itself the ultimate source, which would give unity to the data of experience of a lifetime. If experience cannot raise its own unity upon its own foundations and upon the hierarchy of special integrations just discussed, no notion of self will ever inspire the data of experience, which are as the sands of the sea for number, into one coherent whole. All this mysticism of the self is nothing but a failure to grasp the problem of the system of experience positivistically and scientifically. As it stands, and is expanded still, it is a diabolical barrier to proper progress in psychology. For it cannot yield any fruit of detail problems, and so it clings the minds of those who hold it.

As to the implications of experience, they are rather the result of psychological study than a part of the philosophy of any sort. We are chiefly concerned to draw all legitimate inferences from his data, implications regarding the self, whether they be logical or real, will follow of themselves. There is no fear of anything being ignored here. The intensity of the individual's struggle for existence and his desire to survive indefinitely will coerce him into probing for all possible reasons for believing in the perpetuation of his self. Every possible reason, however improbable, will be hopefully probed and analyzed.

It is, finally, sometimes said that psychology does not fulfill its duty, which is to study the self and its states, not to study the objective contents of experience, such as colours, sounds, concepts, thoughts, and memories. Quite possible; but the other things are more clearly there, and call for study. They are what most psychologists now study chiefly. If any one can develop a method of demonstrating the existence of the self, in some sense clearly distinguishable from experience and its states, then this is the ultimate step toward taking the self as the starting point of all science. Our knowledge of it progressively larger, his success will surely be highly acclaimed. Thus far, however, in the opinion of the writer, no one has done so. The field of psychology, therefore, is properly described exclusively as a study of experiences in the systems in which we find them and of the relations of these experiences and their systems to the fields which in the universe surround experience or rest in part upon it. These are, apart from the biological (process) sciences already referred to, the (product) sciences of history, linguistics, aesthetics, and the like, and the social sciences of political philosophy, and economy, social economics, etc. (cf. art. CONSCIOUSNESS for fuller discussion of the problem of the usual definition of experience.)

II. THE SENSORY-COGNITIVE SYSTEM. — I. Theories as to the constituents of experience.—The task of psychology, as Ward has said, is to ascertain the ultimate constituents of all experience and their determinants and interrelations. The matter is still under dispute, but it is possible to maintain with perhaps increasing show of probability that the ultimate constituents of all experiences are sensations. Where this theory goes astray is in supposing that sensations that do not directly reveal themselves as sensations in some subtle way aggregates of more or less obscure and attenuated sensations, we have the ancient doctrine of sensationalism. That doctrine is now commonly held either to be insufficient to account for the facts or to involve too great assumptions regarding the variability of appearance of sensations in aggregations. Obviously, too, the proof of the presence in all experiences of a constituent element seems co-extensive with the experiences discerned in aggregate—which is the chief line of proof followed by sensationalists—does not exclude the alternative theory that all experiences are either single or multiple sensations, or perceptions, and sensations, and sensations of sensations. Here the only interest is the sensibility that it is the lowest rung on an indefinite ladder of integrative processes, one that cannot be further resolved by

Another line of theorists hold that there are other ultimate, irreducible constituents of experience than sensations—feelings, thoughts, etc. But this type of theory need not be taken to have proved anything more than that feelings, thoughts, and the rest are special points, units, or parts of a certain range of experience, just as cells are special and, in many senses, unique parts of the body, and are held by many to be irreducible wholly to the next lower units of matter—molecules and their laws. The barriers of psychology are many such limits. For it has for its task a negative proof. The best policy for united work is obviously the plea that, while feelings and thoughts may be reducible to lower grade units, this reduction has not yet been satisfactorily accomplished. Thus all theorists may work forward together, each supplementing the other's outlook, observation, and interpretation. Whatever the outcome may be, the theoretical work of psychology may well be set up as if it would ultimately converge on the sensationalistic ideal, when that is re-animated by the substitution of integration for aggregation.

Certain other theories refuse to consider any such analytic, dissecting, and devitalizing outlook as these. They stand fast by the indivisibility and qualitative unity of experience, its ever changing and developing wholeness and completeness, which are only brought to the inert forms of the above theories by the destructive work of the abstracting intellect. In life of the at least great use of the earlier notions of the biologists. The organic unity of experience was constantly emphasized. Experience is an organism in which every part detectable by abstraction stands in living, moving interaction with every other, and is inseparable from it without the destruction of the (spirit of the whole). Doubtless; but modern biologists are not deterred by this thought from a progressive analysis and synthetic reconstruction of the wonderful life of the organism. They do not allow themselves to be held up in their progress by the contemplative admiration of completeness and unity. A recent feature of this type of theory clothes itself anew in biological terminology, taking as its prototype of action the movement and unity and the insight of the intellect of the instinct—a very fine doctrine for those who love to linger on the hill-tops of philosophy, chanting the wonders of the stars, the clouds, the trees, and the clover, and yearning to embrace the whole of life, but ever refreshing to the tired mind, but hardly the way of progress. The world, no doubt, is full of wondrous forces; but we happen to be soldiers of the intellect and must do what we best can.

A third group of theoretics hold that there is somewhat aside from the main drift of psychological work, looks upon experience as not ours, not subjective or mental, coming between our self and a real world; but as really of the world, objective, physical, the same in staff as the things that we

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1 EBRI, xvi. 2 Psychology, xxi. 849.
call material. In a certain sense the difference is only a matter of words, and, provided such a theory has the interest to study experiences or objects in detail, the same results will emerge as are found by the most 'orthodox' psychological speculations. But in its older form of objective idealism this line of doctrine acted almost as an excuse for not investigating the minute, systematic build of objects (experiences). If the alleged experiences were real, then the study of them might well be left to the scientists. And, if there were a science that might be called experimental psychology, then that title was in a sense a misnomer; the science was really a branch of physiology, obviously no psychological sensations certainly are objects, and the form the theory shows a special interest in the minute build of objects or of the first physical data. For knowledge is required to show how these data are so directly related to, or continuous with, the material things. Science as they seem to our common sense to be. This group of theorists is obviously forced into the attempt to make a special plea for, and a special study of, the self. For one can hardly solemnly go the length of asserting, 'What is there nothing but the objective, the physical, and its complexities—no self and no personal activity.' These views evidently carry us back to the problem of the self already discussed. They do not yet affect the usual work of psychology (or, so says that the physicists do not promote). If the field of work and the drift of fact and theory are clear, psychology may leave the classificatory names to the wider comprehension of philosophy. When we have all the knowledge of fact required for exhaustive systematization and understanding, we shall hardly object seriously to any useful drawing of boundaries and naming of provinces.

2. Sensations and their attributes.—The ultimate constituents of all experiences, then, are probably sensations. Sensations are indicated in the universe of things as being the simplest experiences that are directly dependent upon the stimulation of a sense-organ or of a sensory nerve. They are familiar in the five senses of man; but the work of later years has shown that number considerably. The senses may be divided into three groups.

(a) Simplest senses of the skin.—The first contains the simplest and perhaps most primitive senses of the skin and, in an irregular way, of the viscera. It includes touch, cold, pain, warmth. Itch and tickling are related to pain and touch respectively. The problem of the psychological description of the simplest experiences of these senses is a useful preliminary and guide to the psychological definition of sensation in general. It is the important problem of the attributes of sensation.

There are at least six attributes. (1) Quality is the name for the radial difference between the sensations of different senses—e.g., colour, sound, touch. And there is a second, that number considerably. (2) The variant known as intensity is too familiar to require any indication. These two attributes have been universally admitted and are readily acceptable by all as distinct properties of, or variants in, the simplest experiences.

The next most frequently admitted attribute is (3) extensity. A colour mass is extensive; so is the warmth felt in a bath or the pain of cold, as contrasted with the pain of a pin's prick. Some folk feel a repugnance of a kind to the assertion that our experiences are extended or spread out. But that is merely traditional prejudice. Thought may not be extensive, but sensations certainly are; only it is not the spatial kind of extensity that is meant, but another 'kind' or sub-class of extensity. The attribute of extensity has not always been admitted. Some have tried to derive it from groups of qualitative and intensive differences; but the attempt was never convincing; hence the gradual recognition of the primacy of extensity.

Now, those who thus admitted extensity usually proceeded to attempt to develop a further attribute of localization out of those three. The cover for the act of determining the location of sensation involved in this attempt has been since Lotze's time the term 'local sign,' the idea being that the skin is of such different texture, etc., at different parts that a touch at one part would be distinguishable from another at another part of the skin, etc., by the tact of the two sign differences. But the same faculty attaches to this attempt at derivation as to the previous one. The intellect can by no device convert into local signs what are after all only groups of items devoid of any sort of arrangement. These must must what they are, unless the intellect can correlate them with a spatial order otherwise provided. And then the spatial order so obtained would not become inherent in the sensory complex, as would be required. This attempt fails, as it should.

For it implies no definite construction, form, shape, or extent, but only extensity as a variable magnitude. If this magnitude is at the same time to have form or shape, it must be supposed to include others derived from it. But the magnitude cannot be definite without the help of explicit orders. This is then, the fourth attribute—(4) order. It is not to be confounded with spatial order, as which it appears most definitely before our cognition in the sensory experience of the skin. It is the basis of the spatial construction. Space, as we shall see, is a form or complication of sensory order.

Two other parallel attributes are the basis of our temporal differential of sensory experience, namely (5) duration and (6) temporal order. The former order may be distinguished from (6) as systemic order, because it is the kind of order that depends psycho-physically upon a system of elementary sense-organs (receivers).

Another attribute has been proposed by Titchener—clearness. But there are great difficulties in the way of its acceptance. A sensationistic system, of course, as already indicated, requires some primary variant to account for the apparently great variety and complexity of any obvious aggregates of sensations. But an integrative system, full of variously directed streams of action and of different levels, the one more remote from the other than a third, can probably account for all the facts without such a difficult attribute. This first easy group of sensations has an appendage in the sense or senses of taste. No new primary fact is met in it.

(b) Articular, muscular, and organic senses.—The sensation here is the articular, the muscular, and the organic (a medley of hunger, thirst, lust, mania, etc.). The difficulty consists in precisely determining the attributes of each and the obscurity in detecting their presence. Thus the quality of articular sensations has been generally held to be their indication of position. And a class of positional qualities has even been distinguished for the attributes of each and the 'positional' variation must be classed as the ordinal attribute, while the difference of movement does not constitute a separate sense at all, as we shall see later. The obscurity attaching to articular sensations on the other hand, concerns their intensity. But we can with care produce
intensive differences in this sensation, and we then recognize that the obscurity is not in Titchener's sense attributive, but is only apparent. Failing to recognize the fact that the physiological basis of intensive differences in this sense is almost lacking — or may be present only in the case — and expecting intensive variations that we do not find, we call these variations obscure, just as visual presentations are when we try to read in the gloaming. We feel that we cannot detect fully all that is there, and therefore go back to the idea that there is more than there is, and we drop the term 'obscure.'

(c) Senses of sound, sight, and smell. — The third group of senses presents very complex and very different cases that can be made to conform completely to the formula of attributes only after elaborate study. The senses here are sound, sight, and smell.

The present writer has given 1 a re-interpretation of the sense of sound on the basis of the formula of the six attributes which completely alters the view of this sense and brings it into perfect conformity with the psychology (and, by inference, with the physiology) of the other senses. It may be dogmatically indicated here. There is one quality in sounds which distinguishes it from sight and smell. Intensity is not itself a quality. It may be classed as quality — pitch — it is really the attribute of order, while the extensity of sounds is apparent in their volumes, which run parallel to the pitch series, low tones being large and bulky, high tones thin and small. These volumes, however, are really extents or masses of sensation, so that tones are not the primary particles of this sense, but are well-rounded, balanced, symmetrical masses of sound, in which one (hypothetical) particle (or a few) is prominent in a central position, and is known as the pitch of the tone. Thus all audible tones may be reduced to a single series of particles of sound sensation, the lowest tone involving the whole series, and the higher ones progressively less and less of the series, the end particle on one side being common to all tones. This is only another way of expressing the fact that, as we rise in the tonal scale, the pitch series moves progressively to one side.

There is no need to attempt to reduce noises to tones. For noises are themselves masses of sound-particles. They differ from tones only in their irregularity and want of balance and in their lack of a prominent ordinal centre, i.e. pitch. All degrees of variation, however, from tone to noise are obviously possible.

In the sense of vision the systemic attributes of extensity and order offer no difficulty. That attaches only to the attributes of intensity and quality. We have interesting and highly developed physiological theories of vision, of which the most familiar are those of H. L. E. von Helmholtz and of E. Hering. But we have still to get a satisfactory psychological account of the elements of this sense.

The sense of smell is specially peculiar because of the fact that we seem unable as yet to give a complete survey of its qualities. We are unable to tell whether the enumeration that we already have is complete. This merely means that we have not yet hit the key to the psychological analysis of this sense.

In spite of these outstanding difficulties, we may look forward to bringing the attributes and varieties of aggregation of the elements of all the senses some day; at least to make full agonies about another. This solution may be expected to conform at least closely to the formula of six attributes indicated above.

3. Modes and laws of integration. — The other

1 The Psychology of Sound.

The task of pure science in psychology is to ascertain the laws of the interaction of these probable ultimate constituents of experience; or, better, to determine their modes and laws of integration. The problem of these modes has been before the minds of psychologists for some time; in the recent years the figure-qualities described by C. von Ehrenfels. A melody, e.g., must be something more than the sum or sequence of the tones that form it. For it remains the same melody even when it is raised or lowered. Therefore for them to be a melody, the first version occurs in the second. And a square is a square, whether it be given in blue colour or red, or even in tactual sensation. Similar distinctions and arguments are found in older philosophical literature. Kant's forms of sense and of understanding are essentially the same idea. They are something more than any data that they may include or synthesize; they are the mind's own work or contribution to the build of knowledge; they cannot come from without; they are, as we may say, purely integrative 'processes' of experience.

Following Kant's suggestions farther, we may think of these integrations as a hierarchy co-extensive with experience—a scheme that, as being in experience directly and physiologically, and may well be completely described by our science before very long. Moreover, it is one that should bring with its gradual discovery a sense of its own completeness and necessity. 2

Unlike Kant, however, we cannot hope to succeed unless we can put our scheme of integrative processes into relation to the properties or attributes of the elementary data of experience—the sensations. This connexion is expressed in the following two laws of experience.

(1) The integrative product is to bear a close resemblance to the lower-level product or to the attribute upon whose integration it rests. We cannot, e.g., expect localizations to rest upon differences of intensity or of quality or of both, but only upon differences of order. In such a connexion there would be no inner coherence, insight, 'necessity' (Kant), or whatever it might be called, that makes our experience coherent in all its parts instead of a mere mechanical conglomeration.

(2) Wherever similar attributes (or integrative processes) are possible, we cannot expect to find products both introspectively and functionally similar to one another. Thus, if the integration of visual orders gives systemic intervals and motions, then, if pitch is really properly classified as ordinal, we must expect to find differences of pitch integrating to similar products. And these are to be found, namely, (tonal) interval and (a certain aspect of) melody.

(3) A third law states a fact that has already been referred to and is of the greatest importance, namely that the integrative product is an addition to the mass of integrating experiences, whose existence and continuance within the integrative process it in no way impairs. It is this fact that makes sense and movement different from the scheme of sensationalism and that now expanded. At the same time, this addition to experience gives a place within experience to all that has been claimed and taught regarding the creative synthesis or evolution of experience. However, a new interpretation or description of experience may claim to be more scientific than others, insofar as it is more positivistic. It does not gather all the creative talents of experience in a greedy hand and bestow them upon the experiences of an absolute creation, perception, or what not. It leaves them all in their places. It lets psychical creation come forth in its order, just as the natural and biological sciences set forth the order of natural creation.

4. Scheme of integration forms. — No proper
exposition of the different forms of sensory and of cognitive integration can be given in this short article. But a scheme of these forms may help to bring some comprehensive arrangement into the mass of data that the reader will find in the chapters of textbooks of psychology dealing with sensory and cognitive experience. Of the six attributes the chief integrating one is order. Differences in systemic order alone give systemic distance, differences in temporal order temporal distance or time interval. The unity of simultaneous and progressive differences in these two ordinal attributes is motion. These three integrate all vary in magnitude—size or speed. Differences are found in all the senses that show distinct variations in the attribute of order—touch and the other skin sensations, articulation, sound, and sight. All senses give differences of temporal order, but some give them much better than others. So we have specially temporal, or rhythmic, senses. Obviously motion will be limited to the senses that give distance well. No other attribute than order integrates well, or even at all perhaps. An exception seems to occur in vision. It is found to involve differences of brightness and seems to be a new character supervening upon these differences. It also obeys a further law of integration in that it supervenes both upon simultaneously (binocularly) and upon successively (unocularly) presented stimuli. This law appears to be observed in all integrations that do not involve differences in temporal order, which, as we know them, are always successive. But the problem of lustre is not quite clear; lustre may, in fact, belong to a higher level of integration, which is called bisystemic, because it involves two systems of elementary sense-organs, or two ordinal systems, of the same kind—e.g., two eyes, two ears.

This bisystemic level gives, in vision, a new third dimension to the forms that are found in the plane field of vision of one eye. With two eyes simultaneously, or with one eye successively, we see solidity, i.e. stereoscopically. Binocular hearing is similar, but simpler. It gives a new (transverse) line of centers. The physiological series of each ear is a single (longitudinal) dimension. The combined use of these two (not mathematical, but merely narrow) lines allows of (transverse) oscillation of emphasis from one side (or ear) to the other, and so gives the impression of a very imperfect one, for our correspondingly weak power of localizing sounds round the head.

The next level of integration is intersystemic; it holds between systems of different kinds of senses. This kind of integration is still more difficult for the individual to acquire than the preceding. We may express the problem materially by asking how the impressions of the different senses ever meet together in the vast brain, so as to form a unitary whole. Although the problem has been as great a question to the mind as the question becomes specially acute when we turn to examine the physiological origin of the object. Take the old stock example of the orange. How do the different sensations given by an orange strike on to our mind in the child's mind? Not by mere simultaneous association, for not all things that are merely together in the mind associate together. There must be a specific basis that regulates association.

A minute study of visual bisystemic integration shows that this basis is the identity or similarity of the plane forms or figures that appear in the integrating systems of the two eyes. Similarly, the systems of the different senses may be supposed to unite to form a new sensory field by the integration of their systems by means of the very similar forms and motions that are impressed upon the different senses by one and the same real object. Thus too the contributions of the different senses are brought together to form units of perception—e.g., the page.

The interaction of the distances and forms presented within the system of a single sense offers a rich field for study. This is most apparent in the many visual illusions (p. u.) now so familiar. These are brought simply because they parts, when presented together, modify one another and so appear otherwise than they do when presented alone. They are chiefly illusions of distance or size, and of direction—a derivative of distance.

The scheme of sensory cognitive integrations may be summed up schematically as on next page.

5. The higher cognitive powers. — (a) The psycho-physical problem. — The cognitive work of experience appears as a great hierarchy, developing upwards by its own initiative from the data given by the senses—we say 'by its own initiative,' because in such a scheme we do not need to postulate any sort of developing agent to work out the problem of cognition. We may study the whole process positivistically, just as the physical, chemical, and biological sciences study the course of development within their spheres. We may speak of 'development' because the 'higher' unity is a more comprehensive and also (we may confidently assert) later than the unities of the lower levels.

Thus, e.g., we need make no speculative references to the brain for a basis of integration. Whether there is in the brain a parallel or proceeding, real, unitifying process or not is a question for the physiologist to settle. An answer to it, whether positive or negative, can in no way affect the work of psychology in the study of the integrative process as it is in experience. Whether parallelism or interaction be the true answer to the psycho-physical problem is not very important for the present, for the simple reason that it will be very long before proper material for an answer is to hand. On the other hand, a psychical agent, such as the mind, is quite useless or, at any rate, glass rôle of thought may be dispensed with. In that theory thought is held to be an indispensable accompaniment or attribute of sensation. It comes with it in some germ-like form, and over and through sensation, as it were, it spies out the object or cause of sensation. How could an experience have or know an object, if it were not so? How could it even if it were so? we may ask in reply.

The scheme propounded, on the other hand, offers a direct basis for constructive work on the 'references' of thought. An integrated state is always attached to, and so refers to, the basis upon which it is integrated. A melody is not a unity that is just present along with tones, as the title-phrase of our six say more or less, it is intimately blended into the being of the tones, as it were. It is this intimacy of connexion that makes a psychologist like Titchener altogether overlook the presence of something new in the melody when it is to him a mere simultaneous association, for not all things that are merely together in the mind associate together. There must be a specific basis that regulates association.

We may, in conclusion, ask how much the '1st' of the reference is external to the other. How much is it mental?
The stage of perception (q.v.) at which the cause of a percept comes into view is certainly not the earliest form of perception, where the integrator is nothing but an it-centre of sensory experience, but a rather advanced stage in which there is some conceptual concentration of individual perceptions and some of the 'knowledge about' that then supervenes. This 'knowledge about' is not the result of an excursion or observation beyond the confines of experience, as the cause-idea might suggest, but merely the attachment to one another of experiences above the first perceptual stages by the same or similar mechanism as produced these first stages, whereby the higher integration is attained that we know as abstract knowledge or conception (q.v.). All these abstract units must not, however, be supposed to have to hang in the air above the sensory levels of integrations, as if they were the gases of corruption mounting upwards from them. They are attached or refer downwards to their basis through a continuous line of integration, just as the other integrative products do. And it is just this attachment which puts substance, cause, and interaction, particles or parts of various levels—atoms, molecules, and the rest—into the objects of perception.

(5) Development in man and animals.—The study of development (q.v.) is readily accessible in this way. If a certain level of integration can by indirect evidence—of conduct, learning-by-experiment, and so on—be proved to exist in any animal, we know what earlier levels of experience are implied in it. Research thus far seems to have shown conclusively that no animal other than man shows any evidence of commanding the conceptual level of integration. But recognition and, still more, perception are by no means excluded among the higher animals. The task of deciding in each particular case is very difficult, involving a great deal of very elaborate and precautious experimentation.

To the further important question why every animal that is well endowed with efficient sense-organs does not develop to as high an integrative level of experience as man, psychology is unable as yet to give a definite answer. This appears the more strange as man seems in certain respects to be possessor of senses which compare unfavourably with those of many other mammals. This is especially so in the case of smell and of hearing. In vision we are relatively efficient. But in one important respect we have a great advantage; we are possessors of mobile hands and fingers. The significance of this is that it endows us with a second highly elaborate and clear field of tri-dimensional forms, namely the tactial-articular. The other mammals, with the exception of our nearest relatives, use their articular sense almost only for the general purpose of postures and bodily movement, while their touch is imprisoned behind their masses of fur.

There can be no doubt that the possession of a plurality of tri-dimensional senses is highly important for development. For hearing is only weakly dimensional, and smell in ourselves (and possibly in the other mammals as well) is not so at all. All our other senses, apart from the visual and articular, are only vaguely dimensional, inactive, and of poor discriminatory power. But, as we have seen, the correlation and integration of active and complex dimensional senses are required for the proper development of sensory space, and that in its turn is the gateway to the higher cognitive powers. So we may maintain as probable the view that the height of development of the 'mind' depends largely upon the extent of variation given in the elementary data of the senses. And we should, therefore, expect to find that the size of the brain depends not so much upon the room required for the cerebral mechanisms of conception as upon the size of the parts required for the bia- and tri-dimensional senses of fine discrimination. Of course neural centres may also be required for all integrative levels. But these are problems which we must leave to the physiologist.

6. Memory and imagery.—With memory (q.v.)
another aspect of experience comes into view that is of the greatest importance. It seems clear that there can be no memory work except upon the basis of the spontaneous integrations of experience.

Memory is not mechanical association of contiguous parts of an aggregate, as sensationalism is inclined to suppose. Much, if not all, has yet to be done before the springs of memory are clearly exposed. But there is a growing tendency of evidence and conviction to show that memory presupposes some form of integrative activity which may be called the associative integrative complex, the existence of which is untenable except as a formula that presupposes but ignores this integrative activity.

But if this is granted, there seems no doubt that association gives experiences a new grip of one another, so that, even when an integrative unity is dissolved by lapsing as an actuality, it can be reinstated from a part of its original foundations by the extra bond established before the integration lapsed. And, as we know, repetitive contemplation of the integrative complex helps to make associations more powerful and enduring.

The experimental study of memory in recent years has greatly extended our knowledge of the conditions affecting strength of association. By association with it we can extend the scope of integrations, so as to make them include a wider scope of experiences than they otherwise would spontaneously at any one moment. If integration gives height of growth to experience, as we might say, then memory gives it breadth. And the growth that can be attained in breadth by effort is enormous.

At the same time this redintegrative action of memory makes it possible for an integrative product to be revived from the side, as it were, instead of from the original foundations. The revival of these lower springs does not seem to be necessary in memory work. A concept, e.g., cannot be got originally except from below. And yet in the fluent operations of thought, which depend so much upon the work of memory, that concept may be revived, and used as an essential link in the process of thought, without the revival of any of its sources of integration, even in the form of imagery.

The great issue we may pass directly to the question of the value of imagery. An older evaluation of imagery considered it as a mere trace or record of previous direct impressions of sense-sensations now called up accidentally owing to the associative linking that supervened to bind it and the present reviving sensation together when both were previously present as sensations. But that view is almost certainly wrong. Imagery is revived more often because of the integrative complexes into which it was as sensation wrought up, and because it is now wanted for the redintegrative and new integrative processes of thought. Thus, when one is asked, 'Does the water-line of a ship rise or fall as it passes from fresh water to salt?', the reason why an image-scene of a ship passing from river-mouth to the open sea in some form or other in almost every one's mind is that such a scene presents all the material of the question in a natural and familiar scheme, each concept attached to its own peg, the mind has then to work backwards to the question and then to revive what material is readily available in it, so that some of that material may perhaps cohere well with the points of the question and thus yield the answer. And, according to the drift of the drift of the drift (and all other drifts too) a person will even see the ship rising or falling in his mind's eye. Compare with that easy question such a one as this: 'John is twice as old as Mary was when he was as old as Mary is. If John is 21, how old is Mary?' Conceptually the two questions are probably equally easy; but image is readily forthcoming in the second to hold all the concepts and their relations together in the mind and make action between them easy. When one says that the process presupposes the existence of the complex in the mind, the answer might be, 'whether the question is to its outcome, or rather the verbal expression of its outcome. The thought involved in answering the question is partly the memory work, partly the trying of the memory and the memory addictions together to see if they will not give the desired conclusion. A complex implied by the question.

Now, one is tempted to elaborate the point and to show the question grouping for its answer, like the tentacles of an octopus searching in some dark cave for what is movable and appetizing. And the reader may feel impatient at the futility of trying to make the mind work like a machine. It is the self that thinks and searches; is it not? The self is the proper that searches and sees fitness and judges? It is the self that attends, at least, for study. It is difficult to see how one self could do so many different things. We ought at least to have the case for the self put more convincingly before us than hitherto. This will doubtless be done, if it can be done. But this much may be said, even if he fails. It is probable that the self will not seem to find that line of construction the most hopeful at the present time. Of course, very much further study by experimental and systematic methods is required if the complex field of cognitive activity is to be fully understood.

III. EMOTIVE ASPECTS.—Thus far we have dealt with the sensory-cognitive range of experience. We have now to consider the emotive aspects of it.

1. Integrative theory of feeling.—One of the most thorough views of feeling is incorporated in the three-aspects theory, according to which every experience has three aspects—cognitive, emotive, conative; knowing, feeling, and will. Or these three are merely one and the same experience from different points of view. Now there can be no hesitation about rejecting this theory so far as concerns feeling. Feeling is not an aspect of every experience; it is an experience definitely distinguishable from every other. Nor does it even occur that every other aspect is felt regularly. Any one familiar with the experimental practice of introspection knows that he is not constantly feeling pleasure or displeasure. In fact, he will have found that he is in a state of feeling rather seldom than otherwise. While complexes and trains of experience pass by without any feeling of pleasantness or of unpleasantness appearing. It is for this reason that the theory of feeling as an attribute of sensation has also been rejected.

The difficulty has been at all times to know where to place feeling. The attributive theory is the only attempt that has been made to give it a definite place in the sensory cognitive range. The older sensationalists tried to work it into their field by placing it in sensation and not as mental chemistry. In this a group of sensations was held to turn by combination into an experience that did not at all resemble sensation, just as the gases hydrogen and oxygen combine to form water. This activity in general does not really be groups of tactual or organic sensations and yet not appear as such. That theory has been rightly rejected by everybody and has wrongly created a prejudice against every deprivation for the most common of experience from such a science as chemistry.

But even in recent times an attempt has been made to show that feeling is psychologically a sensation. It has quality—pleasantness and un-
pleasance—and intensity; and the two problematical attributes of extensiveness and localization (supposed in this theory to be an attribute) can be made pleasurable with an effort; feeling is not located at the beautiful picture and in the beautiful sound, but it seems to be spread out in the head being enjoyed. If by the category of feeling is known, at least we may suppose that one does exist. Only it would not appear on the periphery, but would probably be concealed within the peripheral sense-organs or within the central nervous system, revealing to us how sensations and emotions are related. It is also not clear whether as usual (pleasantly) or far away from the range of their normal functions (unpleasantly).

This theory of feeling-sensations has not found many supporters—not that it has been definitely proved to be wrong; but it is too supposititious and speculative. Something as plausible and more in accord with the psychical facts is imaginable.

We need not discuss the theory that looks upon feeling as an irreducible element of experience. This view is the natural outcome of many fruitless attempts to resolve feeling into sensations or the like. But it does not preclude renewed attempts at reduction in general, and in particular an integrative theory of feeling is still a possibility.

Titchener has attempted to carry this theory of feeling as an element to its logical conclusion—a psychological definition of feeling as characterized by a different set of attributes from that peculiar to sensation. His important point is that feeling lacks the attributes of extensiveness possessed by sensation. We shall not renew the discussion of clearness. What we may notice now specially is the subtle difficulty of positing elements of experience of which one possesses attributes that another lacks. Besides, the subtlety of the non-clearness and unpleasantness of feeling and of the difficulty of observing feeling are we not looking for a mare's nest, as it were? Suppose motion were regarded as a specific experience by such a theorist as Titchener. What would he say about its quality and intensity? Would they be non-existent or non-clear? And would motion, then, have only two attributes of extensiveness and localization? Or would it also be said to lack clearness? Probably no one is ever in doubt as to whether he is pleased or not. But it seems to be a matter of doubt as to whether he is in doubt about how pleased he is. Then, if all that and nothing else is clear, probably there is nothing else in feeling to be clear about. Feeling would then be very like motion, as it appears within an integrative theory. It is just motion (its quality, if you like), and it has magnitude—speed. So feeling has quality and magnitude—intensity.

The work of an integrative theory of feeling really begins when the double basis of feeling has to be shown up, and also the difference in the parts of that basis that integrates to form feeling. There are many lines of evidence that converge to support this theory and to make it at least probable as an advance beyond the more conservative theories. The difficulty is that of experience. But their exposition is too long to be given here.

2. Problem of the emotions.—We may consider briefly the other great division of the emotive life—love. The attempt here is to lose sight of the slight movements of the soul, as it were; emotions are rolling waves and storms whose troubles reach far down into the deep waters. And the scientific problems of emotion are equally deep and agitated. The attempt here is to bring the scientific fruitfulness of the theory and the scientific fruitfulness by, in such a way as to be applicable everywhere. And then, as has been so often deduced, Shakespeare's work is the accidental product of a swarm of channe variations.
As well might one truly think that, if a fount of type were cast into the air often enough, it would come down one day as King Lear. These reminiscences of scientific speculation carry us back to a line of thought that is far from rare, although it was certainly universal among biologists a decade or two ago than it is now. But, as far as the outlook upon pure psychology is concerned, it has changed very little. It means, after all, only that a coherent sphere of law has not yet been articulated, and that the recognition of it as such has been made very much less likely by the success of the theory of chance variations in the neighbouring sphere of biology. It is pleasant to think that such an absurd doctrine has so often been rejected by the professing philosophers of the mind.

But we must not be content with vague 'spiritual' terms and generally 'ideal' expressions. We must carry over the methods and spirit of the natural sciences into the systematic, constructive work of psychology and show how purely psychological laws will yield us a satisfactory understanding of the world of spirit, just as purely material laws give us a satisfactory knowledge of the world of matter. That is to say, the natural world can be worked by no agents or guides, so far as science is concerned at least. Of course, science is only the systematic mirroring of realities in cognition. Being other than what it pictures, it is only indirectly the reflection and being that are the essence, as against the form, of its objects. Nor can psychical evolutions and actions be worked by spiritual agents or guides, so far as the science of mind is concerned. We can only observe and generalise on laws of mind or psychical stuff and to explain particular psychical phenomena properly according to them, as the ways of science demand. Then we may let matter and mind come into cogntional harmony with one another, as they undoubtedly can and will, in due course.

And a psychology on these lines of construction is in no sense a descent to a lower level, an abandonment of higher ideals. It is rather a confidence and claim in the equal primacy of the two spheres of human knowledge, in the derivation of laws alongside any other part of the universal universe. We have every right to expect that the world of experience will be as amenable to the strict ways of science as the world of matter upon which it is, as we know it, dependent.

IV. CONATION.—The only other sphere of experience to be mentioned is conation. In so far as that is conation within experience, as in attending, remembering, thinking, and the like, the study of it is continuous with that sketched in the preceding pages. In so far as conation involves muscular movement, we enter upon a new region of special difficulty. Here psychology is still struggling with the barest facts and first principles, as the dearth of information on the subject shows. Of the textbooks indicates. The reader must simply be referred to special treatises on the subject.

The primary question is an introspective one: What precisely lies before the mind's observation in the case of voluntary movement in general? It seems as if we make a coherent, systematic whole of all the facts gathered by the experimental pursuit of this problem? One of the common earlier answers to the question has been disproved. We do not necessarily anticipate our voluntary movement in a mental image of it and will movement from that basis. But the true psychological formula of voluntary movement has still to be determined. The way to knowledge is probably blocked in this, as in other regions of experience, by the confused notions left from the wrecks of previous theories.
A study of the behaviour of savage man towards disease shows that it consists almost entirely of measures which, when successful, must have acted through the mind, especially by means of faith and suggestion. A leech who treats a case of headache on the assumption that it has been caused by a malformation of a vein, or by the presence of some noxious agent, which he thinks can be removed by a blister, is evidently acting purely through these agencies. In other cases faith and suggestion only assist a process which acts in a different way. Thus, a leech who treats a case of constipation on the assumption that the trouble is due to the presence of a snake or octopus in the abdomen will produce a good effect by the mechanical action of manipulations designed to destroy the imaginary animal, but in such a case faith and suggestion also play some part. Most of the cases in which leaves, bark, or roots are employed by lowly peoples to cure disease we can be confident that success is due purely to faith and suggestion. The history of pharmacology reveals a similar process. Medicaments supposed to act upon disease have failed to justify their reputation when subjected to scientific study and have evidently owed their reputation for medicinal virtue to faith and suggestion. While both faith and suggestion are processes inextricably interwoven with the employment of therapeutic measures from the earliest stages of medicine down to the present time, these agencies have taken many other and more direct forms. They have been the subject of much discussion and much criticism by those who rationalize religion is that they act through faith and suggestion, and the systems of healing which are continually coming into existence in opposition to the orthodox medicine of modern civilized peoples owe their success largely, if not entirely, to the power and efficacy of these agencies.

The large measure of success which these movements obtain in popular opinion is due to their exploitation, wittingly or unwittingly, of the fact that orthodox medicine has failed to meet a standard of recognition.

1. Scope.—It is often supposed that psycho-therapeutics, whether belonging to orthodox medicine or to some form of faith-healing, is especially applicable in cases of hysteria or similar diseases. There is, however, hardly a variety of disease for which this mode of treatment may not be useful. It is customary in medicine to distinguish between organic and functional disease, though these are, in fact, merely categories convenient for practical purposes, which pass insensibly into one another and are difficult to define. Roughly, by functional disease is meant disease for which existing knowledge does not allow us to assign any structural or chemical basis, which has been found to be of value in the treatment. There are other diseases, such as so-called idiopathic epilepsy, of the physical basis of which we are ignorant, which are characterized by a tendency towards permanent loss of function and death, and these are also usually the subject of psycho-therapeutic treatment. In general, functional category. Organic diseases, on the other hand, are those whose structural or chemical basis has been discovered. They again fall into two main groups: those which tend towards permanent loss of function and death, and those which lead to temporary loss of function. In addition a few mixed forms occur. Nothing is more frequent than the occurrence of functional disturbance as an accompaniment of organic disease, the real nature of which it often conceals or obscures.

It is in the treatment of functional disease and of the functional accompaniments of organic disease that psycho-therapeutic measures are most obviously applicable, but the scope of their usefulness is far from being limited to these. When it is claimed that some form of psycho-therapeutic action, performed by physician or priest, has cured a case of organic disease, it will often be found that all that has been done is to remove the functional disorders which so often accompany organic disease. Psycho-therapeutics, therefore, are useful not only in the treatment of organic conditions themselves, though the investigation of cases like these is attended by such difficulties that the mode of action is still surrounded by much doubt. We know that suggestion, especially in the form of hypnosis, can produce changes in organic processes and especially in the circulation. If such an organic change as a blister can be produced by suggestion, it is easy to understand how other organic changes can be ameliorated or removed by similar means.

A more frequent cause of the success of psycho-therapeutic measures in organic disease depends on the fact that many forms of progressive organic disease—even so grave an illness as cancer—are liable to periods of retardation or quiescence. Disease a long period of remission, during which some noxious agent which has found its way into the body and the mechanism of the body itself. Progressive disease is that in which the external agents have the upper hand in this struggle. Any factor which raises the efficiency of the intrinsic forces, or, in other words, which reinforces the vitality of the patient, may diminish the ravages of the destroying agent and lead to retardation or quiescence of the disease; or may even in some cases turn the tide into recovery. If, therefore, we consider that the agents which cause functional disorders have been discovered and are thus amenable to medical treatment, the fact that these agents may produce changes in the nervous system and are classified together as nervous disturbance, and that many measures have been found to be efficacious against them, it is clear that psycho-therapy is therefore as wide as medicine itself. It is especially applicable, however, in those states which depend on diminished efficiency of the nervous system and are classified together as nervous conditions.
affections of the body due to mental conditions it is necessary to discover the causes by which this morbid state has been produced. The history of medicine has been one of gradual progress from the pretended ignorance of the treatment of formerly the conditions by which symptoms are produced.

In this progress the treatment of disorders of the mind has lagged far behind that of bodily disease. There are many practitioners of medicine who, although fully recognizing the importance of etiology in bodily disease, fail to recognize that it applies equally to the mind, and they continue to treat symptoms as they arise or practise a purely empirical system of therapeutics.

To those who accept the two principles which have just been considered, every case of mental disorder or of bodily disorder consequent upon mental conditions is the outcome of the mental life-history of the patient, and the conditions to which it is due can be discovered only by the investigation of that history.

A third principle, now widely accepted by workers who otherwise differ greatly from one another, is that mental disease is predominantly due to the conflict of an emotional aspect of the mind. It is believed that in the search for the conditions which have produced an abnormal mental state it is necessary to get back to experience which has been associated with a state of mental conflict, and it need hardly be said that either this emotional tone must have been of an unpleasant kind in itself or the unpleasantness must have arisen out of consequences which the experience has brought in its train.

This view is that according to which the intellectual disturbance in a case of mental disease depends on a process of rationalization through which the patient endeavours to account to himself for his morbid emotional condition. The direction taken by this process of rationalization is often such as leads to the formation of those beliefs at variance with reality which we call delusions.

A principle which actuates more than one system of psycho-therapeutics, but is still far from being in general acceptance, is that a mental disorder is predominantly due to experience which has passed out of manifest consciousness. It is customary to speak of the body of experience which does not enter into manifest consciousness as a "repressed" or "suppressed" body which passes off into manifest consciousness through an intermediate region of subconsciousness.

Putting aside the largely verbal question whether this body of apparently forgotten experience is or is not to be regarded as forming part of the mind, we are met with the far more vital problem concerned with the distinction between experience which is merely lying dormant, ready to appear in manifest consciousness whenever the suitable stimulus arises, and experience which has come to stand in that relation to manifest consciousness which is known as dissociation. A dissociated body of experience is one which has been separated from the body of experience making up manifest consciousness through some kind of active process—a process resembling in many respects that known as inhibition in neurology. Such dissociated experience is not recalled even by otherwise suitable stimuli in normal mental conditions, but emerges only under abnormal op. The usual unconscious conditions to bring it to the surface. A good example of such a dissociated mental state is that which occurs in the deeper stages of hypnotism. One of the most vexed problems of psycho-therapeutics turns on the question how far such dissociated bodies of experience, when accompanied by an unpleasant tone of feeling, act as the basis of bodily and mental disorder. One theory of the role taken by such unconscious experience in the production of mental disorder which is now especially prominent is that of Freud's theory of the unconscious.

Freud's theory of the unconscious.—From the point of view which concerns psycho-therapeutics, the most important part of Freud's system is his theory of forgetting. According to Freud, forgetting is not a passive process, but one which, at any rate in so far as unpleasant experience is concerned, depends on an active process of repression. It is held that unpleasant experience which has passed out of memory to such an extent that it cannot turn up in the form thus taken is a part of the mechanism of everyday life has not ceased to exist, but continues to exert an influence upon the mind. It may express itself more or less continuously in the form of a phobia, a tic, somnambulism, dreams, etc., or, after a long period of quiescence, it may show itself under the influence of some shock or strain as a paralysis, contracture, affection of sensibility, or some form of mental disturbance. The disturbance, whatever its nature, is held to be the result of the repression of unpleasantly colored experience, now generally known as a complex, and the general personality of the patient.

Freud has not been content merely to ascribe abnormal bodily and mental conditions to such factors, but has felt it to be of importance to come to terms with the theory of the mechanism by which the suppressed experience or complex produces its effects. He supposes that its modes of expression are governed by a mechanism of control which, using a metaphorical phrase," allows the suppressed body of experience to find its way to manifest consciousness only in some indirect and often symbolic manner.

Two special features of the psychology upon which the Freudian system of therapeutics is based may be considered here: (a) the importance of the experience of early childhood and (b) the role of sexuality in the production of morbid mental states.

(a) According to the earlier views of Freud, the suppressed experience of childhood forms the chief factor in the production of morbid mental states, where these are expressed either as phobias or as the sexual experience, dating back to the earliest period of the experience of early childhood. The trend of modern work has been to accentuate the importance of recent traumatata in the production of morbid mental states and to make of less account the experience of early life. This movement should not be allowed, however, to go too far and obscure the great extent to which early experience is responsible for the phobias, tics, and tendencies to morbid modes of thought, and still more of feeling, which form so fertile a soil for the growth of morbid mental states in later life.

(b) Another principle of the Freudian psychology which has led to much controversy, and has through the exaggeration of its importance gone far to wreck the immediate success of the whole construction, is concerned with the role of the sexual experience in the production of morbid mental states. Freud has come to the conclusion that the bodies of suppressed experience which he believes to underlie mental disorder invariably centre in incidents of the sexual life. So far as he himself is concerned, the form thus taken by his psychology of the morbid rests largely on an extension of the
connotation of the term 'sexual' far beyond the customary, but, in the hands of his disciples and to a large extent in his own, the theory has come to deal almost exclusively with crude sexual experience, morbid mental states being ascribed to the working of suppressed sexual desires, and especially of perversive tendencies. There is no question that disorder of the sexual life, especially when its nature leads to repression, takes a vast part in the causation of mental disorder and of functional symptoms. To Freud and his co-workers, the sexual is also the origin of all faith and the principle, ascribed by them, of all religions. These beliefs are founded on the idea that the sexual is the cause of moral and religious belief, and that religion is a form of sexual instinct. This belief is supported by the fact that the more closely we examine cases in which the cure of disease is accompanied by changes in sexual beliefs, the more the belief in the universality of religious causation becomes the residue which cannot be ascribed to some category of natural causation. The more highly developed the religion, the more do its leaders themselves adopt the theory of natural causation and ascribe successful results of their operations to the working of faith and suggestion.

(b) Human agency. — There is a widespread belief among the peoples of the earth that human beings are able to cure disease by their own powers. This is usually associated with the belief in the causal action of disease by magical rites, manual and verbal. In such cases the cure is effected either by inducing the sorcerer to remove his spell or by employing some other human agent, believed to be more powerful than the sorcerer, to counteract the spell or to avert its consequences. In many of these cases the belief attaches in large measure to the objects or words which are used in the curative rites, and it is probable that the powers ascribed to these objects and words can often be traced back to the belief in an existent ghostly agency. It is certain, however, that efficacy is largely ascribed to the personality of the sorcerer. Some degree of confusion between personality and measures runs through the whole history of medicine, both in its present time and in the most civilized communities, the efficacy of therapeutic measures and of religious rites in connexion with disease is largely ascribed by the less educated members of the community to the personality of the physician or priest. Here, even more clearly than in the case of supernatural agency, the trend of modern opinion is to ascribe the efficacy of personality to the action of faith and suggestion.

(c) Faith and suggestion. — In modern writings on therapeutics and allied subjects it is not unusual to find that the action of faith and suggestion, or, if they are distinguished, faith is regarded as a form of suggestion or is held to act through suggestion. This attitude is the result of a tendency to make the scope of suggestion so wide as to include nearly every process by which the mind is acted upon by another mind, by an object of the environment, or even by itself (auto-suggestion). When it is said that faith acts through suggestion, it is meant that through the process of belief, which is the main element in faith, a deity, person, or object produces a certain effect upon the mind which is classified with other effects ascribed to suggestion. Belief is an active and conative process, differing fundamentally from the condition of passive acceptance or acquiescence, which is the main of the causes for which the concept of suggestion was originally framed. Though the two processes are poles apart psychologically, they are often combined. Suggestion often produces its effects through faith, but this is very different from faith being an explanation. We could not do well, or perhaps with more justice, say that suggestion is explained by faith. The fact is that they are two distinct processes, differing essentially from one another in psychological character and producing different results in the individual.

Both faith and suggestion are of the greatest importance in psycho-therapeutics. It is undoubtedly to them that the remedies employed by savage and barbarous peoples owe their efficacy,
and they continue to be operative in the most modern forms of medicine where the confidence of the patient in his physician is generally acknowledged to be the first and most important step towards therapeutic success. The whole history of medicine from the stage of its close association with magic or religion to its full emergence as an independent social institution, the personality of the healer has been of predominant importance. It is through faith in this personality, both its presence and influence in the patient’s mind, that the process of suggestion that therapeutic measures attain a large proportion of their success.

The influence of faith and suggestion pervades the whole system of treatment of the sick. Not a dose of medicine, not even a measure of diagnosis, can be used without bringing it into action. Their effect often begins even before the physician has seen his patient, and usually they are the more efficacious the more unwittingly they are employed. There are many practitioners of the medical art, among both savage and civilized peoples, whose measures would lose most of their efficacy if they realized the true mode of action of the remedies in which they have so profoundly faith. Here, as in so many other phases of life, it is side-measures that are especially likely to fail. A physician who understands the real nature of psycho-therapeutic activity and who is wholly ignorant in this respect will succeed. The unsuccessful practitioner will not realize the correct mode of action of his faith measures in his medications and diatetic remedies without having acquired a sound knowledge of the processes upon which the success of these remedies so largely depends.

Catharsis.—The two factors, faith and suggestion, run as manifold threads throughout the whole texture of psycho-therapeutics. They are of special importance where the mind is intact or where, more correctly, the mental disorder shows itself by some physical manifestation rather than in some overt disorder of the mind itself. The agency now to be considered is of especial importance where disorder of the mind is due to some mental injury which produces a condition of anxiety. Catharsis is the most important psycho-therapeutic measure. It is the process of cleansing the mind of its blemishes, of its faith measures in its medications and its diatetic remedies without having acquired a sound knowledge of the processes upon which the success of these remedies so largely depends.

The term ‘catharsis’ should properly be limited to the agency by which a pent-up grief, anxiety, or shame is relieved by the process of confession and that in which a mental conflict is resolved by measures which bring to manifest consciousness some element of suppressed experience.

(e) Autogosis.—Another most important element in the production of mental disorder, and in the forgotten experience, is that the subject learns the better to know himself. An important factor in the production of mental disorder, still more important in keeping it in being when it has already been there is that the patient fails to understand his condition. His real problem is enveloped by a sense of mystery which greatly accentuates the emotional state upon which his troubles primarily depend. The process by which the patient learns to understand the real state of his mind and the conditions by which this state has been produced forms a very important therapeutic agency which may be called ‘autogosis.’

Autogosis as a therapeutic agency includes a large number of processes. Owing to the ignorance of the healer and the patient about the whole history of medicine from the stage of its close association with magic or religion to its full emergence as an independent social institution, the personality of the healer has been of predominant importance. It is through faith in this personality, both its presence and influence in the patient’s mind, that the process of suggestion that therapeutic measures attain a large proportion of their success.

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Another value of autogosis depends on the wholly mistaken estimate of the gravity of offenses against morality which frequently accompany states of mental disorder. It is noteworthy that those who, from the fear of infamy or of offending, who seem to pass as a rule through periods of mental stress without suffering. The persons whose neuresthetic or melancholic state centres in some old moral delinquency are usually persons into whose personal history, perhaps have only once lapsed from virtue, or may have been 'only innocent partners in, or even mere spectators of, some immoral act; sometimes they have offended only in thought and not in deed. It is in the early stages of the malady before the condition of anxiety has become habitual and some unnatural explanation has been systematized to form a delusion. Old injuries of this kind usually produce their effect after some strain and stress which lower vitality and produce disorder of various bodily processes. The awakening of the old mental injury only serves to aggravate and perpetuate the psychic state, thus preparing the individual to be capable of the trauma brought to bear by a pathological condition accentuates the condition by which it has been produced. By the process of autogosis this vicious circle may be broken or weakened and an opportunity given for a movement towards recovery.

Of greater interest and of more importance is the process by which the patient is led to understand how his disorder has developed. Many mental disorders are only exaggerations of tendencies towards modes of feeling, thought, and action which go far back into the life-history of the sufferer. If he can be led to see where he has strayed from normal paths and can learn to know the factors to which this straying has been due, a long step will have been taken towards recovery. If the patient learns that his disease is only the expression of an exaggeration of a wide-spread trend of feeling, thought, or action, his condition will not be described as a mental disorder, or as idiocy, or as cruelty, or as insanity, but will assume proportions which can be faced rationally and dispassionately.

The instances of autogosis just considered are examples in which mental conditions underlying pathological states are present. One of the more interesting problems of psycho-therapeutics at the present time is to discover how far the process of autogosis can be extended to include past experience which has wholly disappeared from the conscious mental life. It stands beyond

1 The present writer owes this term to Dr. William Brown.
all doubt that past experience which has taken so little part in the conscious mental life of a person that it seems to be wholly forgotten may reappear in consciousness during the state of anxiety following some period of physical and mental strain. Moreover, this unconscious, impure, or repressed image, which has been so nearly forgotten that the patient may not remember its coming to consciousness, perhaps for years before the period of stress which again brings it to the surface. The doubtful point is whether this series can be extended to include past experience which has so wholly passed from consciousness that it can be brought to the surface only by special means, such as hypnotism, or by the process called psycho-analysis.

(f) Sympathy.—Of the agencies common to the work of physician, priest, and teacher none is more important than that to which the name 'sublimation' has been given. The process of autognosis often shows the presence of some faulty trend of thought and action which is capable of being redirected toward healthy ends. Many nervous and mental disorders depend, at any rate in part, on tendencies which are altogether anti-social, or, while suitable to one kind of civilization, are out of place in the society into which the sufferer has been born. In such a case sublimation furnishes an alternative to satisfaction or repression.

One of the chief directions which may be taken by the process of sublimation is towards religion. The specific sublimated energy is used to motivate actions which make up the psychological basis of religion; often can be substituted for those associated with the anti-social trend. Less frequently, the sentiments and emotions associated with art can be utilized, or the morbid energy may be directed into some other channel of activity. The great importance of religion in the process of sublimation, and in the whole field of psycho-therapeutics, is that it is able to satisfy both emotional and practical needs, its specific emotions satisfying one kind of human need, while the capacities of the individual satisfy others. An additional value which attaches to religion as a means of sublimating morbid energies is due to the fact that in their historical development modern religious systems have brought religion and moral teaching into close relation with one another, so that a definite system of beliefs opposed to various anti-social trends serves to rationalize and fortify the process of sublimation. The relative failure of art, as compared with religion, in the process of sublimation is largely due to the absence of any such association between its specific emotion and moral teaching, most followers of art explicitly denying the connexion with morality which forms so definite a part of the system of religion.

(g) Reason.—One of the most difficult problems of psycho-therapeutics is to assign its proper place to reason as a therapeutic agency. It is a universal experience of those who have had to deal with the insane that the task of bringing a reason a patient out of his delusions, and this holds also to a large extent of the obsessions and hypochondriac fancies which are so frequent a feature of the broad borderland between sanity and insanity. By the patient's difficulty in adopting the role of an advocate, so that the only result may be the strengthening of his delusion or fancy. Where reasoning does good, it is often only through the influence of faith and suggestion, in which case the reasons given by the physician or priest only reinforce processes of other kinds which act through emotional or instinctive channels. While reason is thus of little direct use, and may even be harmful, it forms a most important element in other psycho-therapeutic agencies, especially in autognosis. Once the true emotional cause of a morbid state has been discovered and explained to the patient, the exercise of his own reason comes to form an essential element in his amendment or recovery. There is in all the direct influence on the thought of the reason by one who does not understand the real underlying conditions of the malady and reason exerted when these conditions have been discovered and are themselves the material from which the reasoning starts and upon which it acts. As with other therapeutic agencies reason is useless or harmful only when it is employed in ignorance of the real nature of the morbid state upon which the physician or priest is acting. Here, as in other branches of medicine, the proper use of the remedy depends on the exactness of the diagnosis.

(b) Sympathy. — The nature of the action of sympathy in psycho-therapeutics raises a problem of considerable difficulty. The sympathy of the physician is essential in gaining the confidence of the patient and in making the process of psycho-therapeutics, but, unless very judiciously expressed, sympathy will have a bad effect. It has long been recognized that removal from his or her ordinary surroundings is in most cases essential if a nervous or hysterical patient is to have the best chance of recovery. One very important reason for this is the necessity of removal from the almost invariably injudicious sympathy of relatives and friends by which the attention of the patient is absorbed, and this is accentuated the physician himself should always be on his guard lest an excess of sympathy should increase the attitude of self-regard which is one of the main characteristics of many forms of neurosis. Cases are frequent in which at one stage or another it may be useful to act towards a patient in an apparently unsympathetic manner. In so far as sympathy can be regarded as a direct therapeutic agent, it is as capable of harm as of good. It is in paying the way towards the employment of other agencies that its importance in psycho-therapeutics is most definitely shown.

(i) Occupation. — In some systems of psycho-therapeutics work has been put in a foremost place. It has been held that the chief need in cases of neurosis is that the mind should be occupied in work of a kind which will direct the attention of the patient away from the morbid activities of his mind and body. Since a prominent feature of many cases is abnormal preoccupation in some unhealthy trend of thought and feeling, such a course would seem at first sight to be sound, if not obvious. In practice, however, the will to work is present perhaps in excess among persons suffering from a disease which calls for psychical treatment; while in a still larger number the case is such a lack of interest or such bodily or mental weakness as to make the effort to work even harmful. In such cases it is necessary to restrain rather than encourage activity. In most cases, however, work in a direction which will not prove to be in danger of acquiring a habit of inactivity, and occupation then becomes a most important therapeutic agent. In other cases in which the process of autognosis shows the presence of sloth or mis-directed energy, however, occupation then becomes of the utmost importance in psycho-therapeutics.

4. Psycho-therapeutic measures. —The lines of treatment adopted by one who practices psycho-
therapeutics will depend on his beliefs concerning the nature of the agencies by which disease is produced and cured. If he believes in the efficiency of superman, his treatment will consist of religious rites of prayer, sacrifice, and propitiation, together in many cases with other rites, such as those of purification, confession, penance, and atonement, designed to put both patient and priest in a state of spiritual relationship towards the superman being whose help is being sought. By some Churches these various rites have been combined so as to form organized systems in which large numbers of the sick undertake pilgrimages to places believed to have a curative influence.

Similarly, if one believes in human agency as the cause of disease and the means for its removal, either he will adopt measures designed to propitiate the person by whom the disease is believed to have been produced or he will employ, or induce others to employ, measures designed to neutralize those of the sorcerer to whose actions the disease is ascribed.

If the physician believes in suggestion, he will employ this agency actively in one of its many forms. In the case of hypnotism, his treatment will consist chiefly in measures designed to bring the patient to a sound knowledge of himself and of the conditions by which his disease has been produced and can be remedied. If he believes in occupation, he will set the patient to tasks designed to turn the morbidly directed energy into this channel.

The discussion of psycho-therapeutic agencies in the preceding section will have pointed the way to other treatment, but few measures may be more fully considered.

(a) Hypnotism.—It is now generally accepted that hypnotism as a therapeutic measure is only a mode of utilizing suggestion, the chief feature of the hypnotic state being a condition of heightened suggestibility. Closely allied to hypnotism is the condition, known as hypnoidal suggestion, in which a patient is placed under conditions especially designed to enhance his receptiveness for the influence of suggestion.

A prominent characteristic of hypnotism is the production of a state of dissociation, so that, on coming out of the state, the patient has no conscious recollection of any suggestions which may have been made by, or to any other person who has communicated in any way with the hypnotized subject. Nevertheless, the suggestions will act in the manner intended by the hypnotizer, and other events may be recalled when the patient is again hypnotized or may revive in dreams or under other conditions. In the state of hypnoidal suggestion there may also be some degree of dissociation, but the patient, at any rate in its slighter degrees, is aware of the suggestions and other experience.

Perhaps the most debated question of psycho-therapeutics is how far it is legitimate to practise hypnotism and hypnoidal suggestion. The physician who recognizes that every word that he utters may carry a suggestion will naturally utilize this agency as much as possible. The question which is disputed is how far it is legitimate to accentuate the influence of suggestion by the production of the dissociation which characterizes the hypnotic state, or to give suggestions to the patient in such a way that he is led to believe that some force wholly independent of the hypnotizer has caused the disease. One of the points on which the question turns is how far hypnotism produces a harmful effect. It is generally acknowledged that a person who has once been hypnotized can be more easily hypnotized a second time, not only by the original hypnotizer, but also by others if a definite counter-suggestion has not been given. This definite change in the character of a person can hardly be altogether for the good, to say the least. Moreover, it often happens that a definite craving to be hypnotized is set up, though it is clai ped by advocates of hypnotism that this happens only when the agency is employed unskillfully. Since, however, we can be confident that, if hypnotism became a regular part of medical practice, it could not be employed unskilfully, a vista of possibilities is opened which it is not pleasant to contemplate.

These arguments are especially directed against the habitual employment of hypnotism as a remedy for minor ailments. The great disease category is that of cases of functional disease due to shock such as have been so frequent in the great European war. There is no question that symptoms can be removed, sometimes by a single hypnotic treatment. It may be argued, on the one hand, that experience has shown that these cases tend to recover quickly by other means. On the other hand, it may be argued that the cases, having been produced by a sudden shock quite irrespective of the disease of the person, should be treated by some equally drastic remedy. We do not know enough at present of the history of such cases to allow any decisive answer concerning this problem. We must await the investigation of the after-history of the many cases in which hypnotism has been employed during the war.

The chief objection to the employment of hypnotism is not, however, its possible harmfulness or the dangers of unskillful application, but rests on the fact that hypnotism in the case of suggestion and hypnotism ignores a fundamental principle of medicine in that these agencies are directed towards the symptoms of disease and do not touch the morbid process to which the symptoms are ultimately due.

The action of a physician who hypnotizes for headache is no more legitimate than that of the practitioner who administers aspirin or morphia for these symptoms without inquiring into the conditions by which the headaches and sleeplessness are being produced. Both actions are examples of a slipped and short-sighted employment of therapeutic agencies. The most recent systems of psycho-therapeutics hold that in the treatment of mental disorder, as in other branches of medicine, it is our duty to discover causes and to remove or amend symptoms by discovering and attacking the deeper and less obvious states upon which the symptoms depend. Hypnotism may be used to discover causes and may thus be an instrument in autogenesis, but, as more usually employed, it merely touches the surface and ignores, or even obstructs, inquiry by which the true nature of the malady may be revealed.

(b) Psycho-analysis.—This word has been very unfortunately chosen, for every physician who endeavours to employ this method upon patients which have produced an abnormal mental state must of necessity carry out a process of psychical analysis. The term is so widely used, however, for the system initiated by Freud that its use can hardly be avoided. By psycho-analysis we mean primarily the process by which the physician discovers the ‘complex’ or body of forgotten experience which
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is believed to underlie abnormal mental states or abnormal bodily states ascribed to mental conditions. The word applies primarily to the method of diagnosis by which the conditions underlying a morbid mental condition are discovered. If, according to the earlier ideas of the Freudian school, the diagnosis is itself sufficient to bring about a cure, its use included also a system of therapeutics. According to Freud, a complex cannot be discovered by the ordinary methods of inquiry. He further suggests that isolation of such abnormalities of conduct as forgetting, slips of the tongue or pen, and apparently meaningless acts. The investigation of these processes forms one of the chief departments of psycho-analysis.

In addition to these more or less indirect means of analysis, two other methods have been widely employed. In one, known as the method of free association, the patient has to express freely every thought that comes into his mind in response to an idea suggested by his symptoms. In addition, the method, which is due especially to Jung, the patient is given a number of words in succession and is asked to express as rapidly as possible the ideas that each word calls up in his mind. It is felt that this type of reaction will under suitable conditions bring to light unconscious ideas which his patient has rejected. If the given word arouses ideas in close relation with the complex; and, if a series of words is repeated, the responses on the second occasion will not agree with those of the first when the patient has been asked to express freely. In the method of free association the patient is put into as tranquil a state as possible and the experience succeeds the better the more the condition approaches a minor degree of the hypnotic state, in which thoughts aroused by immediate association are controlled as little as possible by voluntary control.

The method of closed association with reaction-time has a narrower scope and is chiefly useful in providing clues for other lines of analysis. If employed without full knowledge of its purpose on the part of the patient, it savours too much of the methods of the detective and may do harm by interfering with the state of confidence between physician and patient which is the first condition of success in psycho-therapeutics.

A third method is used for the body of measures which the physician employs as the result of the processes by which he has led his patient to a knowledge of himself and of the conditions which have produced his morbid state. In rare cases sufficient may be so intelligent and balanced that the mere requirement of such knowledge may itself be sufficient to enable him to shake off his morbid symptoms and set him on the path leading to a healthy mental life. This holds good, not only when the experience which he has come to understand belongs to his fully conscious mental life, but also, and perhaps still more conspicuously, in those cases in which the process of psycho-analysis has brought to light some long-forgotten experience. In most cases, however, the full therapeutic value of autopsychosis is brought out only through a process of re-education in which the patient is led to understand how his newly acquired knowledge of himself can be utilized. He has to be shown how to readjust his life in the light of this new knowledge. He may then find that he can live in the body of channels which the physician, the teacher, the social reformer, and the priest, are the prospect that principles of action and modes of inquiry discovered by any one of these may be helpful to the others that makes the most fruitful fruit of modern medicine. The modern measures of the physician are little more than his adoption of modes of treatment which have long been familiar, in the form of confession, to the priest. While the physician may learn much from the long accumulated experience of the priest, the priest may be helped by such a study of the psychology of confession as his special knowledge and experience allow the physician to undertake. Moreover, the experience of both priest and physician may be utilized to those who are interested in the regulation and improvement of social conditions.

The great interest of modern trends in psycho-therapeutics is that at this late stage of social welfare work to be again applying psycho-therapeutics and medicine into that intimate relation to one another which existed in their early history. We have here a typical case of social evolution in which social processes once so closely combined with civic duties as to be. Hence, it is not surprising that another have followed widely divergent paths only to meet again as each has come to spread its branches widely over the whole field of social activity.

Cf. also art. BODY AND MIND, BRAIN AND MIND, FAITH-HEALING, HYPNOTISM.


W. H. R. RIVERS.

PUBERTY.—Puberty is the period of life at which reproductive power is attained. Its commencement is marked by certain external signs, and it is characterized by certain physiological, mental and moral changes.

1. The age at which it is reached varies considerably in the case of both sexes; and these variations occur not only in different races but in different individuals of the same race.

I. INITIATION AND PUBERTY.—It is a familiar feature of uncivilized societies that those of their members who are of the same sex, age, or occupation,

1 Of these the most marked are, in females, enlargement of the breasts, the appearance of pubic hairs, and the appearance of the menstural flow; and, in males, the breaking of the voice, and the growth of hair on the arms, faces, and body.

2 As to the intellectual development of the body to which puberty has special relation, see art. ADOLESCENCE and the authorities there cited. See also E. A. C. CAYKING, The Mystic Rose, London, 1902, p. 198.

3. A. van Gennep, Les Rites de passage, p. 85 ff. These variations are due to the influence of race, climate, diet, housing, clothing, occupation, temperament, mode of life, and state of health (H. Floss and M. Bartels, Das Web in der Natur und Volkerkunde, 1. 421 f.).

4 Thus, in Egypt, the average age at which menstruation begins is, according to the authorities there cited, another 10-13 years, while, among the Somal, is 16 years. For 584 women of Tokyo the figures were: at 11 years, 35; at 12 years, 30; at 13 years, 70; at 14 years, 254; at 15 years, 226; at 17 years, 63; at 18 years, 44; at 19 years, 19; at 20 years, 2 (Floss and Bartels, IX. 435 ff.; van Gennep, p. 99).
tion, or who have been participants in the same rite at the same time, or who are affected by initiation. The idea was to form themselves into subordinate social groups, membership of which confers special rights, imposes special duties, secures special privileges, and exposes to special supernatural influences. To attain ingress from or entrance into such a group requires as its necessary prerequisite the observance of certain customs, or the performance of certain rites; and we find, accordingly, that, in many instances, admission into the ranks of the mature is restricted to those who have undergone the appropriate preparation.

In the case of rites of marriage (or of the mark separation from childhood and entrance upon manhood or womanhood the name of 'rites of puberty.' And yet it is only certain to that certain rites that the name can be accurately applied; for in the case of two or more of the ranks in persons is, in many instances, determined not by arrival at puberty, but by something having no necessary connexion with it, such as attainment of a certain age or possession of a certain capacity or quality. Out of all these factors, the ground for distinguishing the use of the name has, we venture to think, been pushed too far by van Gennep. At the same time, he has done good service in insisting on the limits of its applicability; and, accordingly, we shall confine our attention in this Work to those rites which are more closely analogous to what is called the celebration of puberty, and in which the determinative period is determined in point of time by reference to puberty.

It is, however, to be kept in view that, in some instances, a rite which is undoubtedly a rite of puberty does not occupy the place usual in the structure of puberty, is attained, while, in others, it is postponed for reasons of convenience or by force of circumstances.

In cases in which initiation is spread over a long course of years it may be that none or some only of the rites are puberty rites.;


In Fiji uncircumcised youths were regarded as unclean (R. Thompson, The Fijians, London, 1908, p. 210); and among some of the tribes of Central India an uninitiated was regarded as taboo. Thus, a child who had not undergone the rites of hair-shaving or ear-piercing was treated as subject to tribal restrictions as to food, etc. (W. Crooke, 'The Hair-Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' JAF xxviii., (1898) 240, R. J. Eyre (Journals of Experiments of Discovery into Central Australia, London, 1854, ii. 201) says of a S. Australian blackfellow, 'The real secret of the navigation of the sea by the natives have not deemed him worthy of receiving the honours of their ceremonies, and still call him boy or youth, although he is an educated man.' (Spencer and Gillen, The Central Australians, London, 1904, p. 530).

2. See also Banking, F. C. von Savigey, System des heutigen römischen Rechts, Berlin, 1840, iii. 56; W. B. Leist, Graeco-italische Rechtsgeschichte, Jena, 1884, p. 65 ff."

s. Such as to carry arms (J. Grimm, Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft, Göttingen, 1881, p. 413) or prowess in war or foray (van Gennep, p. 125).

3. See the account of the ceremony of the Yulin tribe (below, II), and W. E. Roth, Ethnological Studies among the N. W. Central Queensland Aboriginals, Brisbane and London, 1897, p. 170 ff.

4. It is postponed sometimes until a sufficient number of candidates has been collected (L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnabi, Melbourne, 1889, p. 192), and sometimes until sufficient food is secured for the operation, which is the part of the ceremony (M. Krieger, New-Guinea, Berlin, 1899, p. 167; W. S. and K. Rottledge, With a Prehistoric Famine at Askinya of British East Africa, London, 1909, p. 151), or to pay the superintendent of the rite (B. T. Somerville, Notes on some Queensland Tribes, JAF xxi., (1904) 201), or, in the event that the chief's son is old enough (G. McCaull Thomas, Hist. of S. Africa, London, 1863-55, iii. 285). In some instances the ceremony of circumcision takes place four years after initiation, A. J. Jaffers, The Life of a S. African Tribe, London, 1912, i. 74; W. C. Wallace, Door-Eating among the Bechuana, JAF xxxiv. (1909) 229), while in others it is suspended owing to the occurrence of a calamity (Theal, loc. cit.), such as war, famine, etc., or because of a quarrel at the Stone Enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji, JAF xiv. (1885) 19.

5. Spencer-Gillen, p. 231. Among the A-Kamba the children of both sexes are circumcised when about five or six years old, and a second ceremony is performed at puberty (C. W. Hobley, The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other E. African Tribes, Cambridge, 1910, p. 69). Similarly, among some of the northern

and sometimes a puberty rite loses its original significance by being merged in a rite of another kind.

II. DESCRIPTION OF PUBERTY RITES.—A rite of puberty is sometimes a simple rite, consisting merely of a dance, a feast, or a procession through the street, and sometimes it is a complex rite, including within it or accompanied by subordinate ceremonies.

Thus the northern tribes of Central Australia celebrate two rites—circumcision and subincision—which are obligatory on all males, and which always take place, preceding the Urabunna tribe the novice who has undergone both operations is shown some of the sacred totemic ceremonies, and receives instructions in respect of the rules for the conduct of all to the operators; and they, by touching his mouth with a piece of wax, release him from his sexual impurity.

In one of the northern central tribes—the Lakanka—the novice is subjected, not to any mutilation, but to hard usage as kicks and blows, and to a test of strength, endurance, and courage; and finally he is shown and given a sacred bull-roarer which he may not show to his younger brothers or any woman. Among the Yum of S.E. Australia, who practice neither circumcision nor subincision, a tooth is knocked out as a test of manhood, and during the ceremonies is frequently heard. Its sound represents the thunder, which is the voice of Daramul. The chief rite is followed by dances, in which, sometimes, propositions, and other solemnities, of which one of the most important is the mock burial and resurrection of a novice. If a novice is subjected to certain food restrictions. Charcoal dust is the covering of the body during the ceremonies; and, when, at the close, it is washed off as a symbolic act of the piercing of the earth connecting the men's and the women's quarters. The youths are painted and invested with the belt of manhood, and retire into the bush, where the men who have charge of the ceremonies instruct them in the use of the learned names of the totemic names. The novices do not take their place as men in the community until the medicine-men are satisfied of their initiation, when they are permitted to marry.

Among some of the Victorian tribes the chief rite consists of a fight between the novices of two tribes which are at feud, and sometimes a tribe of Central Australia the throwing up ceremony precedes circumcision (see below, p. 333).

1. See below, III. 1 (f) note, and J. Kohler, 'Das Recht der Papua,' ZTRW xiv. (1900) 381 (Tambi Islanders).

2. See also J. Buchhaus des Buchhansch der Kelachie, Berlin, 1907, p. 104 f.


4. In the Yoruba tribe the men are circumcised when 18 years, the women when 10; in the Ijaw the men are circumcised when 20, the women when 10 years.

5. See Spencer-Gillen, p. 328 f. Among some of the tribes of N.W. Central Queensland (Koth, p. 170 f.), and S.E. Australia (Howitt, pp. 530, 532), initiation is not considered to be a ceremony of puberty, when the moustache and beard begin to show. In the case of the Dieri it is performed at the age of nine or ten years, when the novice receives a new name, and it is followed some years afterwards by subincision, in virtue of which the youth becomes a 'thorough man.' (ib. p. 656 f.). In the case of the Arunta and other tribes the rite of painting the boy and throwing him into the air is performed when he is ten or twelve years old. He may be circumcised at any time after puberty (Spencer-Gillen, pp. 214-219).


10. In the case of the ceremony in which Howitt took part there were twelve years between the operation on two were done, on the boy of age, while the third was older and had an incipient moustache (Howitt, p. 317). 11. Spencer-Gillen, pp. 366, 401; cf. pp. 343, 490. Beliefs fundamentally the same are found in all Australian tribes (Howitt, ibid.; cf. p. 396). See also Krieger, p. 167; J. Holmes, 'Initiation Ceremonies of the N. N. Blackfoot,' JAF xxxvi. (1893) 355.

12. The ceremonies are intended to impress and terrify the boy in such a manner that the lesson may be indelible, and may govern the whole of his future life. But the initiations also to amuse in the intervals of the severe training (Howitt, p. 383).

among others, of painting the natives and cutting their hair in a peculiar fashion, while, in some instances, plucking out the hair of the inside of the arm as a mark of knighting out.

Women, while usually taking part in the preliminaries to, and accompaniments of, the rite, are excluded from its actual performance.

As to the initiation of girls, we may observe that the ceremony of rubbing the breasts with fat and ochre,1 and the operation of cutting and piercing the vagina, followed by sexual intercourse with men who stand to them in certain relationships,2 appear to be components of the ceremony of women's pubescence, in the air and subincision. Among the Arunta and Jpirras tribes, a girl, during her first menstruation, is secluded at a spot apart from the women's camp, unvisited by men,1 while at Upper Yarra she is, at the same period, tied with cords too tight to permit of natural pain, but not so tight to cause death, until the flow has ceased.3 Among the Dieri the practice of knocking out two of the lower middle front teeth is not confined to girls.

III. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF PUBERTY RITES.—In the preceding paragraph we have noted the main characteristics of a few of the puberty rites practised by some of the Australian tribes, and found that they included mutilations, the imposition of certain taboos, the performance of various ablutions, and sometimes in the case of females as well.4 It takes place sometimes on arrival at puberty,5 and sometimes at stated intervals.6 Occasionally it is postponed owing to special circumstances.

(b) Knocking out teeth.—Among the Murrumbidgee, Murray, and Goulburn tribes two of the incisor teeth of the lower jaw are knocked out in the case of boys on arrival at puberty;7 and among the Batoka there prevails the custom of knocking out upper front teeth of both girls and boys at the same period.17

1 Howitt, pp. 602 f., 610, 613.  
2 Spencer-Gillen, p. 351. The Warramunga tribe is an exception. These women's rites are also found in many other groups of tribes.  
3 Spencer-Gillen, pp. 269, 459 f.; Spencer-Gillen, pp. 474-475.  
5 Spencer-Gillen, p. 400; Spencer-Gillen, p. 601.  
6 R. B. Smyth, The Aborigines of Victoria, London and Melbourne, 1878, i. 65; see also p. C.l, as to another curious practise among the South Australian tribes.  
7 Howitt, p. 655. The operation takes place when the child is from three to five years old.  
10 Jumod, i. 94 f.; Jumod, i. 18; Jumod, i. 73 f.; K. Endemann, 'Mittellungen über die Soho-Neger,' ZE vl. [1874] 31 f.; von Langsdorff, p. 158 f.; B. Thomson, p. 216.  
14 Bright, p. 265; Jumod, i. 174 f.; E. Lomans, p. 37; Willughby, JAI xxxv. 229.  
15 Willughby, loc. cit.; Routledge, p. 151 f.; Thiel, ii. 205.  
16 Brough Smyth, i. 62-66.  
17 Livingstone, p. 532 f. A somewhat similar usage is practised by the Sidi in the case of girls before marriage.

(c) Filing the teeth.—In Makasar the teeth of both sexes are filled at puberty, and a five days' tabu in respect of certain foods is imposed.4 It is said that among the kedah Semang the teeth are filled at puberty, and that the operation of filing them is a custom practised by the Malays at or about the same time of life.5 The custom of painting the teeth of the Thonga girls at puberty is dying out.4 (d) Perforating the lips or ears.—Puberty rites in the case of girls have become more or less obsolete.6 The lower lip for the later insertion of an ornament among the Tlingits,7 and the piercing of the ears among the Tsimshians.8 The ears of the Thonga boys were pierced at puberty.9

(e) Scarcification, tatting, etc.—Among the Ba-Miula scars are made on the face and body of both males and females at puberty.10 Part of the puberty rites to which the girls of the Abipones are subjected consists in pricking them with thorns, ashes mixed with the blood being rubbed into the punctures so as to render them indelible. The operation must be borne without wining.11 Very similar accounts are given of the rites in the case of girls among the Charrua, Minanes, and Pagayuas,12 the Tupis,13 and certain tribes of the Orinoco.14 Among the women of these latter groups, when adult or nearly so, are tattooed on the arms and back.9 In British New Guinea the completion of a girl's tatting is a sign of her maturity;15 and in Raitee, one of the Society Islands, it was considered a disgrace to be without the tattoo marks of puberty.16 Among the Bushmen incisions were made on the forehead and between the shoulders, and charcoal was rubbed into them, as the final puberty rite in the case of boys;17 and among the Ba-Ronga women tatuing begins to be in connection with marriage or, at least, nubility.18

(f) Dilatatio vaginae, artificial dejeoration.—In the case of girls in Azima Land, the vagina is enlarged on arrival at puberty;18 a similar practice prevails among the Wa-yao of British Central

2 W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, London, 1890, i. 111.  
3 ib.  
4 Jumod, i. 183.  
7 Jumod, i. 921 f. It may be noted that among the Incas the ears of the youths were pierced on admission to knighthood (Garcilasso de la Vega, First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas, ed. C. R. Markham, Hakluyt Society, London, 1869-71, i. 176).  
12 J. Gumilla, Hist. naturelle, civile et géographique de l'Uruguay, tr. from Spanish by M. Eudox, Avignon, 1757, i. 184.  
13 E. D. Hakewill, Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872, p. 251; see also pp. 248, 292.  
14 Krieger, p. 265.  
16 Passarge, p. 101, who thinks it probable that the marks on the forehead were made by means of a comb.  
17 Jumod, i. 180.  
18 H. Crawfoord Angas, The Chennawall, or Initiation Ceremony of Girls as performed in Azima Land, Central Africa,' ZE xxx. [1898] 450. As to the practice among the Australian tribes see above, 11.
speech with certain persons only is permitted, or it is confined to whispering. In other cases archaic or foreign words are used during the ceremonies. (c) Sometimes the cases are to be found in which the novices are prohibited from feeding themselves, scratching themselves with their hands, touching the hair or face, touching the ground with their feet, looking upon the sun or fire, or looking at certain things, such as looking back, washing, working, or sleeping.

3. Tests of endurance, etc.—In many cases the novices are forced to practise a rigid fast. Thus, among the Musquakie Indians, the youth under goes a fast at puberty, wandering alone until he dreams what his medicine is to be, and, sometimes, what his vocation is. Sometimes the novices are forced to remain in deep water, or to thrust their heads through collars of thorns, or are gagged and stung with nettles or stinging ants, or are exposed to the bite of venomous ants, or are deprived of sleep, or are bound so tightly as to suffer great pain. Among the Thonga they must suffer cold, thirst, and cruel punishments. Sometimes they are prohibited from kissing, or from entering houses in the morning; or, or from being touched by a forbidden, in others while in a special food is prohibited.

(d) In relation to speech.—We have seen that among some of the northern tribes of Central Africa there was the under-riding of alienation. A similar prohibition prevails at Tutu, Torres Straits, in the Elenwa District, Papuan Gulf, and among some of the Brazilian tribes. Sometimes

3. It is very doubtful if this instance refers to a puberty rites.
4. It has been observed that where marriage follows closely after infancy it is difficult to determine whether the custom really belongs to the puberty rites, or to those of marriage. It will be admitted that as puberty rites gradually become simplified or altogether obsolete such a custom could only maintain existence as part of the marriage rites (K. Sidney Hartland, Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta, in Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor, Oxford, 1907, p. 198; cf. Crawley, p. 313; G. A. Wilken, 'Folktale bij verlovingen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel,' in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, t. i. (1896) 441.

5. See above, II, 1.
6. JAI xxvii. 4; Howitt, p. 430.
7. Holmes, JAI xxviii. 429f. Holmes tells that the novices are permitted to walk abroad, but that, when they do so, they are encased in plates of glass under a face mask.
9. We, Pueblos of Tribes of California, in Contributions to N. Americans Ethnology, Washington, 1877, ill. 235 (Wintun);
12. See above, II.
13. Krapf, p. 215; see also Junod, i. 179; and Dalton, p. 243, 251.
4. Ceremonial daubing, masking, painting, etc.; ceremonial dress.—We have seen that coal dust is the appropriate covering during some of the Australian ceremonies. It is put to a similar use in Yan and Tuta. The face, shoulders, and chest of the woman are daubed with white clay. In some instances the novice is masked, while among some of the tribes of Central Australia he is painted with distinctive patterns. Among the Hupa, 21 the Tinglit2 and the Beechunans, and the Kaliras2 the girls—and, among the Kosa, the boys—wear a distinctive dress; in N.W. Central Queensland the novices are decorated with necklets and feathers.22

5. Dances and pantomimic representations.—Dances are sometimes the sole ceremony at puberty. They are much more frequently an important part of puberty rites.23 Elaborate pantomimic representations take place during the Central and S.E. Australian solemnities,24 one of the most important of which is that of mock burial and resurrection. There are masked and unmasked pantomimics25 and symbolic representations representing deification26 and new birth.27

6. Naming anew.—Among the Wa-yao a new name is given at circumcision, and the old name is discarded. The Kosa abandon it. It is given by the father after the one of the sixteenth to twentieth times which happens to be in bloom when she arrives at puberty.28 On the occurrence of the same event the Inca girl receives a name from her chief relative.29 Among the Javan of Johor30 and some of the E. African tribes31 initiation is considered at puberty. Among some of the Australian tribes an individual32 or a sacred 33 name is given at recognition is regarded as a disease; and elsewhere as the result of connection with the moon in the shape of a young man (Seligman, p. 206; cf. J. Roscoe, Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda, JAFI xxiii. 39). For other explanations see Crawley, pp. 101, 192, 196.

1 See above, II.
2 Seligman, pp. 292, 290.
3 Charlevoix, vi. 77; cf. Lafayette, i. 350.
4 Erman, p. 352.
5 Endellius, p. 38.
6 Theil, Hist. of S. Africa, ii. 265.
7 Seligman, pp. 346; Spender-Gillen, JAFI xix. 266.
8 Holmes, JAFI xxxii. 419; J. und I. 92.
9 Spender-Gillen, pp. 215, 221, 224.
10 Brough Smyth, p. 38.
11 Spender-Gillen, in. 218.
12 Livingstone, p. 149.
13 Thoth, loc. cit.
14 Roth, p. 179.
15 Passarge, Notes of a Journey, •1. 140.
16 Livingstone, p. 391. In the same place, p. 404, he gives another account of the ceremony of the Tlingits, which is distinct from that of the Baganda.
17 Spender-Gillen, JAFI xix. 266. Sibwende, Roscoe, Notes on the Baganda, JAFI xxxii. 1891: Livingstone, p. 146 (Beechman, etc.); Dennett, p. 69 f. (Bavill); H. Cole, Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa, JAFI xxxii. (1902) 203 f. Census of India, 1901, iii. 64 (Andamanese).
19 Roth, p. 177; Brough Smyth, i. 65; Powers, ii. 33, 239 f. (Hupa, Wintun); cf. NF R. 415.
20 See Spender-Gillen, chs. viii.-xi.; Howitt, chs. i. f.
21 Howitt, p. 554; see above, II. Similar concessions receive ceremonial expression in certain initiatory rites, which can easily be called puberty ceremonies.34 For instance, see Spender-Gillen, p. 533 f.; Spender-Gillen, p. 490 f.; Roth, p. 107 f.; (Ceram).
23 Roth, p. 178; Hobley, p. 70; Chinney and Beaver, IJAH xiv. 74.
24 Roth, p. 153. 'Gala and Toboloberes,' ZEB xvii. (1858) 81 (Ceram). In some of the Marquesas also the face and chest are daubed with clay, and a new gate along a new road to the forest, and to return by the same road, and to build a new lodge when first used again (Hobley, p. 74; Frazer, loc. cit. ii. 248 and 253 f.).
25 Johnston, p. 409.
26 Census of India, 1901, iii. 64.
28 Howitt and Bladen, i. 58.
29 Duff Macdonald, Australia, London, 1858, i. 136.
30 Roth, p. 171.
31 Spender-Gillen, p. 441.
hair-cutting.—The Tupi girls wore cotton strings round wrist and waist to show that they were marriageable, and the girls of Kye, and among the Herero received a special dress at puberty. 1 When an Orton girl approaches maturity, she gathers up her hair in a knot, 2 and among the Southern Slavs a girl at the same period winds her hair close. 3 Among the Masaguas and Indians a girl is secluded at puberty, and at the close of her seclusion is washed and dressed in new clothes, 4 and the practice of clothing, ornamenting, and decorating the girls at the conclusion of the ceremonies is widely prevalent. 5 Sometimes the head-dress is composed of the roots of blood, or with the symbol of the shaman's familiar spirit. 6 In many instances the boys receive some badge of manhood on the completion of the rites, and are clothed in new garments, and weapons are presented.

In one case the novice must, after the completion of the ceremony, visit another tribe and is feasted on his return. 7 Bathing or washing frequently forms part of the ceremony, especially at the final stage. Thus, among some of the Victorian tribes, the novice is given over to the women, who wash off the clay and charcoal with which he has been daubed, paint him, and dance before him. He is now a man. These practices prevail in Kandemans, 8 Wilhelmsland, 9 at Torres Straits, 10 and among many African tribes. 11 Among the Swahili the girl is symbolically cleansed by being rubbed with powdered sandal-wood. 12 Dancing and singing takes place sometimes at the commencement 13 and sometimes at the close 14 of the ceremonies. Among the Narrang-ga tribe the hair and the beard of the novice are pricked out on three successive occasions. 15

(b) Marriage, funeral.—In many instances the end of the ceremonies is marked by feasting 21 and dacing, 1 and is frequently made the occasion of great licence. 16

(1) Marriage ceremony, religious service.—Sometimes the final ceremony consists in purification 18 or dis-enchantment 19 by a medicine-man, or in performing a religious service over the novice. 20

(2) Sexual intercourse.—In many instances sexual intercourse is permitted to the novice after the ceremony. 21

10. Destruction of things used during the ceremonies.—Among the Pitta-Pitta tribes of Queens-land 22 and the Thonga of N. Africa 23 the encloser used during the rites is burnt when they are ended; and the Macauls destroy everything that the novice has used or written, in order to symbolically remove all traces of his race.

A similar practice prevails among some of the tribes of S. Africa. 24

11.Privileges secured by initiation.—Among the most important of these are the rights to eat certain articles of food previously forbidden, 25 to join the young men's camp, 26 to take part in the sacred ceremonies 27 and in the dances and de-liberations of the men, 28 to marry, 29 and, in many instances, to assume the position of a full-grown man. 30 Many of these privileges are acquired by purchase from the old men of the tribe, and they are often worth as much as to purchase a wife or to purchase for woman to marry. 31

IV. OBJECT OF THE RITES.—We have seen that a rite of puberty may include or indeed consist of the ceremony of circumcision. In certain races the circumcision is not exclusively employed as such a rite. Circumcision, e.g., serves many other ends than to indicate an important epoch in the life of a member of a community. But, where it is practised as a rite of puberty, while it may and does operate to effect the purification or change of identity or purposes other than those of a rite of puberty. Still, when employed as such a rite, they express the notion of severance from the past and entrance upon a new sphere of life. In the terminological type of the ceremonies intended to effect purification or change of identity or purposes other than those of a rite of puberty.
some, at all events, of the mutilations inflicted, and in the instructions given we see a preparation for this new life—an attempt to form the character of the servant of the household and a fellow member of the community; and we see in the feasting, dancing, and sexual intercourse which frequently take place as the final stages of the ritual his introduction into the corporate life of the community.


PUBLICANI—PUPPETS

PUBLICANI, or Puppetani (a corrupted form of Paulician).—This is the designation under which the Cathari (see ALLEGROGENES) are frequently referred to by both French and English writers in the 12th and 13th centuries. Schmidt considers that the name, in this form, was introduced by the Crusaders, in evidence of which he cites Tudebod (Recueil des historiens des croisades, iii. [1866] 26) and G. de Villehardouin, Collection des origines nationales de France, Paris, 1824—28, iii. 150.

PUNISHMENT.—See Crimes and Punishments, Rewards and Punishments.

PUPPETS.—From the earliest times human effigies of a varying degree of realism have been fashioned by man which, from their character or their purpose, do not fall within the categories of idol—objects or abstractions. What may have been the object of the ivory and bone human figures of the paleolithic age cannot be stated with any certainty, but it is not improbable that they had a magical intent. The physical peculiarities of the figures, those seen as divided into two groups, one of which shows marked steatopygia, indicate that the aim of the artist was a realistic reproduction of the human form. In this respect the figures of the paleolithic period differ from many human effigies produced by savage peoples, from lack of skill or indifference, often show signs of little attention to accurate reproduction of form.

Among the ancient Egyptians models formed a regular feature in a separate and distinct category of works or carved ornaments of wood or ivory for votive personages. These figures, representing men engaged in occupations of a mental type such as writing, medicine, domestic work, or baking, as well as the oarsmen of the model boat, were buried with the dead to serve as his ministers in the after life, while the unibart figures were intended to take his place as labourers in the sacred fields of Osiris. They were a substitute for the slaves and other members of the household who, in accordance with primitive custom, were once sacrificed at the death of the master of the house. This substitution of a puppet or doll for human or animal sacrifice is not confined to Egypt. In the Malay Peninsula the sacrificial tray which is prepared on all ceremonial occasions for the propitiation of the spirits holds, among other offerings, coconut-leaf models of animals and dough models of human figures. Their intention is clearly indicated by the fact that the dough models of human beings are actually known by the name of substitute dolls (W. W. Skect, Malay Magic, London, 1900, pp. 72, 433). In India the Lushai Kuki class, in a very solemn, but rare, form of sacrifice to the spirits of woods and streams in cases of sickness—a sacrifice of which use is made only when other means have failed—prepare two small clay figures representing a man and a woman, which are placed on a platform; they then sacrifice a pig and make the blood run over the platform. The flesh of this pig is thrown to the pigs. Similar customs are known in a tribe in the Lushai Kuki Chans, London, 1912, p. 74. On the Nile a doll is used in the sacrifice to Osiris, and another doll is placed on a platform, usually an old ant-hill, and the farmer and his household march round it, striking it with a whip and shouting an appropriate song. A doll is used in the sacrifice by the women of the Llapis Clans, in the ceremony which took place on the Tiber, where a straw puppet was employed, in each case in substitution for a human being (G.P., pt. vii., Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, London, 1915, ii. 107).

The spiritual basis of the use of models as substitutes appears in other connexions.

In cases of serious illness in the Malay Peninsula the wandering soul is channeled into a dough figure as an intermediate step to its restoration to the body; or dough figures, animal as well as human, may be made in the presence of a patient, a thread acting as the conductor under the influence of a charm (Skeat, pp. 421 f., 4521 f.). From among the Achænli tribes of the Lower Kuk, sacrifices of figures of dough in the shape of a boy and in the shape of a girl are offered to the spirit of the boy or girl, for the purpose of averting the calamity in the semblance of a child's doll. Inside the figure is a made of the points used in hunting. Sometimes a small, nonresting-place of the ancestral spirit (A. Werner, Natives of British Central Africa, London, 1906, p. 69). It is possible that a curious compromise was made between the idea of the spirit and the idea of the male ancestor (N. A. Charnplic, Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology, Oxford, 1917, p. 217).

In European belief the embodiment of a spirit in a puppet appears in the custom of fashioning a doll from the last bit of dough, which is then used as a curative charm. This custom is wide-spreading among primitive peoples (see art. HASTIES). Among the Alikuya a sun-dried clay figure is produced at the harvest following the annual festival (J. T. Noble, With a Prehistoric People, London, 1910, p. 100 f.), which may with probability be regarded as the analogue of the corn-doll, the material substance representing the corn-spirit. This view of the custom, however, is a matter of inference, and the fact that the dancers appear to be denoting the corn-spirit of a dead ancestor, who lives and is elevated before them would suggest that it is passing into the category of idols. On the other hand, the fetishes in human form of W. Africa and the Dinka in the form of a corn doll are instances of that effect of the dough figure which appears to be independent of any specific purpose of the dough. A wooden fetish figure, e.g., of Bambalá origin, now in the British Museum, is said to have supernatural value unless some scarlet cord (British Museum Handbook of the Ethnographical Collection, London, 1910, p. 360).

How far the belief in the endowment of a puppet with a personality may be carried appears in the customs connected with the female fetish Nantaba, an appanage of the king in Uganda, which has to be provided on his accession by his father's mother's clan.

This fetish consists of a gourd in which the wind is supposed to be caught at a ceremony in which a tree is cut down and a goat sacrificed. The man who carries the fetish back to the king is regarded as guardian of the fetish. A young woman who is a covenent. The image is provided with a hut and a guardman—a king—a priest, and a woman—a priestess. Nantaba and carry her into the sun when she desires it. The king's wives come and sit around her, hoping to gain favour with the children. At the death of the king the fetish is thrown away (J. Roscoe, "Nantaba, the Female Fetish of the King of Uganda," Man, viii. [1898], no. 74). The relation of Nantaba and fertility can be paralleled by the use of puppets to promote fertility and well-being in other connexions, especially in relation to the crops. One instance, that of the corn-doll and the corn-spirit, has been mentioned above.

In Liberia settle figures are employed to promote the fertility of the crops. These figures are the relics of an earlier culture, but, when found in wind or elsewhere by the present natives, they are regarded as the souls of the ancestors, who is placed on a platform, usually an old ant-hill, and the farmer and his household march round it, striking it with a whip and chanting an appropriate song. Among the women they model a small figure of a naked human being, to which they can attribute the qualities of fertility or of cultural indiscrete songs. After this collection of alms, which may last for three or four days, the image, which is called Jekomwaa, the rain-god, is viewed as the soul of the figure, and it is made a figure himself and place it in the fields, after spreading for further instances elsewhere see G.P., pt. ii., Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, London, 1911, pp. 83 f., 62 f.
on them leaves, ashes, and flowers which he has received in return from the women who have ploughed, Omens and Superstitions of S. India, London, 1912, p. 307).

In these cases the image is one element in a whole which forms the fertility charm. It may, however, also be employed purely for protective purposes.

In S. India the crops are protected against the supposed dangers of an eclipse by images made, as in the rain-charm, of ashes from a potter's kiln—images regarded probably as sympathetic. The figures are placed on four sides of the field (Thurston, p. 41). The parallel with the termitaria and with the making of figures is rendered closer by certain physical peculiarities in the efts used for protective purposes in other connexions mentioned below.

Puppets are used to ward off evil influences of various kinds.

In Car Nicobar a wooden figure is used to scare evil spirits (British Museum Handbook of the Ethnog., p. 77). In the case of a child among the Lushai Kuki class a village to which it is feared the disease will spread is protected by a gateway across the road on which are straw figures of men and women which are burnt. The same practice is apparent parallel to the Priapus figures, however, is found in S. India, where, at the Mangalore races, a figure of a man with enormous genitals is carried in procession and at the Cannanore races, where the procession is headed by figures of a man and woman in cars, figures of boys and girls are employed (Thurston, p. 114). In this district, again, the employment of puppets to avert misfortunes is closely connected with the 'evil eye.' Dolls made of wood were covered with black cloth, splashed with white and black paint, sometimes representing a man and woman embracing, are kept in various fields or fields near to the figure away from the land, by which is practically to avert the ‘evil eye.' Figures of all kinds, but especially grotesque, indecent, or immoral, are made, may be put in fields or forests near to a village, in some cases, when in the state of erection, to catch the eye of the passerby, and distract it from the main structure (ib. 111 f.). It is believed that if the image is thus placed to point to an obvious European parallel to this form of the custom of averting the evil eye by some peculiarity or protective sign.

The doll in use depends upon sympathetic action. The employment of the waxen image which was melted, pricked by pins, or otherwise injured was one of the commonest practices attributed to witches in European superstitition. It is one of a number based on the belief in the possibility of harmful action on a human being at a distance.

In Japan nails are driven into a straw image, which is buried under the place on which the victim sleeps. In order to make a debtor pay his debts a brom, inverted, is made into an image to represent him; it is then knocked down and beheaded. The creditor draws a picture of the messenger and demands that he pay his debt. A wife penalizes her husband for infidelity by nailing an effigy to a tree (W. L. Hindburch, 'Notes on some Japanese Superstitions,' Journ. Folk-S. I, 1912, no. 62). Similarly, in S. India, when a Parivaram woman commits adultery with a man outside the caste, she is punished with a figure which is an image of her husband. The images eyes of which thorns are driven before it is thrown away outside the village, or if a girl in the village has a wooden figure made, into which nails are driven, a hole cut above the navel, into which a lead plate, with the name and star of the person and a charm written on it, is sometimes inserted, and it is cast into the sea. A favourite practice of the S. Indian magician, however, is to mould an image of a plastic material, such as dough or clay, which is buried at night in the Hindu cremation ground after thorns or nails have been driven into it, or is nailed on a tree. Sometimes the corpse of a child which is dug up and reburied, is used instead of a figure (Thurston, pp. 245, 247, 254). The Lushai Kuki class use bamboo splinters to drive into the image, and the Brazilian Tupi race use firewood. Some are buried while powerful charms are recited (Shakespeare, p. 109; Skoet, pp. 429, 509 f.).

The interest on the ceremonial and magical use of the doll has tended to divert the attention of observers from its use as a child's plaything. Not only is this use widespread, but it is also of great antiquity.

Among the objects which have been found in children's graves are the doll-like effigies both of animal and of human form which show some considerable degree of development; the limbs are often separately made but the arms or legs are sometimes omitted (Guide to Egy. Collection in British Museum, London, 1900, p. 75). Children's dolls have also been found in the Burmese caves and monuments by Sir E. Arnot (Proc. Royal Soc. of Arts, 5th Ser. American Archeology, London, 1912, p. 147), and it has been pointed out that some peoples, such as the Zulu of N. Africa, use wooden doll-like figures to reenact at the age of six or seven, a ceremony which is no longer required for ceremonial purposes (see E. Lovett, The Child's Doll: its Origin, Legend, and Folklore, London, 1915, p. 10).

It has been suggested that the child's doll is a derivative from the ceremonial doll. In some cases, it is held further, the form would support this view.

Among the Yao of Central Africa, e.g., the dolls show very little resemblance to the human form and may have been originally employed by the subject of the Thonga chiefs already mentioned (Werner, p. 60).

On the other hand, it must be remembered that both the savage and the child indulge freely in make-believe, and indeed very few of the children's dolls found in the present time find a place as toys among the children. In the Sûdan a piece of stick with heaps of clay for the head and the swell of the hips is dressed up in native costume (R. A. Gates, 'Soudanese Dolls,' Mon, iii, [1902], no. 22). On the coast of Africa, a piece of firewood or a manioc root serves the purpose, and these were even preferred to more realistic European dolls by some children. In the cannibalistic tribes of New Guinea, as in the Casqui and the Amazons, the large number of children's games is probably almost equally reasonable.

On the Lower Congo a doll made of a piece of firewood or a root and made as superrigid and superelevated as possible is frequently carried by the little girls just as they themselves have been treated by their mothers. They dress them in strings of beads, hang a few feathers on the head, and tie the head and the body with strings as beads are carried (Weeks, p. 350). The Bolonki girls, infact, call their dolls dona, 'babes' (Weeks, Among Congo Natives, London, 1911, p. 10). The Yâmbi make for a kind of wooden doll with the rounded end covered with scarlet seeds, fitted on a stick and with knotted string for hair (H. A. Bunel, Life of a S. African Tribe, Neschätel, 1912-13, f. 173).

In Tunis among the Hausa the use of a doll as plaything is carried further. The offerings in the medicine-house to the younger bori, 'the children of spots,' which cause rashes and sore eyes, consist of nuts, sugar, toys, and sweets, covered with a white cloth, to which are attached two dolls, 'the playthings of Mal-Vastra.' These bori in all probability are spirits of dead children (Joh. Travancere, The Ban of the Bori, London, 1914, pp. 269, 275).

Puppet-plays resembling the fantoccini and Puppine are not uncommon among primitive peoples. In the Indonesian area they are a constant entertainment. The various plays which are also purchased and performed at private meetings are the most interesting, both of the spirit plays which represent historical dramas (Brit. Mus. Handbook Ethnog. Collection, p. 101). The thubbo thubbo of W. Africa is almost an exact parallel to the Punch and Judy show, presenting a number of scenes involving Rachella Damahul, like Punch, when called upon to meet his obligations, evades payment and maltreats his creditors (D. Alexander, 'Dubbo Dubbo; or Notes on Punch and Judy as seen in Bornu,' Man, x, [1910], no. 25), used.

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LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout.

PURANAS.—1. Introduction.—The Purânas form a class of books written in Sanskrit, and are supposed to have been appended to the Indian Veda and other genealogies, and accounts of kings and râjas, religious belief, worship, observances, and philosophy, personal, social, and political ordinances, and opinions about all kinds of miscellaneous phenomena, and to have illustrated the tales, legends, old songs, anecdotes, and fables. They present the general or popular exposition of those subjects, while the Vedâ literature contains the strictly Brahmanic thought and teaching in religious matters, which is, in the main, the pure and unmixed Sanskrit of one of the eighteen in number. No Purâna recorded earlier than the thirteenth century A.D.

1The word râja denotes in the Purânas a holy ascetic sage, sometimes semi-divine but, when human, generally a very powerful magician with much magic, but is always human, and often of lower rank than râja.
treats of all those subjects, though some are very wide indeed in their scope, while others confine
to narrow limits; but, taken collectively, they may be described as a popular encyclopedia
of ancient and medieval Hinduisn, religious,
philosophical, historical, personal, social, and
political.

The word purāṇa is Sanskrit and means
'ancient'; and the title Purāṇa signifies 'Ancient
Lore,' indicating that these books profess to
decide ancient lore as handed down to the
modern age by part tradition. Its fuller form is Purāṇa-saṁhi-
ṭā, 'Collection of Ancient Lore.' The eighteen
Purāṇas, according to the list which occurs most
often, are these—the Brāhma, Padma, Viṣṇu,
Śiva, Bhāgavata, Nārāyaṇa, Mārkandeya, Agni,
Bhāṣya, Brhamavaivarta, Liṅga, Varāha,
Skanda, Vāmanā, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuda, and
Brāhmaṇḍa. This list omits the well-known Viṣṇu,
but there can be little doubt that the Viṣṇu
and Brāhmaṇḍa were one originally and have
become differentiated; for they agree, almost word
for word, in the great bulk of their contents. The
name Brāhmaṇḍa then in that list must be taken
to include its twin, the Viṣṇu, and the Kūrma calls it
the name of the Viṣṇu-Brāhmaṇḍa. The Matsya, Garuda,
and Viṣṇu, are distinct, and, in order to preserve the
total eighteen, omit one of the others, the Śiva or the Vāmanā.
Altogether, then, there are really nineteen. The
Matsya (iii. 11-58) declares the number of verses
in each Purāṇa, and so also the Viṣṇu (iv. 2-11),
but not quite completely. They agree, or nearly
agree, as regards most of them, but differ widely
about the Brāhma; and the Matsya alone gives
the length of the Viṣṇu, Agni, and Liṅga; both
omitting the Śiva. These figures, however, do not
altogether agree with the dimensions of the present
Purāṇas, being generally excessive, and are merely
round totals mostly reckoned in thousands. Each
Purāṇa is constructed as a discourse delivered by
some person of authority to one or more hearers;
the subjects are expounded, often in the form of
question and answer, and not always methodically;
and into the narration are woven stories and dis-
courses uttered by other persons—with the result
that the whole often appears inconsistent, and marred
by anachronisms. They are mainly in verse, which is generally the
simple kālōka or canṭavṛtta, but passages sometimes occur in
prose.

Origin and development.—An account of how
the Purāṇas came into existence is given by the
Brāhmaṇḍa (ii. xxxiv. 1), Viṣṇu (ix. 4), and Viṣṇu
(iii. iv., vi.); that in the Bhāgavata (xii. vii. 4-7)
is late and untrustworthy. The great ṛṣi Krṣṇa
Dvāpāyana divided the single Veda into four
Vedas and arranged them. Hence he obtained the
name Viṣṇu, 'the arranger,' by which he is generally
known. He lived and did that about the end of
the Dvāpāra age, about the time of the great
Bhārata battle. He then entrusted them to his
four Brahman disciples, one of whom,
Pāṇa became the teacher of the Pāṇeṇa, Viṣṇapaṇa
of the Vajraveda, Jānini of the Sāmaveda,
and Sumanu of the Atharveda. Then with
tables, anecdotes, songs, and lore concerning the
age he compiled a Purāṇa-saṁhitā, and taught
it to his fifth disciple, the sūta, or 'bard,' Romahā-
raṇa or Lomahāraṇa (the two names are the
same). After completing that work he composed the
great epic, the Mahābhārata, and made Romahā-
raṇa discourse on it in both the epic (which he
is generally understood the epic) and the Purāṇa.

Statements occur sometimes that he taught a
particular Purāṇa to his Brahman disciples, but
these appear to be late assertions. The sūta
Romahāraṇa divided that Purāṇa into six parts
or versions and taught them to his six disciples,
Sumati Ātriya, Agnivarchas Bhāradvāj, Mitrayu
Vāṣītha, Akyātravāna Kāśyapa, Sāvamsa
Samadita, and Śuṣāman Sāṁspāyana. The last three
made each a further saṁhitā, or collection. The
sūta's sūta the Purāṇa was called the Brāhma-
ṇḍa collection (saṁhitā), and those of his three
disciples were named after them, the Kāṇḍapala,
Śaṁvara, and Sāṁspāyana-kalika. Vyāsa's
original Purāṇa is not further mentioned and may
indeed have been lost, but Vyāsa put together
the various collections made by the sūta and his three
disciples were regarded as the four original collections,
the 'root-saṁhitās' as they were called. They
were all to the same effect, but differed in their
sections. Sāvamsa's version was noted for the correctness of
its expressions, and Sāṁspāyana's for its stirring
style. All were divided into four parts, and all except Sāṁspāyana's contained 4000 verses.
None of them is now in existence, but several of the disciples appear in some of the present
Purāṇas. The sūta had a son called Ugrārasvā and
saṁvi, a Rahamahāraṇa, 'son of the sūta Romansa-
raṇa,' and taught him also the Purāṇa. Such is
the account given, and it is not improbable. The
sūta was a bard, and the origin of the sūta is
placed in the past. Thus, though some say
the Purāṇas are not likely to have come into existence at the sacrifice
of a prince,Vyāsa, son of Vena (e.g. Viṣṇu,
xxiii. 137-148), whose stories are often narrated.
The antiquity, of course, genuine, because bards
have existed from the earliest times. The term
sūta was afterwards applied to the offspring of
a father of the Kātiya, or military caste, and
a Brāhma mother, but he had nothing to do with
the original sūtas. It was their duty, as
the Viṣṇu (v. 31 f.) and Purāṇa (v. i. 27 f.) explain,
to preserve the genealogies of the gods, rājas,
great kings, and famous men. These were matters of
ancient tradition, for which the Purāṇa
and Itihāsa would be the appropriate receptacles,
and thus these works would be naturally entrusted to
the sūta Romansharaṇa. His descendants had the
right of reciting the Purāṇa for their livelihood,
but the account states that the Purāṇa passed into
the hands of his disciples, of whom five at least
were Brāhman, and five more defective.

The foregoing account does not say how the
present eighteen Purāṇas were developed, and
their origin is explained by another and inconsistent
statement, that there was originally one
Purāṇa, and this himself divided it into four
(e.g. Matsya, iii. 9 f.). This is certainly spurious,
and the reason for it seems to have been rivalry
between the advocates of the Vedas and those of
the Purāṇas, the eighteen Purāṇas being thus
divided equally with the four Vedas. Every Purāṇa,
in fact, says that it is 'of equal measure with the
Veda,' thus placing itself in the same rank as
the Vedas, and indeed the Purāṇa is sometimes
called the fifth Veda (Viṣṇu, i. 18). In the
Purāṇa teaching of all kinds is often put into the
mouth of a single Brahma; and indeed, the Viṣṇu (iv.
200) and Viṣṇu (v. i. 35) aver that a Brāhma was not really wise if he did not know
the Purāṇa. Further, the Brāhman put forward a
claim to primeval antiquity for the Vedas, and
then for the Purāṇa, and this was bad faith; and
it with a claim on their own behalf to equal or
prior antiquity. Thus the Mārkandeya (xlv. 20 f.)
says that in the very beginning it and the Vedas
issued from Brāhma's mouth; and the Brāh-
man himself, in the Viṣṇu (vi. 100) and Padma,
and Śiva ascribes to the Purāṇa, and the Vedas
and Sūtra states that he remembered the
Purāṇa then, the first of all the scriptures, before the
Vedas issued from his mouth. Moreover, the
Brāhmans claimed the monopoly of religious revela-
tion and worship, and the Purāṇas outdid that
by declaring that to recite or even listen to them delivered a man from all sin, the Mārkaṇḍeya proclaims (his opponents) to be akin to a benefit superior to all the Vedas. There was thus a clear rivalry between the Purāṇas and the Vedas, and, in asserting priority for the Purāṇa, or ancient, tradition over the Vedas, the Purāṇas were right to claim. The Purāṇas are four-sided, or fourfold, consisting of the twenty-eight Purāṇas. The first stage of Purāṇa creation was prior to the existence of the Vedas, for the Vedas themselves are a corollary of the Purāṇas, which could have been remembered only through tradition. Tradition has always existed from the remotest antiquity, as far back as man preserved any memories of his ancestors. This is a platitudinous, yet it must not be overlooked when examining the Purāṇas, though what value the present Purāṇas have in that respect is a different question (see below, 2).

In accordance with such extant claims, all the Purāṇas except three, the Liṅga, Nārāyaṇa, and Vāmanam, assert that they were originally declared by some god in primeval time. Those three say that they were first declared by some great Purāṇa. Accordingly, each Purāṇa had to provide a succession of persons through whom it was handed down. Most of them form the chain perfunctorily of a few links, but the Brāhmaṇa (iv. vv. 58-66) and Purāṇa (xii. xv. 40-41) give a long chain, which occur, partly at least, in chronological order. Apart from fabulous occasions, nearly every Purāṇa particularizes the occasion when fearedly the Purāṇa was actually recited. The Viṣṇu gives this circumstantial account:

After the great Dvārakā battle the Prāṇavas were succeeded on the throne of the Purāṇas at Hastinapurā (on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi) by Arjuna’s grandson Parīkṣit, and he by his son Janamejaya, to whom the Mahābhārata was professedly recited. The Viṣṇu says that the Rāṣṭras dwelling in Naimiśa forest on the river Gomati (the modern Gomti in Oudh) offered a sacrifice to the sun god. In the Tankali (a modern Ceylon) approximately in Kuruṇekara (the country 70 miles north-west of Delhi), and the Viṣṇu Kumarapala went there and at their request recited to it them, during the reign of Janamejaya, the great-grandson Adhismita (sīra),—a century or rather more after the great battle (i.e. 12-13, xxv. 218 f.).

The Mārkaṇḍeya says almost the same of itself, and the Brāhmaṇa suggests much the same. The other Purāṇas fall off from this account, and the measure of their falling off agrees with their probable posteriority. Most of the others later than the Mārkaṇḍeya and Nārāyaṇa for instance, the Purāṇa makes the sacrifice last 1,000 years. The Nārāyaṇa removes the scene to Śiddhārman (on the Ganges, and the Purāṇa gives no particular.

Four Purāṇas drop that account altogether. The Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, and Vāmanam say that they were declared by the Purāṇa Parīkṣita, Brāhmaṇa, and Pulastya respectively, and the Bhaṭavāya says that it was recited by Vyāsa’s Brāhmaṇa disciple Sumantu to Janamejaya’s son, King Sātānaka.

3. The five original subjects.—Most of the Purāṇas declare that a Purāṇa should treat of five subjects: original creation (sūrga), dissolution and re-creation (pratiṣṭhā), the periods of the Manvantarās (i.e. the times of the cycle of ages), ancient genealogies (cintāmaṇi), and accounts of peculiarities (vāyava). These appear to have been the original subjects of the Purāṇas, and were so specially their province that the epithet ‘having five characteristic subjects’ was an old synonym for Purāṇa, and the subject of Purāṇa is usually in construction apart from these subjects was not one of their primary aims, nor do they appear to have been composed for sectarian purposes originally. Sectarian designs seem rather to have been an after-thought, and the Purāṇas are almost exclusively the Purāṇas, which are frankly sectarian.

The first three of these subjects are closely connected and may be considered together. The touching is neither uniform nor consistent, but seems to combine different schemes. Its general purport is the following:

It postulates the primordial essence called prakṛti and pradhāna, spirit called puruṣa, and the god Brāhma (or Brahma), with whom are associated Vīṣṇu, Siva, and Puruṣottama. The Purvottamā, or Brahma (or Puruṣottama), contained the three qualities, goodness (vātta), passion (rajas), and darkness (tama), in equilibrium. If first appeared the principle of individuality (ātman), then the five senses and the mind (tanās), sound (ahāna), taste (raja), sight (jñāna), and smell, which become the five sense organs respectively as the five elements (bhūṭa), ether, air, light, water, and solid elements. From this five organs arose the sense of touch (bhīța-sārga).

In the third stage the ten organs of sense and action and the mind proceed from the intellectual prin-

ciples, and the mind was confined to the creation (bhīța-sārga). All these three principles and elements, through the influence of spirit, combined and formed an egg, the egg of Brahma (or Puruṣottama), which became the universe. It brought the world into existence as the fourth stage, and so created the universe as the fourth, and so created the universe as the fourth. This universe was divided into the six great sections, Jīva, the living beings, and the six great divisions, the world of Brahma (or Puruṣottama), that of Viṣṇu, that of Siva, the earth, fire, and water, and the sky. These Seven of these were especially known as the ‘seven rājas’ (sātāpa), who held a unique and permanent position in cosmicogony. The Rudras are generally identified with Siva. Next Brahma created the first Manu Svāyambhuva, and a woman Svāyambhuva, their sons, Sūrya, the sun, and Deva, the daughter. Dakṣa married her and had 24 daughters, of whom 13 were married to Brahma (righteousness) and bore 260 sons. These there are the eight, the seven, and the Dakṣa. The other Hind-born sons and Agni (fire) and the forefathers, and one named Sāl became Siva’s wife. But this account is complicated by a further story that Dakṣa was born in Indra’s lineage as Dakṣa Pracetavana, and then created movable and immovable things, tipics and quadrupeds, and also beget 60 daughters, of whom 10 were married to Dakṣa, and 13 to Marīchi’s son, Kātyāyaṇa, 27 to the moon, and 10 to others. Then Dakṣa, by his wife, created the six kingdoms, the gods, animals, birds, and trees; and thereforeforward living creatures were engendered sexually.

Creation naturally involves the question of the ages.

Time is divided into various great periods. A human year is a day and night of the gods, and the divine year consists of 360 human years. These great periods are divided into ten, and the seven as well as the ten are divided into four periods. That is, the seven periods of the cyclic ages are divided into four periods. This is the reckoning generally set out, but variations are sometimes introduced into it, and the word yoga and kalpa are sometimes used loosely. While the word yoga is generally used for Brāhma’s duration and hold that Viṣṇu and Siva outlive his great duration, and the word kalpa is introduced by some to which of these two endures longer according to their view whether Viṣṇu or Siva is the greater.

One ‘four-age’ period succeeds to another. When a Manu ceases to exist, the world becomes confused during which life ceases in the world, and the Manus, minor gods (all save Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Siva), some of the gods, the earth, the sun, and the moon are destroyed, and are restored to the highest celestial sphere, and remain there for the duration of a Katya age in order to preserve life. Then they resume their activities and are saved. The Katya age is followed by the next Manvantara, restoring all life in the world. So the Manus are saved, and the Katya age is followed by the next Manvantara, restoring all life in the world. So the Manus are saved, and the two whole chapters are burnt called naśadhitam pratiṣṭhā. The three worlds are burnt
up by fire, and a deluge of rain dissolves everything into one vast ocean, called by the Puranas Ksuryat, which is divided into four ocean, and the three qualities become incoht in equilibrium, yet the seven great reis are said to persist in certain celestial worlds, which are in the category of moral deities, watching over the seven reis of creation, and as regards them further dissolution is spoken of, called by the Puranas prakrti. It is through this process that the universe prakrti disappears. Half of Brahma's life has expired, and the second half has begun in its first kalpa called the varaha, in which the universe is passed away. The cyclic order of the universe, i.e., varahas, Svarejhees, Autama, Tamasa, Raivata, and Chaksasa; and the Vaivasvata is the present Manus. The theory of the universe is simply the repetition of the same cycle, and as the gods have developed into the doctrine that succession implied repetition, that everything repeats itself in the entire universe, the Indian system in its 'four-age' periods. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva outlined the dissolutions, and their existence was so vast that they were regarded as practically eternal; but Indra and the other gods were subordinate and temporary, holding their deity for a mantvantara only. Each mantvantara thus has its own subordinate gods and its own Manus, great reis and kings, who all come into existence at its beginning and pass away at its end. This scheme is carried out into each detail that their names are set out, not only for the present mantvantara, but also for the past six and the seven that are yet future.

Since the Vedas were arranged and the Puranas composed, during the Vaivasvata age, this theory required that the same had been done in every Dvapara age of the 'four-age' periods, and that a Vyasa had appeared for that purpose. Hence it was necessary to propound a list of those Vyasas. The mention of the names of Vyasa's who ruled between the hands down the Brhamava and Vyasa, reduced to 28 by combining two names at one stage, seems to have suggested the idea that 28 Dvaparas had occurred. Certainly, however, that list (e.g., Vyasa, xxi. 114, etc.) is spoken of in various periods with the names of the 28 Vyasa; and consequently 27 'four-age' periods have elapsed in the Vaivasvata mantvantara, and we are now living near the end of the Kali, or last age of the 28th period.

The mention of Vyasa, as we have above mentioned, had seven sons, who became sovereigns of the seven continents (dibhas) of which the earth consists, and their progeny peopled them. Thus the subject of geography is introduced. It is not always treated fully, but the general scheme stands.

The earth consists of a central circular continent named Jambu-dvipa, around which the other continents form a series of smaller continents, the Chandra-dvipa, Plaka-dvipa, Prayyana-Sika, and Puskara, the outermost; and these continents are separated by a similar series of six circular oceans alternating with seven series of seven continents in the form of butter (gha), curdled milk, and milk respectively. Each continent and each ocean is twice the size of the earth. The central earth is always subject to the law of the four ages. It was assigned to Priyavarta's son, Agnibhra, and has nine countries which were named after his nine sons. Haiyta is in the middle, and is flanked on the west by Retumala and on the east by Bhadravana. Along the north of these lie Kamyaka, the Northern Kurus, and Hiramayya; and along the south lies Haryarva, Nabhli, and Kampilura. In the middle of Haiyta is the immense fabulous mountain Meru, on which are the gods' abodes, with Brahma in the centre. Various mountains, forests, and lakes are mentioned in these countries. The Ganges flows down Meru and divides into four great streams, which flow away, the Sita east, the Alahanduna south, the Vadhika west, and the Sonsi, or Bhadrata, north. Nabhli's country was named Bhrata after his grandson Bhrata, but this is a mere fancy. Bhrata again has nine divisions named Indra-dvipa, Vamana-dvipa, Ferbho-dvipa, Guvervara, Somaya, Geravara, Saumaya, Ghambhavara, and Yauuna, and another which appears to be India proper and is more strictly called Bhrata. The accounts tell us the earth itself, its dimensions, mountains, rivers, and peoples, which some Puranas set out in copious lists. The subject of cosmogony leads, on the one site, to a notice of the solar and lunar systems, and on the other, a description mainly mythological of the sun, moon, planets, stars, and the rest. The writings of the five special subjects of the Puranas are ancient genealogies and accounts of persons mentioned therein. They profess to give ancient history as handed down by tradition, and they certainly give only the approach to modern history and tradition that is furnished by the Sanskrit books. They are full of interest, but lie rather outside the scope of this article, and can therefore only be touched briefly. They begin with the progeny of the great rsi, which is mythical, and pass on to the genealogies of the chief dynasties of kings who reigned for centuries in N. India and lists of the great Brahman families. That the genealogies are not spurious but have some historical value is proved by the fact that in the other old traditions of religious teachers for general instruction; the latter were composed by royal bard and ballad-makers, i.e., sittas, and were handed down by them. The distinction is important. The Puranas thus drew their subject matter from a great source of sattas (guruvyl kath) provided general instruction and pleasure, and it is often said that princes and munis entertained themselves with their recital. The traditions found in the Puranas were not primarily borrowed from the Mahabharata, for they contain old tales and genealogies which are not to be found in that epic, and the stories which appear in both are not always narrated in the same way. Both are based on the same body of ancient tradition, and the Puranas incorporated old matters independently, though probably later additions to the Puranas have been borrowed from the epic, and possibly also vice versa. Of the stories told about ancient kings and rsi some appear to be ancient, but others are certainly either later from the epics or at best genuine tradition seriously corrupted. They may generally be broadly divided into two classes: those that appear to be Kasyatriya stories, i.e., stories narrating occur- ences from the point of view of the royal and military clans, and those that are Brahmanical, the difference between them being similar to the distinction between tales of chivalry and legends of the saints. References to the heroes of the epics are not infrequent, but its story is not narrated except in the few cases where an abstract of it is given, as in the Agni, Padma, and Garuda, which also summarize the Harivanshas.

4. Additions, interpolations, and losses.—The Puranas, like the epics, have grown by continual additions and interpolations, as abundant evidence shows, both direct and indirect. The Liinga (ii. 1v. 36 f.), e.g., says that it contains 108 chapters in its first part and 46 in its second; this is correct as regards the former, but the latter now contains 102 chapters. According to the Bhavaga (i. 103-105) says that it contained 12,000 verses and was augmented by various stories to 50,000, just as the Skanda was amplified. The indirect evidence is of various kinds. (a) Many passages in the Puranas which they could not all do unless the enumeration were an addition made after all the eighteen had become established. In the Padma, which professes to have been recited by the sita, pt. vi. contains pt. iv., from which it is separated by a section in separate by the sita's son. (b) The same matter is sometimes told more than once; thus the story of the sun is told twice in the Markan-
dya and that of Jalandhara is told twice in pt. vi. of the Padma. (c) Some of the stories are mentioned in the Padma, but with the difference that a few contradictions occur which dilate on the sanctity of Puraottamanaksetra in Orissa. (d) There are differences in language in some Purânas, certain passages being marked by irregularities in grammar and metre not found in the remainder of the same work. (e) Different and sometimes inconsistent doctrines occur in various places even in one and the same Purâna, as is noticeable in the two parts of the Kûrama. Addition and interpolation have been practised continually; thus the Gândiva quotes from the Markandeya and Vajâyâvalyka's law-book; and, since the Bhavisya professes to deal with the future, the edition published lately in Bombay has boldly brought its prophetic account down to the 19th cent. besides incorporating a summary of the Biblical account from Adam to Abraham. It often happens that the same passage is found in several Purânas, so that they either borrowed from one another or borrowed from a common original. Indeed, it almost seems from many peculiarities, such, e.g., as that noticed above in the case of the Padma and the triple structure of the Vîvana, as if there had been different Purânas bearing the same name, or as if a particular Purâna existed with different and constantly changing introductions and formed into a whole. On the other hand, there have been losses, as much evidence shows. In the Padma, e.g., pt. v, says that the Padma which it introduces consisted of five sections, but the part contains only the first section called the Paukkaranava, and the other four appear to be missing, while the entire Padma has six parts. Again, a comparison of Brahmândâda, iii. lxiv. 103f., with the corresponding passage in the Vîyâg (cei.x. 101-291) shows that about 190 verses of the Vîyâg are extolled in the first section, a statement which accords in the contents of the Purânas accords with these conclusions, for in several there is no logical scheme, and matters are expounded piecemeal as if by additions. On the other hand, some Purânas deal with their subject without a consistent plan, such as the Viyâga, Agni, and Bhâgavata, betraying apparently a late stage, when the matter had been co-ordinated and systematized. The Vîyâga is one of the best arranged, yet it hardly professes to be complete, and, indeed, that it is not so, is evident out of the four 'root-Purânas' mentioned above. 5. Additional subjects.—The Purânas claim to expound, besides the five characteristic subjects, the four subjects which comprise all human endeavour—righteousness (dharma), wealth (artha), love (kama), and final emancipation from existence (moksa). These, with the copious religious teaching now found in the Purânas, are Brahmanical additions to the original five subjects. Of the four ages the Krta was the golden age when righteousness was perfect, but it deteriorated through the Tretâ and Dwâpara, until it has well-nigh perished in this evil Kali age. This is figuratively expressed in the adage that dharma had four legs for its support in the Krta age, three in the Tretâ, two in the Dwâpara, and has but one in the Kali age. 6. Theology.—The theology taught is heterogeneous, and most deities that enjoyed a certain amount of popular acceptance can be found praised in certain Purânas. Of the Vedic gods, Indra and Agni retain a prominent position, and Agni is ranked as one of the chief of the gods, i.e. generally of the subordinate gods, those other than Brahmâ, Viṣṇu, and Siva. Varûpa is the god of the ocean and appears at times, but Mitra has disappeared. The sun (Sûrya) holds the first place among the deities, and the dev- rant, Savi, Aditya, and Puṣan are freely given to him. He is highly extolled in the Brahmâ, Markandeya, Agni, Padma, and Gândiva, but his worship is most fully inculcated in the Bhûkesâya (i. xviii. 5f.), which says that it was introduced by the god in the celestial plane to cut off the Pâñjâb by Kûra's son, Sûmâla, who suffered from leprosy and was cured by worshipping the sun. It calls the sun's priests nayâga and bhûgâja. The sun's children were Manu Vaîavasvata, Yana, and the Aśvins, who are celestial physicians. Yana is the god of the dead, especially of the wicked dead, and holds a dread position as the punisher of sinners in his hells. Viṣṇu, also called Mâtrîsâvan, is a god of some note. Soma is the moon. Brahmâ is the divine priest. The gandharvas are celestial musicians, and the uparâsas are celestial nymphs and courtisans, who often play the part of beguiling gîyas, whose austerities (tāpasya) awakened fear in the gods. On the evil side were the auras, who were demons. Dietâs, danaavas, and râkshas were prominent in the earlier traditions hostile races, sometimes uncivilized and always hated and dreaded; hence these names took on the meaning of 'demons,' especially in passages that appear to be late, where they and also auras are treated sometimes as interchangeable. Midway was Kubera Vaîshâvana, the god of riches, whose attendants were the gâyukas and gûlûkâyas. In late Purânas or passages local cults are commended, such as the worship of Ganesha, the snake-god, and the yakṣas, with their sondra, the holy basil; and the veneration of the cow is noticed in the Padma (v. xlv. 122-190). The three chief gods are Brahmâ, Viṣṇu, and Siva. Brahmâ is the creator of the world, Viṣṇu its preserver, and Siva its destroyer. Brahmac is sometimes extolled as the highest, as the Markandeya (xlv.f.), but is generally held to be inferior to Viṣṇu and Siva, and the relative supremacy of these two is the higher theology taught. The Purânas are sometimes classified according to their theological leanings. There were the Saiva, who enjoyed Siva, the Brahmâ, who enjoyed Brahmac, and the Vaisnavas, who enjoyed Viṣṇu. Some Purânas display this character, though Sarasvati is praised here and there and a high position is sometimes accorded to the forefathers (see below, (c)). The Padma (vt. colxiv. 81-84) says much the same, and distributes the Purânas in sixes thus:—as śâttvika, the Viṣṇu, Nârâyaṇa, Bhâgavata, Gândiva, Padma, and Vyâeha; as tâmasa, the Matya, Kûrama, Liṅga, Siva, Agni, and Skanda; and, as râjasa, the Brahmânda, Brahmacuvviata, Mârkaṇḍeya, Bhârâma, Vîvana, and Dwâpara. The Viyâga must be understood to be included in the Brahmânda. But this division is only roughly true, because the Agni, e.g., gives instruction about the worship of both Viṣṇu and Siva. The Padma (loc. cit. 86f.) further declares that the śâttvika is only a final emancipation from existence, the râjasa to heaven, and the tâmasa to hell; but this estimate is merely Vâsînvate, for the Śîva (ii. li. 63), which is classified lowest as tâmasa, declares that a man who reads it completely will be completely released at death. While he is alive, and that the gods attain tâjere only by attaching themselves to Siva. The Śaivite Purânas show a difference from the Vâsînvate in that, though they make Siva supreme, they almost suggest that the exaltation of Siva was a later doctrine imposed on that of Viṣṇu's supremacy, as appears indeed to be implied in the Śîva Purâna (i. li. 5-11).
The rival advocacy of Viṣṇu and Śiva was carried to the farthest length, and the partisan Purāṇas sometimes introduce these gods them- selves as disputants, but others less acknowledged are also mentioned—indeed, the Garuda and Bhāgavata mention 22, and add that his incarnations were really immemorial. The superlative work attributed to Viṣṇa naturally created the belief that he was no ordinary god, and it may probably be that he is often called an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and so also all the other Viṣṇus mentioned above; while the Kūrma in its second part (xi. 136 f.) makes him an incarnation of Śiva also.

(b) Śiva and Viṣṇu differ markedly from that of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is celestial and takes no immediate part in terrestrial affairs except when incarnated, but Śiva is largely a terrestrial god. He is often spoken of as dwelling humanely on the Himālayas or in Benares and as practising human asceticism. Similarly with their wives. Viṣṇu’s wife, Laksṇī, is a beautiful abstraction, but Śiva’s wife, Umā or Pārvatī, is very realistic. She was Sātī re-born as the daughter of the Himālaya range. Śiva’s woolly and western appearance and his wilder temperament of conversation are often introduced and sometimes narrated at length, yet always in wholly human fashion. They had two sons, Skanda or Kārttikeya, and Gaṇeṣa, the god of wisdom. Śiva takes an active part in the affairs of the mundane world, and between the gods and the demons, who are always terrestrial, even when the nether world is their special abode. Śiva and Rādha are synonymous. Pārvatī, especially in her terrible forms, and Skanda also join in the battles. Stories of this kind are often narrated, such as the destruction of Tripura and of the demons Andhaka, Sumbha, Nīśumbha, Maḥiṣa, and Jaladhara. Her victory over the demons is the theme of the Devībhāgāvatya in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa—a gnomic story much esteemed by the worshippers of Kālī, who is identified with her; and the worship of her as Durgā is inculcated in the Purāṇas, Brahmaṇavai- varta, and Garuda. Śiva was worshipped as Pāṇāṭi, ‘the lord of cattle’, beneath whom all the gods and all creatures ranked; he was called and this Pāṇāṭa cult is commended in the Saivite Purāṇas, but reprobated in others. Śiva had thus no genuine incarnations, yet his worshippers prophesied that he had 28 incarnations contemporary with the 28 principal forms of Viṣṇu, and one of the 28 in the Viṣṇu (xxiii. 114 ff.), Linga, and Śiva, but they were merely vṛis who expounded yoga, ascetic devotion. Siva’s linga, the phallos, is often mentioned and extolled, and its worship is well established in Purāṇas that appear to be late, and especially in the Linga (tr. xvi. 13-21), which exalts Śiva in this form as above all gods and as containing everything. Instructions are given about its construction, establishment, and worship. The female counterpart, the joiṣ, is not noticed much, and then only, the late Purāṇas. The Viśvāmitra identifies it with Pārvatī, but the Purāṇa with Sītā. The saktis, ‘female energies’, are not often mentioned and then generally as somewhat abstract conceptions. They probably form Kāli, Yārāṇī (xx. 2 ff.) and Mārkandeya (lxxvii.), they are identified with, or related closely to, Pārvatī in the Kūrma. The worship of the saktis, however, existed, for the Kūrma (i. xxx. 25) reproaches the Vanāchārī, or obscene, with saktis.

(c) Pṛśa.—As already mentioned, the forefathers (pitr, ‘father’) are accorded high dignity sometimes. This term means a man’s dead ancestors, but in this connexion denotes a class, comprising seven groups, of abstract forefathers, divine and nearly, personal, for they are always spoken of
collectively. The Brahmanda (II. xxii., III. ix.–xii.) and Vayu (I., lvi., lxxi.–lxxvi.) especially magnify them, and similar references occur in the Matsya (xiii., xv.), Markandeya (xvi. f.), Padma, and Garuda. They are linked with the gods and even called the earliest gods; they and the gods stand to each other in reciprocal relationship as fathers, and they are also the gods' gods, to whom the gods offer sacrifice. They and the gods come into existence with each movement, and pass upward to a high celestial world at its close, but apparently do not perish till the universal dissolution.

They perpetuate in some undefined way the existence of mankind through the ages. They have a path in the sky, and they confer on pilgrims occasional absolutions. This teaching appears to be ancient, and is not found in the latest Puranas.

See Ancestor-Worship (Indian).

(d) Heresy. —Heretics and heretical teaching are often alluded to. Such teaching is always sharply contrasted with theIdeological, or philosophical, theory in the form of Jainism and more particularly Buddhism, though often without being named; and the distinction between them is not always made or observed. Books that teach heretical doctrines are called 'scriptures' (saurdras), and are accounted for as the work of Visnu or Siva, or both, or Parvati, intended to beguile haters of the gods and Vedas to destruction. The longest notice of such teaching occurs in the Vayu (III. xvii. f.), but is largely fanciful, for the Jainism and Buddhism originate in the Narayana valley. The Garuda (I. 32) says that Visnu became incarnate as a Jina's son named Budhha in Behar; and the Agni (xvi. 1–3) says, as Sudhodana's son who begged dasyus, 'demons,' to become Buddhists. The Kirtam (I. xvi. 117) denounces also the Paicharratas (who are followers of Visnu) and more particularly the Saivite sects, Kâpâlas, Bhairavas, Pâpakûtas, and Yamalas.

The Brahmanda (III. xiv. 39–42) and Vayu (Ixxviiii. 30–32) speak of the nakedness among the naked and such like both Buddhist and Jain orders, also Brahmins who pretentiously wore matted locks or shaved their heads, and those, too, who pretentiously observed religious exercises or uttered profane words.

7. Dharna. —Under the head of dharna, 'righteousness,' the Puranas provide a great deal of religious teaching, both popular and what is more strictly Brahmanical. All deeds, both good and evil, produce necessary consequences, which a man must undergo. Good deeds may raise a man after death to swarga, 'heaven'; evil deeds certainly entail punishment. The doctrine of sin and its punishment is clearly laid down. At times lists of sins are set out, together with the punishments by which they may be expiated and the specific punishments provided for them in the various hells. Also, and sometimes in this connexion, a description of the hells is given with more or less fullness and ingenuity. As regards the popular teaching, the most striking features are ruthlessness and the provident care to make religious practice and the acquisition of blessings easy for all. It deals with sacred places (tirthas) and pilgrimages to them, religious exercises, gifts, prayers, and sacrifice. The emphasis is on certain religious practices, and the provisions are expressly declared to be available to women and the lowest classes, thus disregarding mere caste and personal limitations.

8. Tirthas, etc. —The subject of tirthas and the benefits which they confer on pilgrims occupies a very large space, being a favourite subject, for it offered absolutions and inducements to the people and brought profit to the Brahmins. Sometimes itineraries are set out, instructing the pilgrim what shrines to visit in order that he would gain thereby; and at other times these matters are woven into a discourse on some point of belief or conduct as edifying illustrations. Some Puranas deal with tirthas comprehensively, while others advocate the merits of particular spots; and in connexion with each important tirtha is generally narrated the tale which explained its fame and merits. The sacred places in N. India receive most attention and praise; Benares, Allahabad, and Gaya were the chief centres, and each is often praised to the supreme. But the doctrine of tirthas was firmly established in the Deccan also, and many places there are extolled. The rivers Narbada and Godavari attained a sanctity hardly inferior to that of the Ganges, and were crowded with tirthas.

The merits of the Narbada are expounded in the Matsya (clxxvi.–cxciv.), Agni (cxiii.), Padma, and Kirtma (II. xxxix.–xli.), and those of the Godavari in the Brahma (lxx.–clxxv.) especially. The object of pilgrimage in the Brahmanical religion is possibly a real basis, but generally are mythological or fanciful; and all the resources of Hindu mythology with its myriad deities and semi-divine beings, together with acentions from Brahmans, monks, and experts, were thrown into the conversion of the monkey Hanuman, were available either for the new localization of some old legend or for the fabrication of pious fables, in order to furnish a tirtha with a title to sanctity. Pilgrimages were not then, and are not now, a necessary component of devotion and expense may have been burdensome sometimes, yet these were far outweighed by the benefits promised. Some places conferred heavenly joys hereafter, others delivered the pilgrim from the evil of being born again, and others bestowed plenary absolution from all sin; and many shrines proclaimed their power to free even from the deadly sin of brahmanicide. Gifts also procured blessings for the donors and were lucrative to the Brahmins. The making of gifts is warmly commended, and sometimes expounded with great detail, as in the Bhairavi and Matsya, as regards both their manifold varieties, from the most costly munificence to simple almsgiving, and also the occasions when and the procedure with which they should be made. Purificatory exercises (vrata) are lauded as procuring benefits, especially those prescribed for certain auspicious days and months, and this subject is sometimes expounded minutely, as in the Matsya, Agni, Garuda, Padma, and Bhairavi. Even occult practices to effect both good and harm are commended and explained, such as mystical formulae, magical spells, and prophylactic verses, in the later Puranas such as the Agni, Brahmanavarta, and Garuda.

The readiness displayed in all these ways to provide relief from sin and enable every one to acquire substantial future blessings was carried so far that in the Matsya (bxx. 2) and Padma (III. 1. 5) the question how a man could gain final emancipation is put, with the least amount of asceticism is naively asked and soberly answered. It may well be surmised that these features of popular religion were not haphazard. Brahmanism evidently found it expedient to support, at least in some measure, the religious worship of the people, and this suggests that it was outbidding other claims to popular favour. But, whether deliberately provided or not, these easy ways of practising religion and reaping blessings must have presented strong attractions to a people who were so well provided with the self-regimen that Buddhism required of its adherents in this life and the dreary
future existences that it announced for the ordinary man. It is probable, therefore, that all this popular teaching contained in the Purāṇas materially helped the Brahmān to stem the spread of Buddhism and finally to oust it from general acceptance.

9. Caste and ritual.—The special Brahmanical instruction lays down the rules governing the castes. Ordinarily the castes are taken as—four—the ancient theoretical number—viz., the Brahmans, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas, and the Śudras, who comprised all the lowest strata; yet the existence of other castes, whose origin is theoretically explained as the intermixture of those four castes, is noticed at times, though only in a general way. For the most part it is the Brāhmaṇ’s life that is considered worthy of description, and the duties of the other castes are summed up briefly. The Brāhmaṇ’s four stages, as the religious student, the married householder, the forest recluse, and the ascetic mendicant, are explained, often at much length. Directions are often given about sacrifices, purifications, sacred texts, and various rites and ceremonies, especially the brāhddhā. Information is offered about images and their worship, and the treatment of Brahma, Vishnu, and Śiva. Elaborate instruction is sometimes set out about ‘virtuous custom,’ or correct behaviour in all matters, religious, social, and personal. All these subjects appear to be later additions, and are generally expanded in the encyclopedic Agni.

10. Kāma.—Next may be mentioned the subject of kāma, ‘love,’ in so far as it is noticed in the Purāṇas. It may be regarded as illustrated by many stories. Such treatment as it receives deals mainly with women. Rules are laid down about marriage, and personal characteristics are sometimes described. The care that a wife should show towards her husband and relatives is explained in the Bhavishya; and as examples of perfect wifehood are often cited Sītā, the much-tried wife of Rāma, and Sāvitṛ, who saved her husband Satyavan by her devotion. The practice of sūti—a widow’s immolating herself on her husband’s funeral pyre—is alluded to sometimes, but ordinarily the subject of widowhood is left untouched and is passed over in silence. Lastly, rules are laid down even for courtesans, which is said were originally given to Kṛṣṇa’s wives after his death.

11. Artha, etc.—The subject of artha, ‘wealth,’ is not itself discussed in the Purāṇas, but the welfare of a king and his subjects falls partly under this title and partly under dharma, and is the subject of works called artha-kāśātras. This is dealt with under the title of rāja-dharma, ‘the righteous functions of kings,’ and is expanded with regard to a king’s personal and religious duties, civil, criminal, fiscal, and military administration, the conduct of war and peace, and the safeguarding of his realm from calamities. The Mātṛya treats the same fully, and also the Agni, as expounded by Puṣkara; while the Garuda lays down wise maxims, both generally and with special reference to kings. Here may be also noticed various other subjects that are somewhat or somewhat connected with the Agni, and its treatise on medicine and veterinary science, architecture (which is also in the Mātṛya), the scrutiny of gems, astrology, and grammar. The Agni further treats of archery, poetry, metre, the drama, and the fable, and also the Vāyu (lxxvii.) discourse on music, generally in connexion with the fabled visit of an ancient king of Gujārāt to Brahmā’s court, where the gandharvas were the musicians.

12. Mokṣa.—The fourth additional subject is mokṣa (q.v.), ‘final emancipation from existence.’ Transmigration was believed in unquestioningly, and every man had to experience and so consume the consequences of his actions in subsequent lives. Some shrines promised deliverance from existence; others, generally religious rites such as ascensions, pilgrimages, and such like conduces merely to amelioration of future existence. That was as much as the ordinary man was capable of, but did not satisfy earnest souls who desired to be rid of re-appearances in the transmigration of the Soul. To attain to this was the highest aim of philosophical religion, and two ways to this end were taught, namely, yoga, ‘complete ascetic meditation on and devotion to the Supreme Soul,’ and bhakti, ‘loving faith.’ Pure ascetic self-mortification (tapas) could enable a man to acquire and exercise superhuman knowledge, faculties, and powers; and that is often described and held up to admiration in the marvellous stories of the ancient past; but there its fruit is treated rather as an object in itself, for the doctrine of final emancipation was not the highest aim of human aspiration in ancient times as it became established later. The yoga that achieved final emancipation was twofold: (1) jāhana-yoga, ‘the yoga of spiritual knowledge,’ and (2) bhakti-yoga, ‘the yoga of devotional love.’ The yoga of spiritual knowledge was elaborate and usually consisted of repeated, meditative devotion, rejecting all works; and (2) karma-yoga, ‘the yoga of works,’ which consisted in the full and single-minded performance of all one’s earthly duties, and was also called Śākhāyoga. Both kinds are taught and are contrasted sometimes, but on the whole the yoga of spiritual knowledge is more highly commended.

The Vāyu, Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Īśā give instruction about yoga, especially the yoga of spiritual knowledge, and the Viṣṇu extols it highly. On the other hand, the Mātṛya (iii.) lavishes the yoga of works as far superior to that of spiritual knowledge, and declares that it is the yoga of works that produces such knowledge and the yoga of such knowledge, and that there can be no spiritual knowledge without it. The Kārma (i. iii. 21–27), however, commends a middle course in a combination of both, because works lead on to spiritual knowledge. The other path, bhakti, is connected indeed with śraddhā, but more especially with Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, who are completely identified. Faith in Śiva is alluded to incidentally in various Purāṇas, and is inculcated in the Īśā (i. viii.) and in the Sīva (vi. viii.), which bases it on knowledge. Faith in Viṣṇu is not only alluded to incidentally, but is enjoined in the Brahma, Brahma-nāṁśa-varta, and Garuda, is expounded in its various forms in the Padma (iv. lxxv.), and is the special theme of the Bhagavata. The Brahma (cecxviii. 8–13) says that one rises through faith in Agni, the sun, and Śiva successively to faith in Viṣṇu, that men of even the very lowest classes can possess it, and that man fails to reach it because of Viṣṇu’s māyā, ‘illusion.’ The teaching of the Bhagavad-gītā on these subjects is summarized in the Agni (cecxlix.), Garuda and Padma, and Brahma. Faith in Viṣṇu is also expounded in the Brahma (v. xv. 163–192) similarly to faith in Viṣṇu; and faith in the sun is inculcated in the Bhāṣya (i. xviii. f.). The Padma, moreover, in a late allegory personifying bhakti, etc., as a beautiful woman, describes bhakti in detail.

Bhakti was born in Drāviḍa, grew up in Kāśṭākā, became worn out in Māhārāṣṭra and Gūrjarā, sought refuge with her two sons, Śiva (spiritual knowledge) and Viṣṇu (passionate bhakti), and finally remained her vigour the whole of India (x. cxxiv. 61–65); and it concludes, ‘Enough of vratas, tirthas, yāgas, sacrifices and the like, I go not, namely, faith alone indeed bestows final emancipation’ (Yt. ecx. 22).

13. Age of the Purāṇas.—The age of the Purāṇas is a question much disputed and quite unsettled. In a general way it is not difficult to perceive differences of age in the Purāṇas collec-
tively and in the component parts of a single Purāṇa; but the Purāṇas (except the latest), as they exist now, can hardly be assigned to any definite age, because additions and modifications have been made, as shown above, and they now possess confused results of many centuries. While, then, it is required that the different strata in their contents should be distinguished as far as possible, the important question is, not so much What date do the latest additions prove for any Purāṇa? as What dates do its component features indicate? Tradition says, as already mentioned, that Vyāsā, who was alive at the time of the great Bharata battle, and his disciple, the śilā, compiled the first Purāṇa. That a collection of ancient traditions was made not long after that period receives strong confirmation from two patent facts: (1) that the royal genealogies (which are given in most Purāṇas) terminate at that stage, the three chief lines only being continued later in a few Purāṇas, and then professedly as a prophetic addition; and (2) that stories of the kings mentioned in the genealogies stop short at that stage except as regards the next two Parārva kings, Parīkṣit and Janamejaya. These two facts suggest strongly that during the great battle Vyāsā was present, at a time which determined the lower limit of ancient tradition, i.e. when ancient tradition was collected regarding genealogies and stories about kings—the two out of the five subjects characteristic of Purāṇas that admit of chronological scrutiny. Hence it is probable that the first Purāṇa was compiled about that time, and the four root-Purāṇas soon afterwards. Those original Purāṇas do not exist now as such; the present Purāṇas have been developed out of the Vyāsā's and expressly asserts about itself; yet portions of those Purāṇas may survive embedded in existing Purāṇas, and there is no good reason to doubt that the royal genealogies and their incidental notices of kings mentioned therein are really ancient matter. Purāṇas are cited as authorities, and a Bhāsya in particular, in the Apastamba Dharmasūtra, which is not later than the 3rd cent. B.C. and may be nearly two centuries older. Moreover, epigraphic evidence, in the shape of verses quoted in land-grants which are dated, shows that even Purāṇas which do not appear to be early must have been in existence in the 4th cent. A.D. at the latest. On the other hand, some Purāṇas are no doubt later still, and the Bhāgavata (probably not before 8th cent. A.D.) is the most striking instance of such. Further, whatever the age of any Purāṇa may be substantially, it has undoubtedly been augmented and modified later than the 4th century. Various points which touch the relative age of the Purāṇas have been noticed in the course of this article, but, until the Purāṇas have been studied far more carefully than they hitherto have been (and they deserve such study), it is impossible to form anything positive about their ages. A preliminary estimate of the older matter, however, may be offered thus. The oldest appear to be the Brahmaṇa and Viṣṇu, and the Matsya also, though it has large later additions. The latest seem to be the Brahmāmeruṣya, Śīra, Viṣṇu, and the Bhāgavata, the last of which may be called the 'Bible of the worshippers of Viṣṇu.' The others appear to be intermediate, and among them an early place may probably be assigned to the Mārkaṇḍeya and Brahmaṇa, the last oft-styled the Ancient, or the Purāṇa, though a large part of its contents is certainly not ancient. The Purana has old matter in so far as it has affinities with the Matsya, but the bulk of it is late, and some of its tales show a stage of transition to the modern fables of the Panchatantra and Hitopadeśa.

14. Upaparāṇas.—Besides the Purāṇas proper there is a class of similar but later and inferior works called Upaparāṇas. minor Purāṇas. They are also said to be oftentimes unreal, as their names are given thus in the Kārma (L. i.), Garuda (exx.), and Padma Purāṇa (IV. ex.) Satakṣamāra, Narāśima, Skanda, Śivadharma, Purastas, Narāśya, Kāpiṇa, Viṣṇu, Ujana, Brhadādatri, and Parāśurāma. The Kārma and Garuda say that these were declared by the nṛnus, but the Padma attributes them to Mann to give them spurious antiquity. Some of them have been published, but they have not been studied. LITERATURE.—Mainly the Purāṇas themselves. See also H. H. Wilson's tr. of the Vīma Purāṇa, ed. Farnham Hall, 5 vols., London, 1885; and thePreface, ed. E. Burnouf, Paris, 1840, i. preface; M. Monier-Williams, Indian Wisdom, London, 1875, pp. 49S-501; A. Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile, Kelz, 1922-96, iv. 29-28; A. A. Macdonell, Hist. of Sanskrit Literature, London, 1900, pp. 299; M. Wintermütz, Gesch. des indischen Literatur, Leipzig, 1909, i. 44S-48S. P. E. Pargiter.

PURGATORY.—See STATE OF THE DEAD.

Purification (Introductory and Primitive) (E. N. Fallaize), p. 455.


Egyptian (A. M. Blackman), p. 476.

Greek (J. Farnell), p. 492.


Purification (Introductory and Primitive).—I. Introductory remarks.—Among the more prominent factors both in the regulation of primitive life and in the determination of the character of religious ritual are the conception of the state of purity and the attendant ceremonies regarded as the proper means of keeping the individual in that state, and for its recovery should it be impaired. It must be noted, however, that purity as conceived by the primitive mind has a wider significance than is usually attached to the modern use of the term among civilized peoples, in which emphasis is laid on the positive side of its meaning, purity being almost regarded as the equivalent of continence or chastity. The difference is sometimes expressed by applying to the primitive idea the epithet 'ceremonial,' and further by pointing out the non-ethical character of ceremonial purity or 'ceremonial uncleanness.' But, apart from the question whether it is correct to deny the term 'ethical' to any body of rules governing conduct, it would be more correct to describe ceremonial purity as pre-ethical in that, as will appear, in certain respects it provides the basis for higher moral codes.

Owing to the emphasis on the negative and
purification, which is generally characteristic in primitive rules of conduct, it is as a negative state rather than a positive idea that purity governs primitive action, while purificatory ceremonies have as their object protection from harmful influence rather than the attainment of rightousness. The inherent act, whose purifying process would be defined by the primitive savage as one which resulted from such a course of action that defilement, whether intentional or by inadvertent act, had been avoided.

This is closely bound up with the class of ideas and rules of conduct described by the generalized term ‘tabu.’ Infringement of tabu, whether voluntary or involuntary, renders the individual subject to spiritual influence or, to use the Melanesian term, an adverse mana. As such he not only is a danger to himself, but may transmit the danger to others, and may affect the whole community. Hence certain restrictions are imposed upon him: he is isolated, his actions are regarded as reprehensible, and he may not come within the dwellings of the community—for example, in such a matter as the food-supply—until such time as he has been freed from danger by a purificatory ceremony or, in a case in which defilement is so great that the individual and the community are paramount, the adverse influence has been removed by his own law or death.

2. Loss of purity by defilement.—(a) Death.—Ceremonial defilement is closely connected with the tabus of cleansing human beings, both social and natural, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, and death. The ceremonies which accompany these crises are to a great degree both directly and indirectly purificatory in purpose. The natives' primitive mind, the greatest pollution of all—which is so strong that it commonly puts an end for a time to all activity over a social circle of varying extent. As the Bhatunga say, ‘the uncleanness of death kills if it is not properly treated.’ Not only the corpse, but the possessions of the deceased, are regarded as infected with danger, which must be averted by ceremonial treatment. Many customs testify to the peril which is supposed to attach to contact with a dead body. There is a reluctance to handle it.

Among the Ni-Li-Lt the liftable spirit of the body of the deceased is regarded as performed by the shaman, whose innate magical qualities are regarded as in themselves sufficient to accomplish the reversion. Before the ceremonial purification of the corpse, the officials of the north-west the duty of disposing of the body is performed by grave-diggers, who themselves become unclean and must for some days observe certain restrictions with regard to food, relations with women, and the like. Among the Bhatunga the grave-diggers, who are employed because of the great danger involved should relatives handle the body, plug their nostrils with the leaves of a strongly-scented plant as a protection against the dangerous influences of the corpse. They must undergo a rite of ablation and, with their wives, they are subjected to vapour baths. They also suffer from disabilities such as those mentioned in the case of the N. American Indians. They eat with special spoons, and for five days must not eat even the commonest food.

The wide-spread custom of placing implements, weapons, etc., in the grave for the use of the spirit is also no doubt to some extent an outcome of an idea that they are ‘unlucky,’ while the custom, almost equally wide-spread, of avoiding the use of the natives’ dead body, is also closely related. This distinction to afford an opportunity for an adverse influence to make itself felt by the use of a word which is associated with the ‘uncleant.’ Such possessions as are not devoted to the spirit of the dead are frequently destroyed.

The Louchoux crush and break the dead man’s beads. Among the Thompson Indians the teppe in which a man died is burned, or, if death took place in the more permanent hut, it is washed with water in which juniper or tobacco has been steeped. In the lodge no one sleeps in the dead man’s place for a considerable period. In Uganda the hut in which the queen, the king’s mother, or one of his wives until died was destroyed. When a man dies, the main post of his house is taken down and set on end next to the double doorway, which had been previously ceremonially cleaned. The food and the gardens belonging to the dead man must also be purified.

In these instances, which could be multiplied indefinitely, it appears that material things which have been in intimate contact with the deceased are dangerous to those who handle them. The same danger attaches with added intensity to human beings, first those in his immediate circle—his wives and those directly connected with his activities—and ultimately the whole community. Each is a centre of danger to others until a purificatory ceremony has removed the defilement. Hence the restrictions which surround any one who has become polluted aim at segregating him or her from the remainder of the community.

Certain mourning customs, signs of grief and bereavement, such as allowing the hair and nails to grow and the wearing of special clothes, mark the mourners as a class apart; the resumption of their ordinary duties and attire marks their return to a state of purity.

In addition to the custom of segregation, general among primitive peoples, special regulations, varying according to the locality and people, may have to be observed.

Among the various tribes of the Déné and Salish the segregation period extends in the case of mourners to a period of two moons, but in the case of widows for twelve months. The possibility that they may affect the food supply adversely by their action is recognized, and precautions against such a contingency are taken. Custom ordains that the period of mourning vary from four days to four months, during which no fresh meat or hot food must be eaten; food must not be handled or cut, but must be ingested from a plate, and any food which, though thrown away after four days, must be used for drinking. Not only must a widower refrain from eating venison, flesh of any kind, or fresh fish, and from smoking, but should he touch another man’s net or fish from his place, the net and the station become useless for the season. Both widows and widowers are regarded as specially unclean; the former may retire to the woods for a period of one year, performing purificatory ceremonies, and in some cases remaining there, while the latter must in some cases watch the place where the corpse was buried for a like period, eating no fresh meat in that time.

Among the Bhatunga widows form a secret society. Until the great mourning period endures, only the women, in the case of the former, the front of the mortuary hut, and the period of mourning of all the widows lasts for one year. Before another husband could be taken, the first had to have been ‘purified of his last infection of death,’ had to be performed, in which a stranger, ignorant of the circumstances, was deceived by the woman, and, by a ceremonial act in the bush which was not completed, took upon himself the pollution and had to be purified in turn. Pollution by death is sufficiently strong to attack the members of the family who are absent even so far away as Johannesburg. A relative who returned home even months after the death could not enter the village or eat any food in it until purified. This people in fact recognize grades of impurity following on death, in which the degrees are first the widows, then the grave-diggers, and the community, and lastly relatives and wife’s relatives in other villages. At the death of the headman the body was absolutely burned, and the pollution in the case of an ordinary death was not sufficiently grave to require such an extreme measure, the community was simply regarded as infected in a general way. The custom of shaving the hair, and the warriors were unable to go out to battle until they, holding their assegais, had taken part in a purification ceremony in which the king’s mother, or one of his wives and died, medicine-man. No fire could be kept burning in the village except that of the sick, whilst the chief, or cine-man with fire from the mortuary hut. This was used by the whole village for its requirements until the fifth day, when it was put out and the chief’s house was de-noimated from which the people lighted their fires. This was a part of the cerernonial purification of the village.

1 Hill-Tout, pp. 129 f., 200 f.
3 Journ. 1, 144 f.
4 This is not incompatible with the explanation that mourning clothes are a disguise against spirits. This custom emphasizes the danger to the infected person.
5 Hill-Tout, p. 106 f.
Among the Kikuyu the Eskimo the restrictions which followed death were very distinctly of a protective character. Not only was the corpse buried as quickly as possible, but the relatives were careful to keep every one thoroughly cross-examined and every visitation of any kind closely scrutinized. No man who was in a state of pollution by death was allowed to attend the funeral, and every effort was made to prevent any communication of the disease by direct or indirect means.

Among the Todas, owing to the peculiar ritual importance of the head, the head of the deceased was kept in the midst of the ceremonial defilement, great stringency prevailing in the regulations to be observed after a death. A special hut is provided for the body of the Tadah, and the Tadah of this period is a special dairy with three rooms, set aside for mortuary purposes. All who are near the corpse are impure, while the whole humanly of any one who comes to the village in which the relics of the deceased—a lack of hair and a piece of skull—are kept, in the period between the first and the second ceremonials, are polluted. All who attend the funeral, unless they take up their position at a distance, are affected in like manner, while the whole herd of buffalo loses his office. The pep—the ceremonial portion of the dairy product which preserves ritual continence from day to day—is thrown away, and new pep is prepared. Relatives of the deceased remain in a state of impurity until the moon after the second ceremonial has disappeared.

The break in continuity brought about by death, which is marked among the Todas by the casting away of the pep and the preparation of new pep, frequently finds expression in a cessation of all normal activities. Action is rendered unlucky or useless. The death of a man is followed by the Rastus on the day on which a chief dies is defiled.

The pollution of death is intensified if it be due to violence, even though the killing may be justifiable or accidental.

In the Chamorro an accidental death must be followed by a purificatory ceremony, while among the Aikikuy, although the death of a member of another tribe entails no disabilities, the life of a Chamorro man is taken by a ceremony in which the slayer eats with the brother of the slain, and the ghost, in the shape of a wild cat, partakes of part of the food eaten. The ghost at the poet of a tree is immune from the consequences of their act. As the Bughong say, they are hopeful that he will be removed.

Consequently, Bughong warriors, on their return from an expedition, must remain at the capital for some days, wear old clothes, eat from old or broken vessels, and have special food, partaking of hot meals until they have been purified. The Aewas warrior must not sleep in the hut until he has washed in a stream with tinctured with medicine, while the Batacu must be purified by his chief. On the Wadraea river, British New Guinea, when a Chinook man is killed, a special hut is kept by the hunters and those near the place of sacrifice.

The Chinook murderer is strictly quarantined; no one eats with him, nor is he allowed to enter another house until he has been purified. The Pinus Indian who has slain an Apache is not allowed to look at a brain and foot after staying six days in which he is undergoing purification.

Contact with the murderer must transfer his unclean state to others.

Among the Aikikuy, if a homicide sleeps and eats in a village, those who entertain him are polluted to such a degree that they must have recourse to the medicine-man.2 Some form of penalty may be imposed, whether the killing is regarded as sin or not.

In Rajanahal, if two men quarrel and wound the other, the guilty man is fined a hog or a fowl, but the intention is purificatory as well as penal; the blood of the fine is sprinkled over the wounded man to prevent him from being possessed by a devil.2

It has sometimes been thought that the disabilities which follow murder are an embodiment of horror at the intentional spilling of that precious substance, blood. Now, while it is undoubtedly true that blood is highly taboo, and while the importance attached to it in various purificatory ceremonies should not be minimized, the character and ceremonial value, yet the explanation of the purificatory and disabling given by natives themselves appears to minimize the importance of the spilling of blood in death by violence, while emphasizing the fact that those who are guilty of the death of a human being are subject to attacks from the spirits of whom they have slain, and that through them the danger may be transmitted to the whole community. The penalty, e.g., which follows omission of the purificatory ceremony is usually madness caused by the spirit of the dead.

The Bughong warriors are pursued by their slain enemies, who would drive them mad if the proper precautions were not taken. The Batacu warriors are anointed with the gall of a sacrificial ox, this preventing the ghost from pursuing them.

On the other hand, there is a connexion between the ghost and blood in the explanation given by the Kai of German New Guinea.

They say that the souls of the slain follow the returning warriors to recover those parts of the souls which cling to the blood.2

Not only is it the souls of those slain in battle that are feared; the soul of the murdered man pursues his murderer.

Among the Eskimo of N. Greenland the victim’s soul drives the murderer mad, and it may tear him to pieces, should he venture far on the ice.3

It would be possible to multiply instances to show that that which renders the man unclean—unless it is expelled by a ceremony or by the act of a supreme source—is not the fact that there is blood upon him, that he is physiologically unclean, but the fact that he is the storm-centre of a dangerous force which, unless appeased or sterilized, will prove harmful to himself and to all with whom he comes into contact.

When these conditions may arise after any death for which an individual is responsible, it is clear that intention, which constitutes the murder, is, from a ceremonial point of view, of little importance; the belief of the Chukchi is that the Chukchi who venture across the sea on the following day the couple must repair to an ant hill and there set fire to the bracelet.4

Cf. also art. DEATH (Introductory and Primitive).

(6) Childbirth.—Childbirth is another of the important events in human life. It is marked by its intimate and peculiar character and by experience as requiring special measures for the protection of the mother and child, sometimes of the father, and of the other members of the community.

It is commonly held that it is held to be an attack of certain spirits of an extremely virulent and dangerous character, themselves women who have been murdercd by their husbands or have committed suicide. The belief in the danger of attack by these and other spirits is probably to be regarded as the explanation of the peculiar customs which are observed by the Naskapi and the Mahay in the period of impurity, lasting for 44 days after labour, to mount daily, and sometimes two or three times a day a platform upon

5 C. W. Hobley, ‘Kikuyu Customs and Beliefs,’ JRAI xli, 1916, p. 266.
6 Unod, ii, 426.
8 Cassis, p. 258.
11 Basil, in Cassis, p. 201.
as a period of seclusion, a special diet, frequent ablutions, the use of pigment for the body, and bodily mutilation such as circumcision or the loss of a tooth, ear, or nose, as well as mourning and the wearing of black, all of which would regulate it, bring about the separation from a former status and the entry on a new phase of life.

In some cases among the tribes of Australia the novices are regarded as having died. Among the American tribes (e.g., the Shawnees) not only did the initiates observe a special dietetic, but there was also a period of abstaining from sex or sexual intercourse—an obvious and common method of purification. In the Kurnaal initiation mothers and sons sprinkled one another with water or milk, and the father was required to mark the secretion of semen on his legs. If he did not do so, he was required to take a new name at initiation. In the Fijian nanga rites, at the close of the ceremonies, all the initiates went to the river bank and washed off the black paint with which they had been smeared.

At the time of cases of motherhood, a少量 accentuated girls during their period of Impurity were rigorously secluded from the rays of the sun, and frequently were not allowed to touch the earth with their bare bodies. This was the case in Loango. Girls of the Zulu and kindred tribes, should they perceive that they have attained pubescence while away from home, were not allowed to hide in the woods lest they should be seen by a man, and to cover their heads lest the sun should shrivel them up. At nightfall they ran home, avoiding the paths, and were secluded for a fortnight, during which time they and the girls who waited on them were not allowed to drink water, and were kept in the dark. In Ireland pacific girls were confined for four or five years in cages, in which they were kept in the dark, and were not allowed to set eyes on a man.

In the Bamboing niobility customs followed in the case of girls among the native tribes. When the period of menstruation was over, the appearance of the nenes. Three or four girls who ran away to an adoptive mother lived in association; each morning they were covered in a long cloak and cap to which the head was not allowed to set eyes on a man.

At the time of the ceremonial of stepping over a leaf and part of the garb of the holy man the boy is usually embraced in male and female. The use of an umbrella by the Toda woman to keep off the rays of the sun is connected with a widespread belief that a sunbeam appears in connexion with female puberty, that neither the mother nor her offspring should see the sun. In Korea the rays of the sun are believed to destroy the eyes of the child, which is likely to be born deaf, and look at the sun, and avoids looking at the star or other body called Keit, which is believed to be the near sun. The ceremony is intended for this purpose, and is carried out by the Teivaiid division of the Toda husband assists his wife in her seclusion when the child is born. He himself becomes unclothed and remains with her at the hut. The intention of some of these Toda customs is obscure, but the ceremonial of stepping over a leaf is to be regarded as a case of transference of evil, the wist-burning is purificatory, while the 'buttermilk ceremony' is a ceremonial re-introduction of a person in a transitory state to a sacred substance.

The object of the Ekkino ceremonies is more obscure. Here too the boy is surrounded by an umbrella, which appears in connexion with female puberty, that neither the mother nor her offspring should see the sun. In Korea the rays of the sun are believed to destroy the eyes of the child, which is likely to be born deaf, and look at the sun, and avoids looking at the star or other body called Keit, which is believed to be the near sun. The ceremony is intended for this purpose, and is carried out by the Teivaiid division of the Toda husband assists his wife in her seclusion when the child is born. He himself becomes unclothed and remains with her at the hut. The intention of some of these Toda customs is obscure, but the ceremonial of stepping over a leaf is to be regarded as a case of transference of evil, the wist-burning is purificatory, while the 'buttermilk ceremony' is a ceremonial re-introduction of a person in a transitory state to a sacred substance.

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Circumcision, like other forms of initiation, being a ceremony introducing the novice to a new social status in life, is usually followed by a period of seclusion or withdrawal, in itself a purification, but it also as a rule included some element of a more obvious kind, such as the taking of emetics, washing, plastering with clay, the individual being exposed to the dangers of spiritual influences with which he or she was to be brought into contact. The position of the uncircumcised in Fiji was indicated by the fact that they were regarded as unclean and not allowed to carry food for the chief.

(d) Marriage.—The ritual observances which precede, accompany, and follow the marriage ceremony are of such a character as to indicate that, when this important stage in the individual life is reached, all parties interested in the marriage are particularly liable to spiritual influences. Although some of the practices are more obviously of a purificatory character than others, as a whole they are intended to minimize the danger (1) of contact between the individuals, and (2) of the entry into life on a new phase of life. On both grounds marriage is brought

6. B. Danks, 'Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group, JAI xvii. (1896) 234.
8. I. 75 f. 75.
within the category of the crises in human life which require the observance of purificatory rites. An instance to guard against the first-named danger usually takes the form of seclusion. It is almost invariably the case among primitive peoples that, from the time of betrothal until the actual ceremony, bride and bridgroom do not meet in the individual the segregation which takes place between the sexes as a whole at puberty or initiation.

In New Guineas betrothed persons may not see one another. The only communication between the two is that of the medicine-man, while the Malay fiancee makes every endeavour to avoid her future husband. The Wa-taveta bride is 'sealed' to the bride's family, and the payment of the first or of the bride-price, and until the price is complete must see no man.4

Measures may be taken to prepare for contact between the parties, just as initiation prepares for sexual maturity.

Lonnda girls, e.g., are excised eight days before marriage by the medicine-man, while the ceremony performed on girls at puberty among Central Australian tribes is actually the marriage rite and initiation ceremony.5

It is significant that re-marriage of a widow or whoresons requires less elaborate ceremony. This, especially if taken in conjunction with the fact that in the case of either a medicine-man or other person of essentially magical quality, such as a chief, is sometimes exacted from a virgin, and precludes marriage, suggests that the ritual precedent on marriage is a preparation for entry on new social ground not so pertinent in some degree of the conception that the sexual act involves uncleanness.

The ceremonies which accompany the marriage rite indicate that those who are in contact with the bride have been involved in the danger. It is usual to take some measure of precaution to avert the influence of the spirits during the marriage process.

In Nias the bridegroom the 'best man' walks three times round the party, against the sun, holding a holy picture. He then scratches the ground with a knife, cursing evil spirits and all unholy persons. Guns are fired during the procession to or from the church—a custom at one time followed in the north of England.8 In Manchuria the bridal procession is preceded by some of them holding a red cloth to ward off evil, the arrival of the bride's sedan-chair at the groom's house is signalled by fumigating, and the chair itself is afterwards purified with incense.9

A common preliminary is lustration. In S. Celebes the bridegroom bathes in holy water, and the bride, after the bath, is carried in a sedan-chair over water over her head. The Matahehe bride pokes her head over the groom's house while he is anviing at his house,11 while among the Malays lustration continues for three days after the ceremony; at the actual wedding the groom is smeared with incense and the smearing with the neutralizing 'rice paste,' which forms such an important element as a purificatory or protective agent in all the magical-religious observances of Malay life.12 In all Muhammadan countries purification by water in the bath and painting with henna are among the more important of the preliminaries to the wedding rite. The bath usually takes place a day or two before the departure for the groom's house. In Egypt the bride goes in state through the streets in a procession as elaborate as means allow, accompanied by her friends.13

2 A. L. van Hasselt, Folkbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra, Leyden, 1882, p. 275.
3 Skeat, P. R., op. cit., p. 366.
5 Flos-Florians, I. 324; Spencer-Gillens, p. 93.
12 Skeat, p. 335f.
13 E. W. Lane, An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London, 1846, i. 217; Westermann, p. 136f.

The custom of cutting the hair or of wearing old clothes by the bridegroom occurs as an occasion for, or forms part of, a purificatory rite, also occurs in connexion with marriage.

Among the Muhammadan tribes of N. W. India both bride and bridgroom wear old clothes for some days before marriage.1 The head of the Kafir bride is shaved while the Pijian bride cuts off a long lock of hair or shaves her head.2

Notwithstanding the great variety of marriage rites and ceremonies, they agree to a great extent in the same manner as the preliminary rites in having as their object the prevention of the transmission of harmful influence from one individual to another and the averting of the influence of malicious spirits. The ceremonies may be supplementary to those preliminary rites, marking especially the separation from the former life with all its circumstances and magical influences. Of such, lustration, cutting the hair, and the abandonment of old clothes are significant instances. Or they may be protective, as the use of the veil and of the oblong slab of wood or the custom of fire-ceremonies among the tribes, where one of the most important days of the wedding ceremony is that on which the smearing of hands and feet with henna, antimony, etc., takes place.3 Another form of protective rite at the wedding in some tribes of Morocco is the taping of the bride with a sword on the wedding night by the bridgroom to drive away evil spirits.4

Finally, the wedding observances may be purificatory in neutralizing or preparing the individual for the future life upon which he or she is about to enter. In this category would fall such customs as the ceremonial intercourse by men of the tribe, as in Australia, or by the chief or the medicine-man, as in America, sometimes by the bridegroom, as among the Papuans.5 The customs of substituting a bride, which occurs, e.g., among the Buni Amer, and of marriage to a tree preceding the actual marriage, such as occurs among the Mundas,6 have the same protective and preparatory object.

After the ceremony bridgroom or bride or both may still continue to be regarded as impure and a danger to others. It is not uncommon for a further period of seclusion to follow marriage.

Among the Arabs of Mount Sinai the bride must remain in her house for a fortnight.7 In the Aru Islands and Ceram those who are in contact with the bridal party are shut up for some days,8 and among some of the Bedawin the bride may not leave the house or touch any work for three years.9

(c) Sexual relations.—Notwithstanding the pre- and post-nuptial looseness of sexual relations found among many peoples, among others irregularities, and in particular incest in the wider sense in which it includes all the rules of exogamy, are regarded as a great pollution especially to be avoided on account of its effect not merely upon the individual but upon the life of the community. The infecting influence is removed by death, segregation, casting out from the community, or other purificatory process, such as sacrifice, smearing with the blood of the victim, lustration, etc. This class of crime is closely connected with the well-being of the crops. At certain periods of the crops' growth married couples are forbidden to go into the fields, thus ensuring that no impure influence falls upon the crops.10

3 W. Munzinger, Die Fiihungen t. die Ethnologie von Zuid-Celebes, The Hague, 1886, pp. 292, 172, quoted in A. E. Crawley, Mystie Rose, p. 333, where additional instances are given.
5 Featherman, ii. 142.
6 J. G. F. Kodel, De stiek- en brokharine nazam (tussen Seldkoon en De Beroen) van Batavia en de Onge, The Hague, 1869, pp. 292, 172, quoted in A. E. Crawley, Mystie Rose, p. 333, where additional instances are given.
7 W. Munzinger, Ostafrikanische Studien, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 145.
PURIFICATION

In ancient Greece the olive was planted by virgins or pure boys. In some cases, such workers, the Gorgoidea, were men who had taken oaths of their marital fidelity.1 The Kareens believed that illicit love blighted the crop; the guilty man in his anxiety to save the crop gathered himself of having destroyed the productiveness of the country, and went on to say: 2 Now I repair the mountains, now I heal the barrenness, and the land and the crops not fail of crops.2 In Rajmahal the adulterer furnished a hog to avert plague to the ravages of tigers.3

In some cases incest was regarded as the cause of barrenness.

This was the case among the Dinkas and Bathongas, while among the latter people as well as among the Akikuyu marriage of a son with his sister was forbidden. As for the forbidden marriage, a special ceremony which purified the uncleanness and loosed the bond of relationships,4 in Dinkas first hiskins may only attend the ceremony of bergaput.5 The Sukla of New Britain considered the pollution of pre-nuptial uncleasity so great that not only was it fatal to the parties unless they were purifled, but their mere presence was sufficient to tarnish the instruments of the sacred dance,6 while among some Dayak tribes the father of the adulterer was killed by drowning which happened a month before the atonement.7

The frequency with which death by drowning or the use of substitutes, either sacrificial animals or personal possessions, follows sexual crime, and especially incest, is due to the fact that the degree of defilement is so great that even shedding the blood of the guilty is avoided in order that the earth may not be polluted. Consequently among the South Samoys a woman becomes a taboo, not only to herself but to her husband, who has to abstain from the sword, but incest by clubbing or throttling.8

The importance of sexual purity is further indicated by the numerous occasions upon which it is emphasized as a condition of a certain course of action or its absence is regarded as a deterrent. In Morocco no man who is not clean in regard to sexual matters may enter a granary or vegetable-garden.9 No sexual act may be committed in a holy place, nor must a person so polluted remain within a holy place. Among the Todas otherwise he will go blind, become lame, or go mad, he or his family will die or his cattle will die.10 A person sexually unclean may not pray. An act usually con

[2] F. C. M.  
[8] E. F. J. M.  
[10] Westermarck, Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Aboriginal Marriage, the War Year, and the Weather in Morocco, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 17.  
[12] F. K. W.  


1 The inferior female sex. Violation of the rules governing the relations of the sexes usually requires some ritual act of expiation. Although in some cases such violations may be regarded only as breaches of correct social behaviour, the observance and the ritual are such as to appear to be derived originally from a tabu connected with danger, and especially with danger arising out of impurity.

A typical attitude finds its expression in Morocco, where women, because of their uncleanness, are subject to many tabus. They are forbidden to enter the bathing-floors or granary for fear of defiling the virtue of the temple, and they are not allowed to work in a vegetable-garden or to ride beasts of burden, and they are injurious to bees and must not handle them. In some places, should they enter a shop, its prosperity will be destroyed, and they are not allowed to visit certain holy places or to attend the festivals where the sacred fighting men11

In Nukubia, if a woman sat on or passed near an object which had become tabu by contact with man, it could not be used again, and she was put to death.2 Among the people of the Rajmahal, women, who had been the property of the beltherer, were set free and left to enjoy a life of idleness.3

The differentiation which extends to occupation is also in many cases enforced by consequences which are explicitly stated to involve either a condition of impurity or something analogous to such a condition.

Pastoral and cattle-keeping peoples, especially in Africa, frequently debar their women from tending the flocks and herds. The Todas, who are conspicuous among pastoral tribes for their abstinence from the work of the dairy, and the tabu which keeps them and their characteristic domestic implements apart from contact with the cattle and the woman who has used them, destroy the women's use of cattle paths, are a case in point.4 Among the Bantu of S. Africa women are not allowed to touch the cattle.5 As already stated, palestine boys and girls who were allowed to handle milk were allowed to touch milk. Some of the pastoral tribes of the Sudda and E. Africa forbade women, especially at certain times, and those sexually impure to come into contact with the milk, and among the Dinkas even old men were not allowed to milk the cows, this duty devolving on boys and girls who had not yet attained the age of puberty.6 The same applies to men in the case of women's occupations. Tapi-making, e.g., is taboo to women, while the men are not forbidden to touch milk. The case of men's most important occupations—hunting and fighting—a certain period of abstinence must be observed by the men as the other sex; continence for a varying period is often a necessary precaution. In certain S. African tribes the warriors must abstain from sexual intercourse with women. An abstinence of some preparatory abstinence of some weeks is required.7 In New Guinea warriors are not allowed to see or approach a woman.

In both hunting and war success depends upon the observance of these tabus. The purificatory ritual underlying these disabilities and exclusions is only more clearly indicated when it appears that women are debarred from participation in religious ceremonies. In the Sandwich Islands women were not allowed to share in religious worship because their touch polluted the offerings; while, if a Hindu widow touched an image, its divinity was

1 Westermarck, Marriage Ceremonies, p. 239 f.  
3 H. T. Colebrooke, in Asiatic Researches, iv, 88, quoted by Crawley, Mystic Ross, p. 80.  
4 J. G. Cooper, The Bogos and the Bogacles, Sebastopol, 1877, pp. 15, 157, quoted in Crawley, Mystic Ross, p. 37.  
5 H. Melville, Four Months among the Marquesans Islands, London, 1866, ch. 10.  
6 Rivers, p. 245.  
7 E. Holz, and the Central S. African Tribes, from the Orange to the Zambesi, J. A. R. I. x. (1881) 11.  
9 H. Melville, pp. 13, 245.  
10 J. C. Macdonald, 'Nomads, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of the S. African Tribes.' J. A. R. I. xii. 1889.  
11 N. R. 1. 189.  
destroyed and it had to be thrown away. Australian women were not allowed to see a man under her pain of death, and in Fiji they could not enter any temple. Reference to the customs attendant on the attainment of puberty, to initiation ceremonies—rites of passage fraught with magico-religious significance—will show the importance attached to the protection of one sex from the evil of the other, even when conveyed by such a means as the sight.

Among the Baotuo, e.g., no woman may come near the boys at puberty, a practice alluded to above of confining the pubescent girls in seclusion both protects them from harm—among the Vagai this is the consequence most generally feared—and at the same time prevents defilement being conveyed to others. In New Ireland girls are kept in cages from puberty to marriage; during this period they must be seen by no males except their relatives; and in Cyram no males must come near girls at the puberty ceremonies.

The aim of preserving purity is, however, most clearly marked in the case of sexual crises such as menstruation, when both segregation and a subsequent ceremony are almost invariably practised. Among the Pueblo Indians a man will fall ill if he touch a woman during menstruation; among the Thonga of the Island of Yap, there are special houses for menstruating women. Among the Baotuo the woman separates from her husband, wears old clothes, and has her hair shaved, for the purpose, and at the termination of the period purifies her hands.

(g) Contact of sacred and profane.—Apart from the impurity which is the result of some specific act or contact, there is also an impurity which attaches normally to the individual, and becomes especially pronounced when he is brought into relation with things or persons of a tabu or sacred character. This belief is responsible for such regulations as those which govern the relations of castes in India and for the secrecy surrounding the practice of the rites of the mystic religions of Greece. A tabu, a prohition, an exclusion is addressed to non-initiates, such as the Procell estre, profani of the Sylh. Instances of such beliefs are of frequent occurrence among primitive races.

Among the Polynesians the tabu character of a chief is violated by the touch of an inferior, although in this case the danger falls upon the inferior. On the other hand, in Eate the sacred man who comes into contact with numen (ceremonial uncleanness) destroys his sacredness. In Uraga, before building a house, the builder(LP:) the gods in which he purifies himself. On the other hand, the chief and his belongings are very often regarded as sacred and therefore as dangerous for human beings. For instance, Tonga islands any one who touched a chief contracted tabu; it was removed by touching a sacred object, or in case of death by a certain number of a sacred plant. The sacredness of the chief in the Malay Peninsula also resided in the royal regalia, and any one touching it was visited with serious illness or death. Even the ordinary individual may in some degree possess this quality.

In New Zealand any one who touched the head of another received 'sacredness' from the contact.

The impurity of the ordinary individual is responsible for the purificatory element in a number of ceremonies.

In the case of the ceremony of pouring drugs on the roof of the hut practised by the Thongs the purification takes on a protective character. In the Mambura ceremony which precedes the circumcision of Kikuyu youths in the Masai fashion those who were present purified themselves by licking a little of the diatomaceous earth used in their purification ceremonies, thus acquiring themselves the property of bearing the sacredness. The candidates themselves were purified by an elder with his principal wife, two sisters, and another elder; after smearing them with faeces, the other elder spat on them, and sprayed them from his mouth. This purified them and at the same time protected them from the dangers of the Kikuyu. The miscellaneous uses of the sacredness which might otherwise pass from spectator to candidate.

A most striking example of the influence of the relation of a sacred object or person to the sacredness of the persons in the Toda, the whole of whose elaborate ritual and (it would not be too much) of whose social life is directed too. The gods are directed towards securing the ceremonial purity of the sacred herds, the sacred dairy, the vessels, and the milk, and of those who handle the sacred vessels. In the rites which are performed as part of the sacredness of the same, the purification of the rule and methods to attain this object varying according to the degree of sacredness of each dairy. In the rice dairy, e.g., the sacred vessels are always kept in a separate room, and the milk reaches them only by transfer to and from an intermediate vessel kept in the temple. The priests or dairymen, of whom there are four grades, are admitted to office only after an elaborate ordination, which in effect is a purification, removing them from the ranks of ordinary men to a state of fitness for sacred office, while their conduct is governed by regulations such as those which permit only certain grades of priest to dwell in the village and only at certain times, or that which entails that a priest who attends a funeral should cease from that moment to be used for the purposes of purification. On the other hand, this is the milk, a sacred substance, is to be used by the profane, and in the migration ceremonies, when the dairies are moved from one ceremonial to another, these are passed to the profane view. It has therefore been conjectured that the aim of much of the ritual is to avert the dangers of profanation and preserve the sacred substance for consumption by those who are themselves unclean.

(4) Contact of old and new; strangers; strange customs.—It is a familiar dogma of primitive thought that the new purification means for the first time entails peculiar dangers. Reference has already been made to this belief in connexion with other matters above. Its importance lies in the fact that it involves an endeavour to protect the society against an impurity which the direction of the pollution of the former state is cast off. This is especially the case in seasonal festivals such as harvest, when it is held desirable to avoid all contact between the new crops and the old, or the influences connected with the old, in order that the former may not lose their virtue or harm those who consume them.

The peculiar rapan rites of the Fijians appear to have been in part an initiation and in part a purificatory ceremony. In certain elements they were purificatory. The firstfruit ceremonies of the Cherokee were accompanied by the clearing out and purification of the whole village, the taking of emetics, the throwing away of old and the wearing of new clothes, and other measures. The devil-driving ceremonies at harvest or at the end of the harvest season were similarly intended to offer a similar protection and sometimes a remedy for indigent crops.

On the other hand, it is not only necessary to observe certain precautions to safeguard the virtues of the new crop; it is almost equally important that it should be neutralized or prepared for consumption by a purificatory process. This is the object of many of the firstfruit ceremonies which are observed.

The Bathonga regard it as dangerous for the subjects of the king to eat certain foods before they have undergone the inna, or purification, according to the rank of the person. In certain cases they were purificatory. The firstfruit ceremonies of the Cherokee were accompanied by the clearing out and purification of the whole village, the taking of emetics, the throwing away of old and the wearing of new clothes, and other measures. The devil-driving ceremonies at harvest or at the end of the harvest season were similarly intended to offer a similar protection and sometimes a remedy for indigent crops.

A limitation of time in which entry upon a new state requires special preparation is on the removal of a village from one site to another, when each dwelling and the community as a whole must be purified.

A related idea, which, however, in its application is the converse of these practices, governs the preparation that must be taken in entering new ground or a new country. Here it is not a case of the new being protected from the pollution of the old, but of the old being purificatory as protected from its dangers. It is therefore customary for a purificatory ceremony to be performed before

Thomson, Fijians, pp. 166 ff., 210 ff.
J. L. L. F. A. 1943.
F. P. N. 1901.
crossing the borders from the known to the unknown. That which is outside or strange is powerful for evil unless neutralized is a familiar belief.

Among the Batangas it is believed that those who travel outside their own country are peculiarly open to danger from foreign spiritual influence, and in particular from demonic possession. Warriors returning from battle or traders are said to be charged with small evil gods, which they bring strange influences with them. They are, therefore, fumigated or purified in some other way. In the same manner those entering a house from abroad should perform some ceremony, even if it were only to remove their shoes, which would purify the incomer from the evil with which otherwise he might contaminate those within, while the threshold, door-posts, and lintel—important as points of contact with the outer world—are smeared with blood or sprinkled with water when any member of the household or of the community has become a source of pollution, or a horseshoe is suspended over the door to keep out evil and bring good luck.

The danger of entering a new country is as great as that which attaches to those who come thence. In Australia, when one tribe approaches another, the members carry lighted sticks to purify the air. Just as the Spartan kings of old sent fire from the hearth to drive the men before them to the frontier, where they sacrificed. This attitude toward a foreign country and those who come from it is not without its parallel, best expressed in that passage in the Vedas which is the basis of the rule that higher castes lose caste if they cross the sea or journey beyond the recognized borders of their land. Manu 4.1 says: 'That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes is held fit for the performance of sacrifices; but the land of foreigners becomes holy whenever a man, Ksatriyas, and Vaisyas invariably dwell in the above-mentioned regions: Suta may select whichever he chooses.' In the Brahmanas it is said that Agni, the fire-god, flashed with fire over five rivers and as far as he burnt the Aryan could live.

(i) Illness.—Illness, frequently attributed to the influence of spirits or to violation of the regulations of ceremonial purity, may itself be regarded as a source of delusion for others.

In Borneo the Kayans hang leaves of long (a species of calat...t) and a large sun-bird egg next to the sick person, so that it is tabu. In returning thanks for recovery from a long illness an altar consisting of a bamboo is set up; the upper half of the split and a fresh sun-bird egg is inserted.

While the use of the egg suggests a propitiatory offering to the toh, or spirits, upon whom rests the responsibility for punishing the infringement of any tabu, the use of the split bamboo may be connected through which the mourners step in a funeral ceremony (see below), and further with the custom of passing through a fissure in a tree as a charm in the case of deformity or illness. The purificatory intention of the ceremony in which propitiatory offerings of eggs and fowls are made to the toh when a man is infringing upon the ban of the toh is tabu, the sick person. When the sick person is tabu, the sick person.

The Beni Amur cure their sick by bathing them in the blood of a girl or some animal; or the blood of a goat is poured over the man's head or body. Changing the name, a method of putting away the past at a critical moment, was one means employed by the Dayak to rid himself of dangerous influences after a serious illness. In Fiji disease was often introduced by women, and strangers were therefore quarantined and sometimes killed. In the Marquesas on one occasion the natives of Noa Atoll dissolved a meal of water and sea-fowl in a warmed copper vessel at the end of a conference held at sea; one man in each Marquesan canoe been handed a handful of ashes wrapped in leaves, which he scattered over the rear, the party who was the last to return.

In the same manner among the people of the Marquesas a man who had chewed a scented bark and spat it over the visitors and his own party. The use of the sweat-house in America as a cure for diseases is practiced by the natives; though not necessarily under the name, its use in ceremonial purification is frequent. The vapour bath also appears in African ceremonial. Among the Batangas it is practiced both as a means of purification and as a cure when a ritual defilement is feared, and after death. Further, among the same people, burning the dead body is an ancient practice of the country, and to dispense the bloods which have made him sick so that they cannot return to him violently. This ceremony is also obligatory after weaning. The drugs themselves of the medicine-man are subjected to an annual ceremony in which they are purified and renewed by the addition of new material (part of which is dried and part roasted, the whole village assembling to inhale the smoke); a goat is sacrificed, and prompt squeezed on the burning drugs to prevent the magic. The purpose is to drive away the evils and misfortunes of the old year and prepare the community for the year to come, in the words of the medicine-man, in order that it may not happen that his gods, if he is not among primitive peoples. Not only is the ceremonial character of these beliefs clear, but at the same time it is apparent that any attempt to ward off these consequences is frequently undertaken as much in the interest of the community as in that of the individual.

Sometimes the consequences of impurity are conceived only in a vague way: ill-luck or danger follows transgression. At other times the form which the danger will take is pointed out to him from others, or it may be confined to the one person concerned.

An instance in the first category occurs in Rajahmundry, where incest is followed by plague or the ravages of tigers. The same offence among the people of the Marquesas, especially when the act is committed by a child, is punished by the introduction of the laws of exogamy, leads to great disasters, people being killed by lightning and women dying in childbirth. On the other hand, misfortune is often thought to be brought about by one's own actions, or may be the consequence. The Dinkas and the Batangas regard incest as the cause of the eradication of the plants and the destruction of New Britain the death of both guilty parties ensues as a result of the fatal pollution that they have contracted. Barrenness is frequently regarded as a cause of the institution of regulations governing conduct at puberty. It is necessary that a Baga girl should immediately inform her parents of her condition, that her father may perform the ceremonial act of jumping over her mother at the end of the period; otherwise barrenness follows. The Akumus hold that a like result follows disregard from disregard of the prohibition of the use of public paths to girls at their first menstruation. This comes about if they should leave to pass blood of the path and man rear large beds to prevent their use after they have been made. Among the Thompson Indians, again, should any of the purificatory ceremonies which should follow the act be neglected, it is believed that the culprits will suffer from sore throat, loss of voice, loss of sight. An Akikuyu who is under the ban of tabu must be relieved, or he will suffer from boils and probably die. In New Zealand the breaking of a tabu entailed punishment of the culprit and all his connections, the damnation of all, and the destruction of deadly sickness or disease. A Thonga hunter who failed to perform the requisite rites after killing an elephant ran the risk of losing his head over the fire at the closing of the year. But, while a similar nagative, if his wife were travelling with him at London, 1879, p. 420. The disease is similar to the 'running of the bloods,' a malady common among the natives of the islands of the South Pacific, which is also thought to be caused by the spirits. See G. E. Montague, The Ethnology of A-Kamba and other Eastern African Tribes, Cambridge, 1910, p. 65. 

Among the Bantu, who were initiated in the naga rites, they became insane.3

This form of senility is not uncommonly associated with the secondary veneration to which the disintegration of the tabu is the work of the spirits of the dead.

Tsonga warriors, until purified, are in great danger from the spirits and the run the risk of becoming insane, and for the same period, in health all members of the community cut their hair to a degree of shortness determined by their connexion with the deceased.4 Among the Greenfields the spirit of a murdered man will torment his murder until it frightens him to death, or, if he goes on the ice after neglect of the rites and slaying, may become insane.5

That the fear of ghosts or spirits lay at the root of the purificatory ceremony and that those who were ceremonially impure were peculiarly susceptible to their attacks is in many cases either expressly stated or implied. In addition to the cases of insanity, disease, or death caused by spirits is to be feared, attention may be called to the ceremonial as a whole of those Indian tribes of N. America to which reference has already been made. In some matters it is directly stated that the prescriptions are appended from the ghost; in others the character of the belief is such as to justify the same explanation.

The guests at the funeral feasts, e.g., would not eat, drink, or smoke. In one instance, a Bantu would sleep for five or six days for fear of ghosts. Widows underwent a ceremonial purification in order that they might be long-lived and innumerable, and on second husbands, who were allowed to house tribes a protective breech-cloth was worn for some days. The sleeping-place of a dead man in the hut was not occupied for a considerable period, and then first by an adult male for four nights in succession.7 In Africa—e.g., in Uganda, among the Bantu, and among other peoples—the purificatory ceremonial is intended to lay the ghost and prevent its troubling those upon whom lies the responsibility of causing death.8

That fear for the community rather than for the individual is the motive of potent that reference is suggested by the number of prohibitions connected with food and the precautions taken to preserve the food-supply from contamination. Food should on no account come into contact with impure persons.

Natives of the Missiri tribe can only eat food when it is exposed to view.9 Reference has been made above to the precautions taken in Morocco to protect the corn from the adverse influence of impurity, and in many African cases and those polluted by sexual intercourse. After a death the Bantongs perform a ceremonial purification the food which belonged to the dead man.

Everywhere, in eating and drinking, the impure must avoid touching food with their hands or follow certain rules which mitigate the danger.

Among the American Indian tribes those who take part in a burial or who are near relatives to the deceased must refrain from fresh meat for a period; their food should be cold and not cut with a knife, but torn with the teeth; they must be fed by others or by serving food from the same vessel out of which they drank from the special vessel which they carry with them.10 In Samoa relatives of the deceased must be fed by others. The Bantongs require their dead parents to be eaten by others, whereas, though they have helped bury the corpse, or those suffering from a disease which is the result of eating the flesh of a person who died, they are not allowed to touch the corpse.11 In some cases they are not allowed to drink from the same vessel.12 Among the Thompson Indians, if an unpurified wild gathered berries, the whole crop would fall off the bushes or wither up. If a hunter transferred a trout from one pond to another, he had to remove the pollution of his touch by chewing deer-fat and spitting some of it on the fish before he let it go, bidding it farewell and telling it to propagate its kind.13

The protection is that contact with pollution would endanger a whole species or class. If is, however, particularly in connexion with sexual impurity that the prosperity of the crops is involved. Illicit love is held to blight the crops, while at certain seasons legitimate relations must be avoided.14

In Arabia those who tended the incense-trees were required to be free from the pollution of sexual relation and of death. Whenever the incense-trees became crossed the crops were the consequence of adultery.15 Among the Karena hort crops were the consequence of adultery.16 If the Batak found an unpurified husband, whom they were afraid that he would commit fornication; otherwise the crops failed.17 The purificatory ceremony of Celebes in which the blood of the sacrificial goat or buffalo, as the case might be, was poured on the field intended to preserve or restore fertility.18 Along the Dayaks incest and bigness, and among the Torajas of Central Celebes unnatural unions, were believed to be the cause of incessant rainfall.19

Laxity in sexual matters or acts in contravention of sexual tabus involved other penalties, in particular, the sympathy of the gods, which implied that the conduct of the wife affected the success or safety of the husband while he was absent at war or on the chase is of frequent occurrence.20

The Dayaks believed that, if the wife was unfaithful, the husband would die.21 Among the Engip, the wife of one by which the consequence by sympathy falls upon another as well as the couple who commit the sin occurs among some of the Kavir.22 When a community moves its village to a new site, sexual relations are forbidden until renewed ritual as part of the purificatory ceremony. In its connexion with the purificatory ceremonial of this tabu is followed by the illness or paralysis of the headman, while the woman herself becomes barren, and the work of the community begins again.23

4. The purification ceremony.—(a) Water. One of the mediums most frequently employed to dispel impurity, as well as one of the simplest, is water either in aspersion or in ablation.

One of the duties of the Eskimo mother is to wash herself completely after the birth.1 The Malays purify mother and child by washing in warm water two or three times a day, which is repeated morning and evening for some time.2 The first act of the Uganda mother, on leaving the hut after inclusion, is to wash herself in water which she uses for the husband, and with it she washes the private parts of his body.

Bathing at the public bath has already been mentioned above as one of the more important items in the ceremonial preceding marriage in Muhammadan countries. In Morocco at Fez the bride is purified with water and henna. On the fifth, fourth, and third days before the wedding she goes to the hot bath, and on the last occasion seven buckets of lukewarm water are poured on her by seven women, 'so that she shall have no quarrel with her husband.'3 In S. Celebes the bridegrooms bathe in holy water, while the bride is fumigated.4 In Abyssinia for several days before the marriage the bride performs ablations and restricts her diet,5 while the Matabele bride, on arriving at the bridegroom's hut, pours water over him.6

The physical contact in such cases probably both suggests the remedy and is responsible for its

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1 Junod, ii 66, 426.
2 Gritzer, loc. cit.
3 Junod, i 145, ii 453.
4 Junod, i 154, ii 453.
5 Junod, i 145, ii 453.
6 See H. K. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, London, 1906, ii 768; Chasal, p. 258; Junod, i 146; iii 453; see also Go, p. 215, 1381.
7 Rasmussen, pp. 128-130, 1381.
8 Gritzer, loc. cit.
9 Zeehan, loc. cit.
10 See H. K. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, London, 1906, ii 768; Chasal, p. 258; Junod, i 146; iii 453; see also Go, p. 215, 1381.
11 Junod, i 146.
12 Junod, i 145, ii 454, 453.
14 Junod, i 145, ii 454, 453.
15 Gritzer, loc. cit.
16 Junod, ii 66, 426.
17 Hill-Tout, p. 260.
18 Hill-Tout, p. 259.
19 Hill-Tout, p. 259.
20 Mason, JASBE xxvi, pt. ii, p. 147 f.
21 Frazer, The Golden Bough, xi. 239. 22 Carter, loc. cit.
24 Junod, i 259.
27 Rasmussen, p. 120.
28 Ewart, p. 331 f.
29 Ewart, Marriage Customs in Morocco, p. 139.
30 Carter, loc. cit.
31 Frazer, loc. cit.
32 Skeat, III. 604.
33 Skeat, III. 604.
34 Skeat, III. 604.
Purification

Introduction and Primitive

simplicity. On the other hand, simple lustration may be employed where the idea of purificatory cleansing can be brought home to one of ingrained and essential impurity.

In Ireland, according to the legend, in the kingdom of Munster, the crops were blighted by the incest of the king and his sister. The medicine-man was summoned. They might be burned and their ashes cast into the stream. One of the princes was saved by being sent out of the kingdom to a hermit, who purified him daily by placing him on a white cow with red ears and pouring water over him.1

Water may be used, possibly to some extent in a symbolic sense, as the final mark of separation from impurity, and for a critical stage in the life history of the individual. As has already been stated, initiation ceremonies usually include, as part of their ceremonial, some form of purificatory operation.

The Kural initiation ceremony, in which the boys and their mothers sprinkle one another with water, signifies, it is said, that the boys are no longer under their mothers' control.2 The House of Tants practices a ceremonial purification of half-a-dozen boys and girls before the harvest. They are shut up in a large house for a period during which they are brought every twenty-four hours to make them strong, and brought the firi dances as well as their duty to totem and clan. At the end of the period the medicine-man is called in to examine the mounds, and if he rules that the girls are not ready, he sends for the medicine-man of the Thonga. In both cases the washing is medicinal.3

The last instance presents two features which commonly occur: (1) the fortification of the purificatory agent by medicine, and (2) the intervention of the medicine-man, the purifier of these sacred matters. Both these elements tend to become more prominent as greater attention is paid to the spiritual or magical side, the manifestatiun of which, however, is still conceived as material and to be treated on material lines.

At a Boloki funeral a trench about 20 ft. long is dug, and the mourners take up their position on the side nearer the grave. Then the medicine-man pours water into one end of the trench, and the medicine-man then helps the mourners over the trench as the water runs down.4

In this ceremony the idea of the cleansing power of water has given way to that of the magical efficacy of running water as a barrier which the noxious influence of the ghosts is unable to pass. On the other hand, the two ideas combine in the Thonga cure for childlessness in which the medicine-man pours water over a married couple who have no children.5 The class of regular or professional hunters also fortified with drugs the water used in the purificatory ceremony performed before they set out on a journey.

A pot of drugs was cooked, in the froth of which the hunter washed his face. He then put the pot on the roof and allowed the water to drip on him as he entered the hut. The medicine-man at the same time uttered a prayer and incantation: "Go and be happy. Though the rain will fall on you, though the dew makes you wet, when you sleep you will be everywhere as in a hut," and so forth, making it clear that the object of the ceremony was to protect him from the dangers of the bush.6

That this ceremony is purificatory rather than protective, as might be thought from the character of the prayer, is indicated by the further condition which must be observed to secure not merely success but also safety in hunting. Sometimes a fowl is sacrificed, but only children may eat it; the hunter himself must not touch salt mud, and must abstain from sexual relations; i.e., he must in all respects be pure.

Water is used in various ways in a number of ceremonies connected with special seasons of the year. For example, the Thonga allow the bringing in of the harvest or the last shoot, or an individual may be attacked with water, usually by women. As a general rule these practices must be regarded as rain charms. Sometimes, however, they have a purificatory intention.

In Burma, a festival occurs in April, when a great feast lasting several days took place, in order to wash away the impurities of the past and commence the new year free from stain. It was customary on the last day of the festival to throw water over every man they met, and for the men to rector. A visitor, on entering the house of a dignitary, was at once dried with a towel, and the men and women who attended them were washed with water, a little of which was poured into the hand of the host, who sprinkled it over his face and hands. The women had a little rose-water over the host, and then over each of the guests, after which a water light began.7

(b) Other detergents.—In the use of water as a purifying agent one might be tempted to assume an obvious connexion in idea with its effect in cleansing physical impurity. The same idea may be at the root of the use of other materials.

In the Rlai islands the warriors smear themselves with the juice of a destructing plant. The Aiskyauni remove Thames by a process of lustration which in the more serious cases is performed by the medicine-man or the native council. The slaughter of a sheep accompanies the ceremony, and they smear themselves or are smeared by the medicine-man with the contents of the retort. It is rather the meaning of mourning or after a period of seclusion due to ceremonial impurity. In the New Britain native hut the uncleanness of priests themselves of the taht by drinking sea-water in which nut and ginger have been shredded. They are then thrown into the sea and, on emergence, throw away their dripping clothes.8

(c) Changing clothes, cutting hair, nails, etc.

The Fakimo mother after childbirth begins to herself a new suit of clothes. The Thonga women were rigorously secluded from her husband at the regular periods, sleeps on a special mat, and wears special clothes which she brought with her at her marriage. At the end of the period she puts on her ordinary clothes once more. A woman who loses an infant is deeply and, and she may also undergo a period of fast. She then has the "months" duration she undergoes purification in a ceremonial sexual act by her husband, and then buys new clothes.9

New clothes, however, are rather a sign of the termination of a period of uncleanness than a purification. In mourning they mark the close of the period of danger to others—the final putting off of the pollution of death.

At the end of the ceremony of the warriors every- thing that they had used during the taboo period was tied in a bundle with their clothes and hung up a tree at some distance from the village, and left to rot.10 Among the Baganda, after the termination of the mourning for a woman, the freshly-taken human head was required and in which every one had been burned. A bird of prey would be brought, and for the months' duration she undergoes purification in a ceremonial sexual act by her husband, and then buys new clothes.11

The complete severance with the old and impure life which is brought about by this purification ceremony is further marked in some cases by changes or modifications of the toilet. On the death of a relative the eyebrows or head may be shaved, as in the case of the Buganda warriors mentioned above, whose heads are shaved on their return from battle; or, on the contrary, the hair and finger- and toe-nails may be allowed to grow. The lustrations cut their hair completely for the death of a near relative, the operation being performed by a doctor or some one who knows the correct method.6 The father and mother of the deceased, among the Baganda, allow their hair and nails to grow until the purification ceremony, when they are cut and thrown in bark cloths. They are kept until the men go to war. At the end of the period of mourning for the king all shaved their heads, cut their nails, and put on new clothes.12 The Lilliebots on the fifth day after a burial—a period spent in fasting and ceremonial ablation—had their hair cut by the mortuary shaman who prepared the corpse for burial. They then returned to their houses and were allowed to eat meats and vegetables, while the hair which had been cut was rolled up into a ball, taken into the forest, and fastened to a tree.

(d) Artificial Process of purification.

Other methods, based in an equal degree on getting rid of the skin and improving the skin, the former, or improving the life of the body, are the

2 MacNeil and Hewitt, p. 197 ff.
5 Junod, ii, 426.
6 ib. ii, 58.
7 ib. p. 454.
8 Hobley, JRAI xl, 429.
9 J. M. Maclean, A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, Cape Town, 1893, p. 197.
10 Raschener, Afri dra, 211.
11 Junod, i, 109.
12 Hose-Douggall, ii, 28.
14 Rose, pp. 88 f., 119 f.
15 Hill-Tout, p. 299 f.

1 M. Sime, 'Account of an Embassy to . . . in 1795,' in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, London, 1808-14, iv, 454 f.
2 ibid., p. 429.
3 J. M. Maclean, A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, Cape Town, 1893, p. 197.
4 Raschener, Afri dra, 211.
5 Ramussen, loc. cit.
6 Junod, i, 109.
7 ib. p. 116.
8 Rose, pp. 88 f., 119 f.
9 Hill-Tout, p. 299 f.
rid of all influence of the past, depend upon an artificial stimulation of natural processes.

Before the new season’s corn can be eaten, an emetic must be taken. Before the first and last, and also at birth, an emetic is given to the infant (8). Pastoral and cow-keeping tribes in Africa, such as the Masai or the Sandi, require a certain period of time to pass before they begin eating, in which some course of meat, in either of vegetables, and the drinking of milk. The Shawanese boys during the period of their preparation for initiation took emetics at regular intervals. The Seminole took ‘black drink,’ which was supposed to efface from their minds all wrongs that they had done, and to end the period of mourning. (9) Lilloot widowers induced vomiting by means of a stick thrust down the throat. (4)

(e) The sweat-bath.—Among N. American Indians the employment of the sweat-bath is almost universal as a means of removing physical impurities. It also serves by analogy to remove spiritual influences, to cure illness, and to remove ceremonial impurity. A widow during the period of her mourning and of delitement was followed in Car Nicobar.

A man possessed of devils was rubbed all over with a pig’s blood and beaten with leaves, the idea being that the devils would leave the body, which was bound up and smeared with tights tied tightly with string. Before daybreak all the packets of devils were thrown into the sea.

The most essential ceremony of driving out the devils is sometimes practised on an extensive scale, especially at critical seasons of the year such as before or after a harvest.

The Igorot practised an annual expulsion of evils, while at the Jesuit school of Tibau in Car Nicobar all old and burned heads, pots, pans, and utensils were broken, all cabins swept clean, provisions destroyed, and all fires extinguished. The war-boys took to the woods and remained there, apparently in a hibernating intercourse, while all malefactors were pardoned. On the festival day all classes of persons were ordered to bathe in the river, and the new corn cooked and eaten. (9) On the other hand, the Nicobarese method of dealing with the physical side of the belief finds its analogy in the Navaho custom of scrubbing the body with a bundle of stuff and blowing away the evil from the bundle through the smoke-holes of the dwelling, (10) or the New Hebrides custom of sprinkling or pouring water from a cocoanut or of drawing a forked branch of a particular plant over the body. (11)

The tribes of X.W. Canada—e.g., the Chipewyan, after a death passed through rose-bushes, the object no doubt being to leave the impurity behind them as the thorns entangled the flesh or remained on the rose-buds. The Chipewyan slept in the beds on which they slept during the period of impurity were in a state of readiness to entangle the ghost whose attacks they feared. They also ate the fire-two mornings and afternoons and fresh twigs morning and evening for a period of one year. (0)

(g) The use of blood.—Blood, being of extreme importance in ritual, not unusually figures prominently in many purificatory acts, both as a cleansing agent and as a symbol.

The Caribs washed the new-born infant in some of the blood of the father. (12) But the blood with which the ceremony is performed is more commonly that of the newborn, guilty or unclean in part as an expiation of their offence. In cases of adultery—e.g., that in Raja Mahal cited above—both parties are sprinkled with the blood of the hog furnished by the lover. Among the Dayaka the incessant rain caused by sexual irregularity is stayed by the use of the blood of a pig to purify the earth and stone for the moral guilt. (13) The pollution may again result from the passage of a dog over the bed where the deceased was entombed to entangle the ghost with which attacks they feared. They also ate the fire-two mornings and afternoons and fresh twigs morning and evening for a period of one year. (0)

Incest the tribes of Ormone purify the household with the blood of pig and fowls, the property of the offends, 2 while in Darom every blood of sacrificial animal is smeared in a tree and which the relatives of both slayer and slain and all present are smeared. (3)

Blood is also used as a medium of purification in other cases than sexual irregularity—e.g., death from other than natural causes, when the blood of a sacrificial animal may be used.

In the Camerons an accidental death is expelled by the sacrifice of a fowl, the head of which the relatives of both slayer and slain and all present are smeared. (3)

Blood is also used in the interesting ceremony called ‘the purifying’ which forms a part of the compleated Toda funeral rites.

At the second funeral, which takes place some time after the first and simpler ceremony, the blood of a buffalo is mixed in a cup with powdered turd-bark. A Teivali man, dressed in the mantle of the deceased and many ornaments, accompanied by a seer or (dairymen-priest), walks to a female buffalo-calf under one year old, the seer or throwing the blood from the cup as he passes her, the buffalo-calf, which is smeared with lard, comes in contact with a female buffalo-calf 4

(b) Death or excommunication of of the use of blood in purification ceremonies appears to be due to one of two distinct trains of thought.

In some cases, such as those already cited, the use of blood seems to be dictated largely, if not entirely, by a belief in its purificatory qualities. If, however, these cases are examined more closely and especially in relation to the general character of the belief in purification, it will appear that this belief in all probability is a growth from the desire to rid the community of an individual whose conduct is not accepted by the community in which he lives. As this usually involves in serious cases the death or exile of the offender, what is objectively a purification of the community becomes subjectively a punishment. This connexion between punishment and purification is particularly apparent in the case of sexual crime. While the purificatory ceremony involves the use of sacrificial blood, the animal to be sacrificed must be furnished by the offenders. This may in itself be sufficient to indicate the punishment incident.

In Raja Mahal, as stated, the pig required by the ceremonial is furnished by the adulterer. Among the Nias of Sumatra, who regard the sexual order as being regarded as a form of child sacrifice, the culprits are buried in a narrow grave with their heads projecting and are then stabbed in the throat with knives, then the intestines, etc., are carried about and burned. Among the pagan tribes of Sarawak a bamboo is driven through the hearts of the offenders into the ground, where it is left to take root. But it is said that this is rarely done, because it is difficult to get any one to assume the responsibility of taking life. Therefore another custom is to cut the offenders in a case of rape and throw them into a river.

(i) Substitution of expiatory victim.—Among the Torajas of the Celebes adultery is punished by the spear, but inceit by throttling. This averson from holding the blood of the inoffensive is not to be presumed, to be attributed to a fear that the blood of a person already infected is noxious in an enhanced degree—so much so that sometimes a goat or buffalo is sacriﬁced and the blood mixed with water is poured on the feet and weeps the hands, the spirit is unharmed. This doctrine of substitution is frequently encountered in connexion with sexual crimes. It is clear that it is a case of substitution arising out of a disinculination to spill the blood of the guilty, and not primarily a propitiatory offering.
PURIFICATION (Babylonian)

In the Dayak ceremony of berogopit, preparatory to the marriage of first cousins,1 the couple go to the river and fill a saucepan or pot with water in it. They also fling a plate and chopper into the water. A pig is sacrificed on the bank, and the carcass, when drained of blood, is thrown into the water. The pair then go back to their village, the pig is smeared with blood, eggs are sent flowing down stream, and the pair, as they come out of the water, are attacked by the Ellis blood enemies. Among the Kayans, in a closely analogous practice, the idea of substitution or representing a sin by another is expressed.2 The pig is killed, the pair smeared with blood, eggs are sent flowing down stream, and the pair, as they come out of the water, are attacked by the Ellis blood enemies. Among the Kayans, in a closely analogous practice, the idea of substitution or representing a sin by another is expressed.3

(2) Transference of impurity; the scapegoat.—The principle of the transmissibility of impurity was sometimes called into play in order to remove the defilement. It was transferred to some one who was already taboo.4

In New Zealand, any one touched the head of another, the head being a peculiarly 'sacred' part of the body, he became taboo. He purified himself by rubbing his hands on fern-root, which was thought to have a purifying influence in the female line.5 In Tonga, if a man ate tabooed food, he saved himself from the evil consequences by placing the foot of a chief on his stomach.6

The idea of transference also appears in the custom of the scapegoat. In Fiji a tabeled person wiped his hands on a pig, which became sacred to the chief, while in Uganda at the end of the period of mourning for a king a 'scapegoat,' along with a cow, a goat, a dog, a fowl, and the dust and fire from the king's house, was sacrificed by the women, so that the animals were maimed and left to die. This practice was held to remove all uncleanliness from king and queen.7

The same idea underlies the practice of sinning ('p.v.'). by which the sins of the dead are assumed by any other person who may eat a cake and other food prepared for the purpose.8


PURIFICATION (Babylonian). Purification may be considered as including any ceremony or ritual observed in conjunction with a view to purifying or cleansing a person, place, or thing from the ritual consequences of impurity. Impurity was a bar to communion with the deity, often to social intercourse, and was sometimes a real danger to the health and well-being of the person or community. Most writers who refer to purification among the Babylonians and Assyrians are influenced by the OT views on the subject, for which see PURIFICATION (Hebrew). Consequently, some chiefly seek for parallels to the Hebrew treatment of clean and unclean. Moreover, it is wise to compare the usages connected with purification in all the religions and civilizations where they can be recognized. The subject of rites, exorcisms, and other ritual ceremonies is already dealt with in art. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, vol. ii, especially pp. 316-318. For the Babylonian attitude to offences against chastity the art. CHASTITY (Semitic-Egyptian). vol. iii. p. 498, § 3 should be compared with CHASTITY (Introductory). For the Babylonian conception of sin and the need to be purified from it compare CONFESSION (Assyro-Babylonian), vol. iii. pp. 825-827. The way in which disease was regarded may be gathered from art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyro-Babylonian). vol. iv, pp. 741-747. The connexion of exaltation and atonement is dealt with in art. EXPATRIATION AND ATONEMENT (Babylonian), vol. v. pp. 657-660. HOLINESS (Semitic), vol. vi. pp. 751-769, illuminates the ideas of cleanliness and purity, and their opposites.

No further treatment of the subject has come down to us amid the mass of cuneiform literature, mostly fragmentary, which, however, supplies instruction

1 See above, p. 692.
2 H. Ling Roth, *J. A. X* 123. 4
5 E. Guise, *loc. cit.*
6 Jelliffmann, *ERÉ* 7. 00; Hobley, *JRAI* xl. 429; Junod, J. 245. 4
8 *Psychic* 7. 46. 5
9 Junod, loc. cit.
10 Hill-Tout, p. 219. 5
11 Hobley, loc. cit.

*Excerpts from the Travels of Pietro della Valle in Persia,* Pinkerton, i. 31.
and formulae for many cases presumably involving the need for purification. From this mass of
exorcisms, medical receipts, prayers, hymns, spells, and magic ceremonies we have to deduce what
was held up by the Babylonian view of its impurity and what was the method of cleansing or removal of that
impurity.

This is a long and by no means easy task—long because of the enormous amount of material to be
considered, and also because much of it is merely implicit and admits of so many different estimates of
its implications. We have rarely much security that we estimate rightly the intention of the
ceremony, which may really have been directed to a completely different aim.

The sufferer may have been the victim of some
affliction and quite mistaken as to its origin and
cause; indeed, it is likely after all to have been purely imaginary. If the supposed or implied
case of his distress was really what he suspected, we
may fairly charge the ancient Babylonian with being very nervous about himself. But we may
well believe that the Babylonian ministers of religion exercised their ingenuity in inventing
many cases of conscience and providing remedies for them, for the simple reason that they
had to serve the demands of those who came to them for help and comfort. To

judge from what we already know, every abnormal experience must have given the Babylonian un-
reason, as to his health of body or soul. Certainly the belief in demons and their power to plague
humanity, the suspicion of having offended the gods, or broken tabu, must have added many
terrors to the natural feelings of discomfort and apprehension, the prickings of conscience or
despondency. The Babylonian was indeed in no means easy to say wherein he had offended, nor
against whom, and his good intentions were but a
slight solace to a man who believed that he might be
called to suffer not only for unwitting misdeeds but also from the malice of devils or men. So
he hastened to the priest or soothsayer, the magician
or astrologer, to discover for him his offence or the
evil influence that was upon him. He may have
gone in turn to all and certainly was called upon
to offer many things of them.

When the modes of his evil case, it seems probable that purification was the first
requisite. But that was not all. When the thing
to be removed from the man had been recognized as
sin, disease, anger of the gods, possession by
devils, or the spell of some witch, a further treat-
ment appropriate to the case awaited the victim.
An obstinate case might have to undergo all the
treatments in turn. But none was likely to take
effect if he had not been purified.

In itself purification might be a washing with
pure water. This requirement was strongly in-
sisted upon. Pure water must be procured from
the Tigris or the Euphrates or, even better, from the
mouth of the rivers, where their waters met and
where were the Isles of the Blessed. The water
must have been kept in a vessel 'pres-
served faithfully in the abyss.' The abyss, apu,
was properly the cosmic sea which underlay the
whole earth, on whose bosom the earth rode, to
which things belonged that they had dug down
their palace foundations, the fresh water sea from
which arose the springs and rivers. But in every
great temple stood the 'great sea'—the laver, also
called apu, like Solomon's brazen sea. Doubtless,
it was this temple abyss which held the pure water
reference which, in all the cases, the 'sweet or good city.' But, in default of such holy
water, the water of wells was allowed, if only it
were consecrated by a correct incantation.

Pure water was often modified by the addition
of herbs or aromatic woods. What these were is
difficult to ascertain from their names, such as
binu, 'herb of Dilbat' (perhaps the place of Venus
Ishtar), a date-stone, straw, gutun, ungu aban
ninkiti, pepper, birring, set uruk (possibly to see to the priest), GAM-GAM scent,
burrashe (possibly cypress). The binu plant is
thought to be 'tamarisk.' It is probable that
such additions had magical efficacy. The washing
of the hands was repeated often, accompanied by
different incantations, usually cited by their first
lines, of which we often know no more, but which
we may hope gradually to know completely. But
to follow out in detail the various accompaniments
of the hand-washing would demand a treatise.

It does not seem in any case to have been
necessary to bathe the whole person; usually
the hands sufficed, though the head or forehead
is sometimes ordered. Special cases demanded
cleansing of the mouth, and the water was some-
times drunk. Sprinkling sufficed occasionally. A
proper time had to be determined, which was the
object of divination and the subject of omens. The
literature of these fit times is extensive and usually
obscure. Often it is prescribed that the ceremony
shall be performed in a clean place, in the open
country or the desert would do. But for perfect
security a bit ringi was built. This was a 'wash-
ing-house,' or lustration-chamber, and was often
attached to a house in the city, possibly to a priest's
house or for the convenience of a worshipper pay-
ning for its use. There was a distinct ritual for the
bit
ringi, whither the polluted should be taken. The

ceremony was performed in special vestments of a
sable hue, worn both by the suppliant and by the
minister.

Apparent the motive of the washing was the
symbolical removal of the contamination and often
its symbolical transfer by the water to some object,
rendered by incantation a representation of the
supposed author of the trouble—e.g., a clay or wax
image of the witch. This image could then be
buried, burned, or otherwise destroyed, and the
sufferer freed from his uncleanness. But in this
case also the methods are most varied, and no
exhaustive treatment is possible here.

It is not clear just how much of the treatment
was merely purification. A sick person had to be
purified before he could be cured, for without
purity he could not expect the cure to work at all.
But the full cure may be regarded in his case as a
purification. Hence the word has been used to
cover all the processes by which a man who believed
that his distress came under the head of unclean-
ness was relieved of his ailment. As he did not
confine the idea of uncleanness to any very simple
category, it is hard to say what cleansed him of it,
and the whole of the above-named articles must be
read to exhaust the already recognized ideas of
purification. It is dangerous to attempt clasifica-
tion of the kinds of uncleanness. But analogy
suggests some classes.

Sexual impurity is very hard to define. On the
one hand, all sexual intercourse involved the

necessity for purification. But, on the other
hand, the Babylonians seem to have allowed even
homosexuality. It is difficult, therefore, to state
wherein consisted the impurity of irregular inter-
course. The word, which in genuine cases, leading to the reaction of lassitude, was productive of the suspicion that the patient was under a spell or a demon. This may
have been extended by fear to all cases of indul-
gence. But we must know more before we can
fairly enumerate our material, with all its fullness,
have many omissions, which may or may not be
significant.

Fear of consequences, when there was so much
to fear, hard to distinguish from consciousness of
wrong-doing, was evidently the motive to declare
PURIFICATION (Buddhist)

The religious movement which is known as early Buddhism did not take as its central doctrine an ideal of purity to be aimed at by a system of ritual purification. Its own keynotes are those of individual enlightenment, of release, of spiritual vision, and of movement to a goal discerned thereby. But early Buddhism largely made itself felt as a protest and reaction against a system, or systems, of elaborate rites and practices cultivated for the express purpose of obtaining absolute and purificatory results in this life, and its deadly mechanism and in the deeds wrought by it. As formulated doctrine, a religion was referred to as dhamma, but, as end gained by ritual works, it was referred to as suddhi (or viśuddhi, 'purity', 'purification', 'sanctification'). Buddhism laid down its own dhamma as insight into truth, and as path or means of attainment. But we see it turning aside from these to take account of the prevailing notion of ritual purification. It condemned the methods in practice; it substituted inward spiritual growth for external symbols, and upheld its own 'vision' and 'way' as the true kādāgasa.

Salvation envisaged as (vi-)suddhi, when Buddhism arose, appears in many of the early Pali documents, as the belief or 'view' of Brahmans and recluses:

'The views of recluses and brahmans, not of us, who deem that suddhi is by moral conduct, that suddhi is by religious discipline, or both' (Dhamma-sangani, p. 1065).

With us alone is suddhi, so they declare; in other norms (dhammas) in Vishuddi (Sutta-Nipata, 824).

'We are not so (to be reached)' (Psalm of the Brahmans, 893).

The celebrant in many a sacrifice, I esteemed fire, oblations made;

'These be the pure and holy rites!' I'm mouched. (ib. 341).

'Some recluses and brahmans hold that purity is by dieting ... by transmigration ... by rebirths ... by oblations, being by an(Getting down an(putting) fire (Majjhima-Nikaya, i. 507).

'Lo! ye who blindly worship constellations of heaven, Ye who fostering fire in cool grove wait upon Agni. Deeming ye thus might find the illumination (suddhi)' (Psalm of the Sistars, 140).

The rites and practices to gain suddhi—otherwise referred to as release (moksha or v.)—from deserts—of three kinds: (1) asceticism, (2) fire-rital, (3) baptism, or frequent immersion in any convenient (usually) running water. Thus the dietimg alluded to above consisted in reducing the daily food to a minimum vegetable diet, even to a single bean. The next was, again, the tepos ('anxiety') of the five fires (one on each side and the sun overhead), and all the petty acts of self-thwarting and self-denial enumerated in Digha-Nikaya, i. 165 f. (Dialogues of the Buddha, i. 228). They were less characteristic of Brahmans than of recluses generally, whether these were Brahmans or not. Nevertheless in the antitheses a Brāhman is made to say:

'Painful the penances I sought for heaven, All ignorant of purity's truth' (Psalms of the Brothers, 219).

Protest against the belief that such practices made for real purity finds expression in a suutta describing the Buddha resting in the sense of enlightenment and of deliverance from his own self-torturing exercises that had brought him no light. The tempter assails him by suggesting doubt:

'His penitential task abandoning, Behind the sons of men are purified, The impure facethat he is pure, When he hath strayed from path of purity.' (The Buddha)

Full well I understood how any rites Austere, aimed at the overthrow of death, Belong to matters useless for our gods. Yea, nothing good they bring along with them, Like oar and rudder in a ship on land. But the goal, concentration and insight— The Path to Enlightenment—these were my tasks; That Path creating and developing, I have attained the purity supreme.' (Sutta-pitaka, i. 169).

A more typical Brāhman view, however, is that of the Brahâvârāja referred to as Suddhika ('purity-man,' 'purifier'): Though he be virtuous and penance work, There is in all the world no brahmin found Thus rendered pure,

In Vedâlore expert and in the course His class lays down—thus is he purified, Untouchable men.

This expertise in the latter field (charanā, explained by the commentary as gottcharanā, the practice of the clan or gens—in Sanskrit, charâraṇa) includes (a) all religious observances peculiar to the Brâhmans, and (b) all 'colour' or class regulations. The specific differences marking off the four social classes of early India one from another are called colour-purity (chatu-vaśīṇi suddhi in Majjhima, i. 132. The Brāhman claimed priority in class on account of his preeminence, of the superiority of his origin (Brahmâ), of his office, and of restrictive rules, and of his particular sanctification (Love of Man, x. 2 (SBE xxv. 1866) 402). The Buddha, as against such a claim, affirmed that social worth depended solely on character and quality of work. There was no 'colour' bar to purity, social or religious:

'And be he noble, brahmin, commoner, Or labouring man, or of a parish class— With his own effort, puts forth all strength, Advances with an ev'ry-vigorous stride, He may attain the purity supreme.' (Sutta-pitaka, i. 169).

Of religious observances, which every Brāhman house-father was qualified to celebrate (see art. BRAHMAN), none appeared to incur the protestant diappraisal of early Buddhism so often as those of oblations to fire and of ceremonial bathing. Both are denounced as merely external, and therefore misdirected and futile. Let the uttás speak for themselves:

'The Buddha)

'Nay, brahmin, deem not that by mere wood-laying Comes purity. Such things are all external. To him who thus purification seeketh By things without, none is made pure, the wise say.

I lay no wood, brahmin, for fires on altars. Only I circumvent the fire I build. Ever my fire burns, ever tense and ardent, I, Arahant, work out the life that's holy.' (Sutta-pitaka, i. 169).

Again, to a matron who was making her regular food-offering to Brahmâ, while her son, a saïntly bhikkhu, stayed without on his round for alms, the Buddha says:

'Far hence, O brahminise, is Brahmâ's world, ... And Brahmâ feeds not on food like that ...'

4 ibid. "this is suddhi."
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Four. What is the nurture of the bodying? (ib.)

Let him enjoy the choice meats thou hast served! (ib. 1. 141.)

Another of the ritualistic Buddhist statues in the form of a Buddha. (Photo.)

The Buddha to go bathing in the Bhabuk river.

In the anthologies Sister Punnā pours ridicule on a Brähman seeking a shining purity in the water, in which he must inevitably be excelled by any animal having its habitat in that element (Psalm of the Ladies, ixx.)

The quoted passages throw some light on the attitude by Buddhism of ethical purity unaided by ritual symbols. Some further testimony will assist in cobbling our ideas of purity, and prove their application of it to their own specific doctrines.

We find the purification idea applied to the possibility of mellioration in all rational beings. The Buddha maintains, against a current sceptical doctrine, either deteriorative (became defiled) or advanced (became refined) through a sufficient cause. This was the hedonically mixed nature of the factors of life. In other words, our experience is sufficiently pleasant to make the things of this world seductive, and sufficiently painful to make much better (Sabbattā, iii. 69 f.). This is called the 'twofold doctrine hard to penetrate' (Dīgha, iii. 274).

How did Buddhism conceive the nature of defilement (sākyilīs, upakālīs) and its opposite? Consciousness, or heart (cākto), was not considered as intrinsically impure. Though 'formless' or immaterial, it was likened to a radiant or flashing clarity, infinitely swift and plastic in procedure, but liable to defilement by adventitious influences (Anguttara, i. 5-11). These made their advent on occasion of sense. In reacting to sense-impressions, a number of mental adjuncts were held to come into play, such as feeling, volition, emotions, etc. Prominent among these were the three roots or causes (root causes) of moral activity—appetite or lust, ennui, dullness or mental intelligence. The corresponding three opposites might come into play instead—disinterestedness, love, intelligence or insight. The karma from previous lives would influence the present instance; nurture and training would modify the adjacent or underlying life. But defilement consisted in the three immoral conditions exerting themselves in response to the calls of sense. That defilement is fully described, e.g., in the Amagandha Sutta (Sutta-Nipata, SBE 18).

The typical ceremonial bathing in the Ganges at the spring-festival of Phalg (Psalm of the Brethren, p. 153).

x. [1881] 40 f., as consisting in violence and injustice, sensuality, covetousness, and deceit, obstinacy and conceit, etc. Again, sixteen forms of defilements are given in the Vatthapama-Sutta (Majjhima, i. 36 f.).

Purification from all these spiritual defilements consisted, as the latter sutta shows, in a mental awakening (1) to new ideals, (2) to the nature of defilements, and in a moral upbuilding and subsequent tranquillisation, the defiling tendencies having been ejected. The process of course took time, and was held to be perfected only by progress along the 'Four Paths,' i.e. stages of the path to spiritual perfection. It is illustrated (ib.) negatively and positively by a well-cleaned cloth taking on a fine dye, or again by refining in fire:

'Twofold purity, undefiled as the moon when clear of blotting (cloud) (Sutta-Nipata, 360).

We have seen Buddhism using purity ritual as metaphor to emphasize the inwardness of its ideal. More appropriate is the figure borrowed from that craft of the purity of the scribe; the monastic discipline was modelled, to wit, medicine. The possible effects of certain airmen for which the physician prescribes purging and cathartics (varmanā, virechānā) are compared (Anguttara, v. 218 f.) with the sure remedy for all sufferings in the 'Aryan Eightfold Path' of the perfect life. The converse is described, not as purified, but as emancipated or released—a more characteristic Buddhist ideal, as has been stated above, than that of purification.

Once annexed, the ideal of purity was applied to every kind of proficiency of heart and head. The name of purity (kori-parisuddha) in conduct was to exercise self-reference—not to do unto others what would be disagreeable if done to one's self (Sabbattā, v. 225 f.). The inward purifying fire referred to by the Buddha (see above) is explained, so as his insight. Vision and insight have to be 'cleansed,' but different temperaments are stated to attain this ideal in different ways (ib. iv. 191-190). Mystical or supernormal sight and hearing are such (ib. i. 372), purified through the joy of the right view (ekdyano) as well as 'divine' ( dibba, godlike, or spiritual). Achievements of this kind are attributed, in varying degrees, to recluses graduating in saintship. But none of the emphasis of Christian mysticism on the purity or clarity as such is to be found in the Buddhist canon.

Finally, three special applications of the purity ideal may be noted, namely, to morals, to the work of teaching, and to the sumnum bonum.

Thus observance of the five rules for the order are technically called 'the five purities' (Vinaya, v. 132; cf. Vinaya Texts (SBE xii. [1881]), i. 15, 55, etc.).

'Perfection of teaching' is such as is undertaken because of the excellence of the doctrine's ideal and method, and out of love and compassion felt by the teacher (Sabbattā, ii. 199).

'Purity' is again annexed as one of the 44 synonyms for salvation or nibbāna (ib. iv. 372), and this is at times referred to as 'the purity supreme.' Thus, the avowed sovereign means of attaining it was that of the exercises in self-knowledge known as the 'Four Applications of Mindfulness' (Dīgha, ii. XXII.):

'... the path that leads only to the purification of beings ... to the realization of nibbāna.' (The translation 'one and only path' in that work (ekdyano) is not correct.)
Insight into impurity, suffering, and non-existence of soul are called no less 'the path to purity' (Dhavanapada, 227-279; Psalms of the Brethren, 676-678)—a phrase that became immortalized for all Buddhists of the Theravada, teaching down to the present day as the scripture of Buddhism's classic work, the Visuddhi-Magga.

LITERATURE.—All the texts and translations quoted are named in the text, and all, except those in SBE and in SBE, are among the Pali Text Society's publications.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

PURIFICATION (Chinese).—The technical term usually employed by the Chinese to denote the rites connected with ceremonial purity is a word which represents the Chinese chih. The word is used, especially among Buddhists, to denote the practice of abstinence from animal food; but it implies much more than this. The written character for chih is a modification of another character chi (radical 210); indeed, in classical literature chi is used where modern writers would use chih and this fact provides us with an unmistakable clue to the original ideas which the term was intended to convey. Chi means 'upper,' 'to attack,' 'to advance,' 'to make even,' 'to equalize,' 'to establish uniformity;' and, when used in an ethical sense, it implies the due regulation or adjustment of the whole personality—physical, intellectual, and moral. The process of purification (chih) was not merely a preparation essential preliminary to the exercise of priestly or sacrificial functions, and it implied fasting, self-control, and an inward purity of which physical cleanliness and spotless raiment were outward and visible signs.

1. THE STATE RITUAL.—The principal authority for sacrificial and other religious rites in ancient China is the Li Chi (SBE xxvii. and xxviii. 1885). In that Chou dynasty classic we find the greatest stress laid on the necessity for gravity, sincerity, and reverence in all who take part in such rites. We are told that sacrifice is not 'a thing coming to a man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart.' Religious ceremony is not merely an external show, nor should it be an act by way of retrospective anticipation of reward; it is the outward expression of inward feelings, and, unless those feelings are of a pure and disinterested character, the ritual in which they find expression will necessarily lack dignity. The whole character of the act involved in the exalted position of those who should preside over sacrifices (SBE xxvii. 61 f., xxviii. 226 f.). But even men of the noblest character must not occupy themselves with sacred things without scrupulous self-preparation; hence, when the time came for offering a sacrifice, the man wisely gave himself to the work of purification (SBE xxviii. 230). To effect this purification, he had to guard himself against all noxious and unclean things and to keep his desires under strict control. He shunned music, because music would cause mental distraction and excitement. He kept all wayward thoughts out of his mind, and concentrated his attention on the way of rectitude. He refrained from unnecessary movements of his hands and feet. He strove to bring his intellect and his moral sentiments to their highest degree of clarity and refinement. When he had succeeded in conducting himself in this manner for the required number of days, he was in a fit condition to enter into communion with spiritual beings (ib. 239 f.).

Of this purificatory process there were two stages. The lower stage, known as san chih, 'lax purification,' lasted for seven days; the higher, known as chin chih, 'strict purification,' occupied the three days immediately preceding the performance of the sacrificial ceremony. The process involved bathing (mu yu), the wearing of clean raiment, restriction to the simplest food, and abstinence from sexual relations. The person undergoing 'strict' chin chih was separated from his family and was confined to himself in apartments other than those which he usually occupied. He wore unadorned garments of a black colour, because these were regarded as consonant with, or symbolic of, the solemn nature of his undertaking; which should not be thought of as the unseen world (SBE xxvii. 448; see also J. Legge, The Chinese Classics, i., Oxford,1899, p. 248).

Great stress was laid on the inutility of attending merely to the external aspects of the purificatory rites. Mencius implies that a well-regulated mind was far more important than outward comeliness and correctness, when he tells us that even a leper (or a person of external repulsiveness) may sacrifice to God, provided he carried out the rules of chin chih in the proper spirit.

The sacrificial rites for which purification was and still is considered necessary are mainly those connected with the cult of ancestors, and purification is therefore theoretically binding upon all heads of families and others whose business it is to officiate at any sacrificial function, whether for the spirit-tablets in the ancestral temple. But the rule applies with equal force to the stately ceremonies which are or were conducted by the emperor or his deputies in connexion with the cult of canonical sages and heroes such as Confucius, Kuan-Ti, and Yu-Fei; the worship of the Supreme Deity and the divinities of earth, mountains, rivers, and other nature-spirits; and the propitiation of the spiritual beings whose function it is to distribute the rainfall, ensure the fertility of trees and crops, and prevent the growth of crops, and to regulate the seasonal changes. The impressive ceremony of the worship of Shang-ti (the Supreme Being) at the winter solstice took place at the marble Altar of Heaven, which is situated in the midst of a wooded park in the southern section of the city of Peking. The theoretical sanctity of the emperor's person did not exempt him from the duty of undergoing chin chih before he was qualified to act as high-priest for myriad-peopled China.

Three days before the ceremony his majesty moved into a building called the chih kung, 'purification palace,' situated within the Palatine, there to remain. He was not to be expected to remain two days and nights. On the third day he proceeded to the sacred enclosure of the Altar of Heaven, and was encircled with consecrated music. The priests, under the vigilant of the last three of 'strict purification.' Similar purificatory rites were in ancient times performed by the emperor at the beginning of the four seasons.

Three days before the festival of Li-Ch'uan (Beginning of Spring) the Grand Recorder informed the emperor that 'on such and such a day the spring will begin.' Therupon 'the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification, and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the five great ministers (who are at court), and his Great officers, to meet the spring in the eastern suburb.'

The emperor's duties and prerogatives in connexion with these State rituals were to some extent shared by his college of ministers, through the emperor, pair were separated from one another during the period of purification. The third month of spring a ceremony took place in which the emperor acted alone.

In this month orders are given to the foresters throughout the country not to allow the cutting down of the mulberry trees and silk-worm oaks. . . . The trunks and branches with the fruit are pulled up and thrown into the reed-reed swamps, so that a new growth may arise herefrom, and so many cocoons may be produced that the Chinese may have a surplus of silk.
stands (for the worms and cocoons) are got ready. The queen, after vigil and fasting, goes in person to the eastern fields to watch the reaping (SBE xxvii. 222). This was done in order that the women of China might be encouraged to feel that, when they laboured at one of the great national industries—the production of silk—they were following the example of the first lady in the land. Similar recognition was accorded by the emperor to the industry of agriculture; for the custom was that in the first month of spring the emperor prayed to heaven for bountiful harvests, and this was followed on the 20th day by an upholding of the plough, turned up three furrows (SBE xxvii. 254 f.). This rite has been kept up till our own day.

2. Purification in Confucianism.—A modern writer has hazarded the statement that in Confucianism fasting is perhaps 'wholly unrecognized' (Eliff, x. 193). This remark is by no means accurate, for ritual fasting is an essential part of the rites of purification referred to in the Li Chi, and the Li Chi ranks as a Confucian classic. In his translation of the following remark attributed to Confucius himself:

'Vigil and fasting are required (as a preparation) for serving the spirit (in sacrifice); the day and night in which to appear before it is after the emperor's return; the observances were appointed lest the people should think on these things without reverence' (SBE xxvii. 251).

For Confucius we have ample evidence that Confucius by no means ignored these ritual observances. In a classical passage we are told that there were three things which Confucius took very seriously and in which he showed the greatest reverence and circumspection. These were purification (chaj), warfare, and disease (Legge, i. 198). The selection is not so whimsical and arbitrary as might be supposed. The third, it will be observed, concerns the individual human life, which it mars or cuts short; the second affects the welfare of society and the rise and fall of states; while the first is associated with the solemn rites that are believed to open a channel of communication between living men and the spiritual world. From another passage we learn that Confucius 'purified himself with fasting; he went out to court to announce the murder of a feudal prince' (Legge rightly points out in connexion with this passage that the Chinese phrase (one yii) represented by these words 'implies all the fasting and all the ceremonies that precede the great occasion' (I. 254). In the same classic (the Lun Yu) we read that Confucius, when undergoing chaj, arrayed himself in clean linen cloth, changed his diet, and sat elsewhere than in his usual seat (Legge, i. 293). In the classic usually known to Europeans as The Doctrine of the Mean Confucius is represented as having uttered the following words:

'Now actively do the spiritual beings manifest their powers! They are beyond the ability of eyes to see or ears to hear, yet they are inpernicous in all things. It is for them that men purify themselves and do rich array and establish the rites of sacrifice and worship.'

Not only was purification known to and practised by Confucius and his disciples and contemporaries; it also forms part of the ritual of the cult of which Confucius himself is the central figure. The chief seat of this cult is the imposing temple at Chi-fou in Shantung. The temple stands near the enclosure which contains the sage's tomb, and adjoins the palace of the ennobled representative of the Confucian sect— the Yen Hui, P'ang Tzu, Zhi, the extended sagehood. As the rites of the Confucian cult throughout the empire are modelled on those practised at Chi-fou, special interest is attached to a book called the Sheng Men Li Yi Yo Chih, 'Records of the Ritual and Music of the Holy Temple,' which is in two small volumes printed from wooden blocks preserved in the temple pre-

incts. The latest edition of this work was published in 1887 under the editorial supervision of a committee composed wholly of the sage's reputed descendants. From this handbook we may gather authoritative information concerning the place occupied by purificatory rites in the Confucian ceremonial.

Fifteen days before the date fixed for the sacrificial ceremony the emperor proceeds to the Confucian temple (the temple of the earth and its rituals) carries out a rite technically known as the 'purification preparations,' which is usually popularly known as 'wiping the sheep,' or 'sheep washing.' The duke and his assistants, arrayed in their royal robes of office, go to the park in which the animals are kept (the kuo-chi), and there wash and anoint the victims for the forthcoming sacrifice. These animals are then ceremonially washed with warm water, and every day thereafter they are washed in the same manner, until the rite is repeated. On the same day a proclamation is issued at one of the temple-gates, called the Yang-kang-men, 'the gate of going upwards,' whereby the temple officials and all whose duty it is to take part in the ceremonies are called upon to prepare themselves for the rites of purification, which is the 'first' form begin on the tenth day before the sacrifice. From the tenth day onwards the temple-officers go daily to the temple to wash, and there goes on a thorough cleansing of it. The temple yards are weeded, and all dust and rubbish are carefully removed from it. This process is technically known as 'purification of the house.' On the third day before the ceremony the ministers enter upon the period of 'strict' chaj. At noon on this day there is a solemn sacrifice and a banquet for the high officials, and one of the chief respects paid to the ritual is the payment of an 'on the head of a person by the head of another' to the officiating assistants, to one of the temple-gates known as the Tung-wen-men, where they stand in order of precedence. The persons who are to enter the temple are then pronounced fit to enter, and are allowed to about to enter upon three days' chaj, then perform the triple preparation. Thereafter, while they prepare themselves for the sacrifice, reads about to enter upon three days' chaj, then perform the triple preparation. Thereafter, while they prepare themselves for the sacrifice, the 'spirit-tables' (kuow-ho) or 'purification lodgings,' where they are under the supervision of officials who after dark go out and leave them alone with lamp in hand to see that there no unnecessary breach of rules.

Into the details of the sacrificial ceremony itself we need not enter. The culminating moment arrives when the sacrificial animals are solemnly placed in front of the 'spirit-tables' of Confucius. The object is to be served as sacrifices by the officers of the state, only by persons in a state of ceremonial purity, and the privilege falls therefore to those who have just completed their three days' chaj, or Those who have done so are not allowed to approach the altar with the sacrificial meats and fruits until a full and elaborate rite of purification has been performed.

From a richly-garnished vessel (chiu le) the minister takes a bullelful of clean water and transfers it to a smaller vessel (hwan-chou), which the Mystic, who is usually the emperor himself, pours out on a four-legged wooden stand. The officier (chung-huan-kuan) who is to take the offerings up to the altar then goes through the form of pouring the water into a vessel of wine and sprinkling it. One of its long narrow strip of fringed cloth from a bamboo basket (Ian), kneads down, and passes the cloth to the chih-huan-chien who uses it to dry his hands. The latter then proceeds to wash seven goblets (chiu) which are to hold the sacrificial wine. The chiu is a three-legged cup with two ears and a projecting lip. Three of the seven are intended for the altar of Confucius; the other four are destined for the altar of the four subordinate sages who are associated with Confucius in the sacrificial rites. These are Yen Hui (the favourite disciple), Tseng Tso, Meng Tzo (Min-cien), and their subordinates.

There are three rules of discipline which have to be observed by all persons who occupy permanent posts in connexion with the Confucian rites. Among the offences which entail dismissal from office two are of interest as bearing on our present subject; the first is the act of entering the temple (to perform duties connected therewith) without having undergone purification. The other is the offence of ni sang jin ma, entering the temple while in a state of mourning, and consequently the presence of a dead man's skull in the temple. For observations on the religious significance of the rite, and its use in other parts of the world, see art. Hand, vol. vi. p. 499.
Purification (Chinese)

who in mourning is expected to notify the fact without delay to his official superiors, in order that arrangements may be made to have his duties temporarily delegated to some one else. The following is an extract from ancient Chinese religious literature to a curious belief that, when the rites of strict purification had been scrupulously fulfilled, the purified worshipper would see the spirits to whom his sacrifice was to be offered and on whom his thoughts had been concentrated (see, e.g., SBE xxvii. 448, xxviii. 211). This rather startling statement should not be taken as the expression of a literal belief that the spirits would present themselves before the worshipper's bodily eyes. It is not impossible, indeed, that statements of this kind indicate the survival of pre-historic beliefs similar to those which existed down to our own time among the Eskimo or the American Indians, who believed that the fasting and other austerities which a youth underwent at puberty would enable him to see his guardian-spirit. 1 It is also possible that among the ancient Chinese, as among many sects known to Christendom, fasting and other ascetic practices were the cause of the 'heavenly eye' (zen 'heavenly eye') of the Confucian mystics. 2

An interesting parallel to our Chinese text is to be found in the 'oracle' of the Montanist prophetess Prisilla, which declared that 'purity unites (with the Spirit), and they (the pure) see visions, and bowing their faces downward, they hear distinct words spoken.' 3 The Chinese, however, under the sober influences of Confucianism, have shown little inclination to carry their religious austerities to morbid extremes; indeed, worshippers are told that they should not emaciate themselves till the bodies appear, nor should they let their seeing and hearing become affected by their austerities. 4 Confucian Chinese, therefore, prefer to interpret the classical references to the visibility of spirits in a sense similar to that in which the term 'ien yen ('heavenly eye') is understood by Buddhist mystics. This 'heavenly eye' is much the same thing as Plato's 'eye of the soul' when it is turned towards reality, or the 'mind's eye' and 'heart's eye' of Gregory of Nyssa and St. Augustine. When our Chou dynasty enthusiast expressed his belief that the spirits would become visible to their faithful and purified devotee, he probably meant exactly what was in the mind of the 15th century. Christian mystic who said:

'Let us eternally burn pure, tome omnia sine impedimento videre et bene capere purum penetram caelum e internum' (de Immac. Chriat., ii. 4).

Purification in ancestor-cult. — Strict purity has always been enjoined on those who officiate at the sacrifices to the dead.

'When a filial son is about to sacrifice, he is anxious that all preparations should be made beforehand. . . . The temple and its apartments having been repaired, the husband and wife, after vigil and fasting, bathe their heads and persons and array themselves in full dress.' 5

Purity is indicated by the very name of the great spring festival of Chi-ing-ming, at which the frieze was not permitted, regard it as necessary, and swept clean; for chi-ing ming means 'pure and bright.' This phrase contains an allusion to the belief that on this day all nature achieves a general purification and renewal. This was symbolized by the lighting of 'new fires' to take the place of the old fires which, in accordance with ancient custom, had been put out the day before and put away for three days. The term han shih ('cold eating') was applied to the day (or to the three days) preceding the Chi-ming festival because, as the old fires had been put out and the new ones were not yet lighted, it was customary to abstain from cooking. 6 The ceremony of lighting new fires is almost forgotten now, but there is ample evidence that it once took place and that it was regarded partly as a purificatory rite by which evil was extinguished and the old life transformed into something new and clean. 7 Both 'pure water' and 'pure fire' occupied a place in the ritual offerings of ancient China. 8 Frazer, referring to a certain fire-ceremony still celebrated in the province of Fukien, records the significant fact that 'the chief performers in the ceremony . . . refrain from women for seven days, and fast for three days before the festival.' 9 The well-known custom of letting off fire-crackers, which is intended to exorcise evil spirits and effect a general purification, is also well known in China. 10 Disembodied spirits,' as de Groot says, 'are afraid of fire.' 11 The original meaning of the Chi-ming festival has been obscured in China by the fact that the day came to be regarded as the appropriate occasion for the performance of the spring ceremonies in honour of deceased ancestors; and the importance of the ancestral cult naturally caused the other associations of the festival to recede into the background. But the idea of purity is associated with the performance of the ancestral rites no less than with the renewal of nature's activities, though, as we shall see below, pollution of a distinctive kind was believed to be inseparable from the mere fact of being in mourning or of having come in contact with death. The ancient customs forbade any approach to the tombs or the spirit-tablets by any member of the family who had sullied the honour of his house by committing a crime, or who had brought disgrace upon himself or his ancestors. 12 This is interesting as showing that something better than mere ritual purity 'was expected of those who paid religious honours to the dead.

4. Popular purificatory rites. — Apart from the State rituals and the national cults of Confucius and of ancestors, there are many occasions on which ceremonial purifications are employed in some form or other, formerly practised by the people, though in modern times most of these rites have tended to become obsolete. At an ancient triennial drinking festival described in the Li Chi there was a ceremonial washing of hands and rinsing of cups (SBE xxvii. 355, xxviii. 435 f. ). In the Confucian Analects there is an interesting passage which, according to the commentators, contains a reference to an old custom of 'washing the hands and clothes at some stream in the third day of the month to put away evil influences' (Legge, i. 240). Purification ceremonies, whereby

1 See R. F. Johnston, Lion and Dragon in Northern China, London, 1919, pp. 155-157. There is a well-known Chinese legend which professes to trace the Han shih festival to an episode attributed to the 7th cent. B.C., but it was probably invented to explain a ritual of which the original meaning had been lost. See C. H. W. 642. The Sacrifice of a Perfect Moral Being (feat. 4th cent. B.C.), trans. Hsu Ho-Kien-fu, 1913, p. 427 f.; and H. A. Giles, A Chinese Bio- logical and Theological Dictionary (1885), 124 f.


4 For early Chinese discussion and criticism of this custom see Wang Ch'ung's Lien Hjing, tr. A. Forke, Berlin, 1911, pt. ii. p. 376.
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Buddhist sects, or borrowed certain Buddhist usages and formulas for the purpose of throwing an air of religious mystery over their secret rites. Such was the White Lotus Society, which was the cause of so much unnecessary amount of bloodshed in the reign of Ch'ien-Lung.

6. Taoist view of purity.—In the Taoist system purity and purification are regarded from a point of view which differs very considerably from that of Confucianism. chin hsin, the "fasting (or purified) heart", is strongly recommended, and the chi ssi chih chai, the ceremonial purification, which may be merely external and fictitious. But, when Chang Ts'au and other Taoist writers speak of the "fasting heart", they do not mean exactly what the Confucian means when he insists, as we have seen, that true purification must be internal as well as external. For the Taoist the only thing worth fasting and purifications is the attainment of Tao, and for the single-minded seeker after Tao all ceremonial is superfluous and meaningless. The 'fasting heart' is a negative state in which the individual shuts himself off from sense-contact with the outer world, and, by discarding everything that is treasured by ordinary mankind, fits himself for the reception of a distinct portion of that which endures and is incorruptible—the transcendental Tao.1 'The height of self-discipline,' says the Taoist, 'is to ignore self.'2 But the orthodox Confucian cannot ignore self (so the Taoist would argue), and therefore his attention lays stress on outward observances and attributes importance to the correct fulfilment of 'rites.' Moreover, ceremonies imply activity—and activity of a kind which, from the Taoist point of view, is useless. Man's function is to be rather than to do. The true sage 'does nothing, and therefore there is nothing that he does not do.' He is one who has cleared away all the impurities that dimmed the lustre of his true self and who knows that he has transcended the limitations of his phenomenal Ego. His perfectly purified nature is in complete conformity with the ineffable Tao, which is never so fully possessed as when it eludes all observation and makes no outward manifestation of its presence. At the outset of his search for Tso the sage usually retreats to his hermit's hill, where he has a romantic hermitage among the rocks and woods and lives on wild herbs and the pure water of the mountain streams. The beauty and wonder of his surroundings gradually enter into his soul and teach him that all the most glorious manifestations of external nature are but signs and symbols of spiritual glories that lie far beyond the range of unpurified vision. As he grows in spiritual stature, he catches fugitive glimpses of that loveliness, and after a long upward struggle he learns at last 'to ride upon the glory of the sky, where his form can no longer be discerned.'4 He is now a hsien-fen—a Chinese term which etymologically means nothing more than 'a man of the mountains,' but which in Taoist lore means one who has attained the immortality and the spiritual graces and which Tso himself can confer. One of the highest grades of this transcendental state is that of the ch'en-fen, the 'true man,' one who 'fulfills his destiny. He acts in accordance with his nature. He is one with God and man.'

He is a being 'whose flesh is like ice or snow, whose demeanour is that of a virgin, who eats no fruit of the earth, but lives on the dew, and whose eyes are filled with dragons for his team, rams beyond the limits of mortality.'5

Such is the language in which the old Taoist mystics strove to express the inexpressible—language which "is always wild, and is always wilder."6

2 Giles, p. 216.
3 Ch. p. 97, 11, 188, 209; see also the Tao-yeh-ching, SBE xxxix, 25, 48, 79-90, 100 ff.
4 Giles, p. 131.
5 Ch. pp. 7, 151.
which led in later ages to pitiful misunderstandings, and which fostered the growth of a belief that modern Judaism which is a home of philosophic, magickal, ritualistic, priestly mummeries, and demonology. The priests of the cult are, for the most part, comparatively harmless members of society—if, indeed, it is possible for uselessness and harmlessness to go together. All co-religionists are ignorant, unenterprising, and superstitious; and, though they may know a good deal about the mysteries of talismans and exorcisms, it must be confessed that they show very little knowledge of, or interest in, the mystic ways of philosophers. Therefore, we may expect to find this sense-impression at its highest.

2. The sacraments.—The primary significance of baptism seems to have been that of cleansing and usually, though not always, it was understood in a more than material sense. The Pauline Epistles throughout regard baptism as a cleansing from sin. It has been said that the idea of purification attains its highest form in the Christian rite of baptism; certainly it is on the spiritual basis that the emphasis is now laid.

As baptism in Judaism came to mean purificatory consecration, with a twofold reference—from an old state and to a new—so was it in Christianity.6

The gift of the Holy Spirit does not seem to have been associated with the baptismal ceremony at first. The rite seems to have been regarded by the primitive Church simply as a cleansing from sin, bringing about the renewal of a former undefiled state. The convert must be purified in the laver of regeneration, as a preparation for the reception of the EUCHARIST. This is to follow. So effective is the purification here that it can be regarded as 'a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness'—not a generation, but a regeneration. This conception is maintained in the Baptism of the Church of England, the prayer for the sanctification of the water to the mystical washing away of sin and in the vow of renunciation.

Since the middle of the second century the notions of baptism in the Church have usually not extended to the forgiveness of sins, and this pardon was supposed to effect an actual sinslessness which now required to be maintained.6

This maintenance was supplied by the second great sacrament, which, offering the means of union with God, through outward and visible signs, became the recognized channel for the conveyance of grace and strength to the soul, purified and already in a sense cleansed. The idea of sacrament is a reminiscence of that purification. Yet it was soon realized that the flesh still remained weak and continued to act as an instrument of defilement to the spirit. Thus, just as it was necessary that the purification of baptism should remain with us, so it was necessary to prepare for the gift of the Holy Spirit, so it became necessary that a formal purification should precede, cleanse, and prepare for the gift received in Holy Communion. Hence the further sacrament of penance (q. v.) and absolution, which was entirely a rite of purification in its conception and effect.7

The original position was that baptism alone was the cure for sin; it was in itself sufficient for the needs of the believer. Experience, however, showed the difficulty of this position; it became more and more clear that Christians were not immune from the attacks of sin, and sinslessness was really required from them, or the efficacy of salvation ascribed would be saved. Sin after baptism thus became a practiced problem; a

symbolic of that which is much higher, much holier than itself; it is indeed a vain thing.

Thus purification becomes entirely symbolic for Christians.1 St. Paul's treatment of the question of circumcision illustrates his attitude towards purification and shows that he had grasped the principle of cleansing in a new light. Henceforth it was plain that the idea of purification attains its highest form in the Christian rite of baptism; certainly it is on the spiritual basis that the emphasis is now laid.
second baptism, suggested by some, was regarded as impossible, but nevertheless analogous rites—in so far as they were looked upon as sacramental—were established. Penitence (or Penance, to use the more customary word) and the Mass came to be used as the sacramental means whereby, the soul once cleansed from the stains of post-baptismal sin, and the ministry of the Church developed into a great system for their administration, in order to bind the confraternity stricken with sin and calling for the care of a physician.1

The Roman Church to this day insists upon this formal purification for the individual before allowing him to take his second baptism. It would be impossible not to recognize in the provision for frequent and continual purification of a formal kind, even apart from any particular material ceremony, a dangerous resemblance to the older and pre-Christian usages.2 The Church of England has never insisted upon this pre-communion purification, yet has rightly recognized the essential idea in the collect at the opening of the Communion Office: ‘Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts...’, and in the confession and absolution which must precede the reception of the sacrament. It is on these lines that purification is treated in the other offices and prayers of this Church.3

3. Purification and the contemplative life.—The idea that man must purify himself most strongly appears to have already hinted, to the more earnest and sincere Christian. It has been the initial cause of many great movements, both within and without the orthodox body; the Novatian and the Montanism, e.g., made such attempts to realize this idea. But it is above all in mysticism (q.v.), with its passionate desire for communion with God, that we find the greatest stress laid upon purification. It is an essential part of the system. It is the earliest path—the purgative way—‘which alone can lead on to illumination.’ To those who follow it will come indeed many a ‘dark night of the soul,’ until the end is reached and the achievement of purification brings light. The process is a gradual advancement, step by step, at each of which something is left behind. As the runner strips himself of one garment after another in order to attain the goal that is set before him, so the mystic must disencumber himself of all material or spiritual hindrances, as he strives after purification.4

Now be assured that no one can be enlightened unless he be first cleansed or purified and stripped... Thus there are three stages of purification: the external, which purifies the soul, and makes it equal to communion; the internal, which is hidden from the sight of others; and the highest, which is the state of the saint;5 for even the greatest of the ancient Christian writers taught that a perfect man could only be attained by high contemplation, which is the goal of the mystic.6

This notion of purification as an absolutely essential element in the religious life was the immediate cause of monasticism (q.v.). It was in order to escape the defilement which it was thought, was almost necessarily incurred in living the ordinary life of men that the extraordinary life was adopted. There were fewer enemies to contend with in the seclusion of the cell or the monastery, and those among them the most severe measures were taken—fastings, self-mortifications, and constant prayer. Only a state of purity could bring about that condition of holiness which is the passport to eternity. The practice and exaltation of celibacy most probably find here their root motive. Thus the two greatest developments of the Church’s religious life—mysticism and monasticism—may fairly be said to be developments of the Christian idea of purification.7

4. Purification through suffering.—Not a few works on Christian purification would be complete without consideration of the purificatory influence inherent in suffering. Perhaps the best illustration of this to be found in literature is contained in the beautiful poem of Mrs. Hamilton King, ‘Ognon Dazo’s Sermon in the Hospital’. It is not given to many to attain purification in this way, though opportunity is rarely lacking.

‘It is only those who are already far in the path of spiritual growth who are purified by suffering, even as the Captain of our Salvation was, and indeed, as the whole Christ himself was...’

Those, however, who do through suffering win the peace of God which passeth all understanding reach a level of purification which is higher and more perfect than that which can be attained in any other manner.

The suffering which comes to us through the fault of another would seem to possess a very high capacity for purification. This kind of purification embraces the idea that lies at the root of atonement. It is exemplified in its most perfect form in the rite of confession.8 and it is in these lines only that it is possible for men to become pure even as He is pure and, in so scaling the rugged heights of true Christian purification, to win for themselves the beatific vision of the promised land which lies beyond—the glory that shall be revealed.9

5. Cleansing of the conscience.—When it has been once realized that it is no longer purification of the body but purification of the conscience and character that is the real substantial thing10 it will be seen that the need for purification really exist even when the act which would render the person obviously impure has not been committed. This is indeed definitely taught by Christ Himself in the Sermon on the Mount.11 Many other nations besides the Jews have required a ceremonial purification of the body after deeds of lust and bloodshed. Christianity, if it is to follow the conception of its Founder, requires the purification of the conscience after the ‘will’ to commit such deeds, even when the only gravity of actually doing them has been lacking. Again, non-Christian ceremonial purification can be had and sometimes has been refused, but Christian purification can never be refused to the true penitent who seeks for it.

6. Cleansing by baptism. —Purification is still observed in Christianity.—The Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary is still observed by the Church. But the ceremony which it commemorates was a purely Jewish rite, though it has been taken over by Christianity for the Churching of Women after childbirth. The notion of legal uncleanness, which prevented the Jewish mother from appearing in public until after the ceremonial purification had been performed, has been dropped.2 The many women who still insist upon going to this service before them going elsewhere do so from the notion of thanksgiving rather than from that of purification. They have no idea of being legally unclean. The offering of the lamb, pigeon, or turtledove which was connected with the purification idea has given place to a money-offering, which, though forming

1 For many references to purification in mysticism see E. Underhill, The Mystic Way, London, 1913.
6 Reproofs, m., in the canon law (Cap. unico de Purif. post partum).: ‘If women after child-bearing desire immediately to enter the Church, they commit no sin by so doing, nor are they to be hindered.’
7 John 19:36, in the canon law (Cap. unico de Purif. post partum).: ‘If women after child-bearing desire immediately to enter the Church, they commit no sin by so doing, nor are they to be hindered.’
9 Comm. Mt 6:2: ‘Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.’
10 For many references to purification in mysticism see E. Underhill, The Mystic Way, London, 1913.
an actual part of the service, again emphasizes the thanksgiving motive.

7. Purification of churches after suicide, sacrifice, etc.—Ceremonies of purification are still observed in many churches for reasons of this nature. The idea is that of restoration to the former state of holiness conveyed by baptism or the like. The idea, however, must have been one of the common acts of daily life in ancient no less than in modern Egypt.

The ground that the Nile cannot reach by irrigation, inundation, or percolation is to all appearances drier and more likely to support life and vegetation.

But, when once this ground is inundated or irrigated, it soon begins to show signs of life and grows green with vegetation in a remarkably short space of time.

The same Nile waters both cleansed and vivified—a phenomenon that seems to have profoundly influenced the ancient Egyptians' ideas about purification (see below, esp. V. i, 3).

II. MATERIALS AND VESSELS EMPLOYED FOR PURIFICATION. For the most part, the materials were those of the normal as well as the most natural purifying medium. Natron, i.e. native carbonate of soda, was often dissolved in the water to enhance its cleansing properties.

Natron was also used dry (see below, V. 2 (d), etc.)—a box of this substance is included among the requirements of the dead in certain Middle Kingdom funerary prayers. Incense was used for purification, but was most likely also employed like the dry natron (see below, V. 2 (c) (ii)).

Such liquid as was desired was constituted from below, VI. 4), and so, in a secondary sense, were food and drink (see below, V. 1 (d)).

2. Vessels. Two varieties of metal ever and a basin were used for washing the hands.

The usual thin wren was named ḥ-ḥ, the squat one, apparently, ḥʾḥ or ḫʾḥ. The basin was named ḫ-ḥ or ḫʾḥ.

The same kind of basin was used for feet-ablations, but the ever employed for this purpose was of a very curious shape.

All these vessels could be made of gold or silver, but were most often of copper.

For bathing or

1 See A. Laca, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology i. (1914) 123.


4 P. Laca, Sacrophages antiques au musee egyptien, Paris, 1900-01, I, 6, 6, 56; Newberry-Griffith, loc. cit.


6 Laca, loc. cit.

7 Laca, 25118, no. 52, fig. 46.

8 i.e., the thing that belongs to or contains natron (=water).


10 Laca, 25104, no. 56, 25007, no. 26.

11 Laca, 25007, no. 56, 25027, no. 56.

12 Laca, 25105, nos. 27, 28, 25037, nos. 37, 38, fig. 88; Sethe, ap. L. Borchorst, Grabdenkmal des König Scntr-w, Leipzig, 1914, 216.

13 Laca, 25024, nos. 25, 26, 25125, nos. 41, 42; Book of the Dead, loc. cit.

III. SECULAR WASHING, SANITATION, AND SANITARY OBSERVATIONS.—In an Old Kingdom palace the toilet-rooms were designated 'House of the Morning' (pr-dw-t-t), in a noble's house the 'House of the Middle Kingdom' (gabinet of the Morning) and 'House of purification'. They would have comprised from quite early times a privy and a bathroom, of which excellent examples (XVIIIth dynasty) have been unearthed at El-Amarna. The House or

1 The compound pr-dw-t-t, 'House of the Morning,' was used by the Pharaoh's breakfast.

2 After the month had been cleansed with natron, it was said to be like the mouth of a sucking calf on the day it was born. A light repast, consisting of a loaf of bread and a jar of drink, was called 'breakfast.'

3 It is curious that the word 'breakfast,' mentioned above, is an abbreviation of 'pr-tnt.' If so, the official in charge of the ablutions, i.e. the steward who assisted at the royal toilet, but, as Sethe supposes, the person responsible for the proper abrading of the royal toilet.

3. Washing of the feet.—The feet would have been frequently washed, as in the modern East; there was a special ewer for feet-ablations (see above, II. 2).

1 Newberry-Griffith, i. pl. x: C. R. Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, Berlin, 1850-52, ii. pl. 2514.

2 Pfr. 11104: Laca, figs. 53, 54.

3 Laca, fig. 55.

4 Pfr. 11105.

5 Laca, 25104, no. 29, 52027, no. 27.

6 For a 17th dynasty tomb latrine see British Association Report for 1914, p. 315.


8 Borchardt, Mitt. der deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft, no. 50 (1912), p. 201.


10 L. RTr xxxiv. 190-198, xxxv. 1 ff.

11 Newberry-Griffith, i. pl. x: see below, V. 2 (c) (d), 7 (b).

12 Newberry-Griffith, loc. cit.

13 Pfr. 7166.

14 Id. 11104, 11105, 20006.

15 Id. 11106.

16 Id. 7166, 26.

17 E.g., A. Murray, Spicilegium Hieraticum, London, 1905, pia. xxix. 37, 800. There is a variant, ʿer, 'purification of the mouth.' Accordingly, in an XVIIIth dynasty maga, a cup is reserved for the king's morning purification—Sethe, Urkunden des ägypt. Abtimmers, 1904, p. 59; Griffith, The Inscriptions of Seth and Der-Riicht, London, 1898, i. 1. lines 44, 511.

18 Mariette, p. 239; cf. p. 185.

19 Borchardt, ii. 78.

20 Book of the Dead, cxxvi. 37, 41.
4. Cleaning of nails. — Care was taken to keep the nail-tips clean. 1

5. Shaving. — (a) The face. — From the time of the early Old Kingdom 2 and onwards the custom was to shave off all facial hair, a false beard being assumed on special occasions. 3 The moustache is very rare.

(b) The head. — From early Old Kingdom times the hair of the head was either closely cropped or shaved off entirely, wigs being worn by the upper and well-to-do classes.

For cooked personal servants with their heads close shaven for the sake of cleanliness see Blackman, Rock Tombs of Meir, ii. pl. xviii. 3, lli. 31, pls. lix. xxv. xxxvii. Newberry, Biblia, pl. xliii. 1, fig. 6. 4

6. Depilation. — There is evidence for thinking that depilation was practised by the upper classes and priests in the Old and Middle Kingdom, as it certainly was by the priests in later times (see below). 5

7. Purification before a meal. — The Egyptians, in ancient times, purified themselves before partaking of food; indeed, as Griffith points out, 6 'purify oneself' is equivalent to 'take a meal.' This purification would usually have consisted merely in washing the hands.

'The hands are washed; thy ka washes himself, thy ka sits down, he eats bread with thee.' 7 Even before drinking a cup of beer, a man would have his hands washed by his wife. 8

The washing of the hands was often followed by purification with incense.

In the list of requisites for a banquet 11 'water for washing the hands' is enumerated regularly followed by 'incense.' 12

8. Purification after sexual intercourse. — The modern Egyptian men of the peasant class are very scrupulous about purifying themselves after sexual intercourse or after a nocturnal emission, sometimes having a bath, and always washing the genital organs.

1 Pyr. 13803, 2015a; cf. below, V. a. (q); (e); for a pedicurist attending to a man's toes—see Newberry, Beni Hassan, London, 1929-1930, iii. pl. iv. fig. 6, left end.

2 J. E. Quibell, Tomb of Hety, Cairo, 1913, pl. xxix.—xxxi.


5 See Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt, p. 219 ff.

6 Quibell, p. 331, figs. 14, 15.


8 Saints of the Demotic Papyri in the J. Rylands Library, Manchester, 1908, iii. 52, with n. 11; see also his Stories of the High Priests of Memphis, Oxford, 1890, p. 44.

9 See ibid., p. 127.

10 Pop. D'Orbigne, xii. 5 ff.

11 Murray, pl. 1.

12 Rock Tombs of Sheikh Sâid, pl. ix.

13 J. E. Quibell, Rock Tombs of Meir, ii. 1913, pl. xvi, fig. 2, Newberry, Biblia, pl. xliii. 1, fig. 7.


16 See Graopov, Germ. tr., p. 10, n. 1.
(c) At coronation.—The coronation purification was a renewal of that undertaken in infancy. It was performed with three distinct ceremonies placed upon the Pharaoh’s head, by a priest impersonating the god Yahes (Jb. 4).

The god thus addresses the king: ‘I purify thee with the water of all life, all health, all happiness.’ The Pharaoh, therefore, was not only purified, but endowed with the qualities which fitted him for his new position, and anointing him, in common with the sun-god.3 Perhaps this ceremony and that of (a) above have some connexion with the primitive ideas about kingship and fertility. In both scenes the water issues from the vessels as strings of symbols of life.

(d) Before officiating in a temple.—Before he could enter a temple to participate in any ceremony, the Pharaoh had to be purified by two priests impersonating Horus and Thoth4 or Horus and Seth.5 Cf. ‘Horus and Thoth hold out their hands to receive thee when purifying thy body.’6 This purification, which took place in the House of the Morning,7 consisted, when the full procedure was carried out, in sprinkling the king with water, which sometimes contained natron,8 fumigating him with incense, and presenting him with natron to chew and thereby cleanse his mouth (see below, V. 2 (d) (c)); he was also offered food and drink.9

This purification of water of life and good fortune,10 and ‘that which reneweth life,’11 was brought from the sacred pool with which every temple seems to have been provided.12 The purification is therefore, besides cleansing the Pharaoh, imbued with divine qualities; it also reconstituted him, as is shown by other formulæ pronounced during the ceremony, which are like those accompanying the funerary purifications. Food and drink were also purificatory in this secondary sense, for they possessed in addition the quality of water and incense.13

Probably on ordinary occasions the king merely washed his hands,14 after, perhaps, being lightly sprinkled with water by the two priests. It is unlikely that the fumigation with incense was ever omitted.

The king is described as ‘pure of hands when performing the ceremonies.’15 For a realistic representation of the king washing his hands in the House of the Morning see Lepsius, iv. 461 ff. In the sun-temple of Nusreru some or all of the ablutions were probably performed in the two basins which are sunk in the pavement just outside the door of the vestry, one on either side of it.16

(e) At a Self-festival.—At this festival special importance seems to have been attached to the washing of the king’s feet and hands.17

In the mutilated scene from the sun-temple part of the ceremony is still recorded.

2. Purity and purification after death.—Many of the funerary texts found in general use during and after the feudal period treat of what was once considered the destiny of the royal dead only (see above, under 1).

3 Naville, Deir el-Bahari, ill. pls. ii, iii, iv.; Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 202; Breasted, Ancient Records, ii, 99.
4 Ed. D. R. Macfarlane, J.R.S., Philadelphia, 1911, p. 54 (1385), and possam in the temple reliefs.
5 See Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 203, note (b).
6 Mariette, Denderah, Paris, 1890-91, pl. xvi; Blackman, Temple of Derr, 1913, pl. xii.
7 Lepsius, ii. 184.
8 Mariette, Denderah, pl. 9.
9 See also Kees, ‘ff. XXVII 14; Schiapelli, ‘ff. Urkunden, iii 35-37; Breasted, Ancient Records, iv, 866, 871.
10 Mariette, Denderah, i, pl. 19, inscr. left of scene.
12 Mariette, Denderah, ff. vii 6-9; and cf. Chassart, 183f.
13 Mariette, Denderah, i, pl. 10; Lepsius, iii 156d.
14 Mariette, ib. inscr. behind Thoth.
15 Borchardt, Re-Heiligsten des König Ne-Woser-Re, Berlin, 1930, with fig. 42.
16 Jb., p. 15 14; L. X. (1899) pl. 1.

As the Pharaoh during his lifetime had to be purified before entering a temple, so after death he was purified before he could enter the solar, or Osirian, kingdom, the inhabitants of which, and all things connected with them, were pure.

Examples are the abodes of the sun-god,18 those who sail in the boat of Osiris,2 the lotus-flower which the sun-god holds to his nose,3 and the deceased’s throne in heaven or his seat in the sun-god’s bark, either of which he can occupy only if he himself is pure.4

Purity was therefore the only passport to posthumous happiness.

Accordingly, the dead Pharaoh’s ascent to heaven did not take place until his purity was assured: ‘Thou art pure, thou ascendest unto Re.5 ‘Piopi is pure . . . this Piopi ascends to heaven.’6 The guardians of the gates of the under world7 allow the deceased to cross their thresholds because he is pure.8

This purity as originally conceived was to a large extent physical.

Before Thoth and the sun-god can draw the dead king up to heaven, it must be said of him: ‘The mouth of N. is pure, the Great Ennead have censèd N., and the tongue which is within his mouth is pure, and that N. abhors dung, N. puts urine far from him, N. abhors this. N. exeats not this abomination.’9

The purity demanded by the gods of the dead Pharaoh, according to the Pyramid Texts, was not incompatible with gross sensuality or flagrant impiety.10 Something more than the rejection of physical impurity was expected of him.11 From the time of the Vth dynasty onwards the claims made by the dead to moral integrity and purity become more and more prominent;12 the idea, perhaps, fullest expression in the Book of the Dead.

In ch. xxvi, the ‘Assertion of Sinlessness,’ among the many sins which the deceased claims to be innocent of are fornication, masturbation (‘Introduction,’ line 15), and adultery (‘Confession,’ line 20.

In their conceptions of moral purity and righteousness the Egyptians very rarely, at any stage of their religious development, lost sight of the sanitary observances in which they held their origin.

‘Let me pass,’ says the deceased to certain gods who block his way, ‘I have purified myself upon this great way, and I have put away my evil, I have banished wrong, I have driven to the earth the evil appetizing to my flesh.’13

There were several ways of attaining that purity upon which the welfare of the dead so entirely depended.

(a) Ceremonial acts performed by the deceased in his lifetime.—These acts, which had associated, or identified, him with certain divinities and so rendered him holy, were (i) the ceremonial purification by which the Lord cleansed the waters or pools (see V. 1 and 3 (b)); (ii) participation in the Osiris mysteries (see V. 8 (b)).

(b) Spells, asserting (i) that those acts had been performed;14 (ii) that all imputables were hereby avoided.15 By means of these potent formulae the things alleged, however untrue they might be, became actualities.16

(c) Abjuries performed after death by the deceased himself (i.) on earth: in the ‘water of

1 Pyr. 1320b.
2 Jb. 1320c.
4 Pyr. 771a-c: Book of the Dead, cxxxvi. 10.
5 Pyr. 7530.
6 Jb. 1141a, b.
8 Pyr. 1570: Deth.
9 Mariette, Religion and Thought, p. 177.
10 ib. p. 171 f.
12 Book of the Dead, cxxvii. 30-33, cxxv. (‘Conclusion’ 17-20), cxxv. postlim., 3, 8-10, 13 f., cxxvii. 13 f., and see below, 8 (c).
14 cf. Gardiner’s remarks on the commemorative voyage to Abydos (Deth., cf. ‘Introduction’ 14, 17-20, cxxvii. 15-19; cf. also Pyr. 92t, which describes the followers of Horus not only as washing the feet of Osiris, but also as reciting spells whereby he was rendered righteous and so might ascend to life and happiness (Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 171 f.).
Kherenra, the two pools at Herakleopolis Magna; in the other world he might, like the sun-god, cleanse himself in the Field or Pool of Eaur, or squat on a stone (cf. below, V, 7 b) beside the Pool of the God and wash his feet.

8. The pure incense, which was washed, sprinkled, sprinklings, fumigations, etc., possessed, therefore, a secondary, what we might term sacramental, significance; they both helped to reconstitute the deceased and, together with the food- and drink-offerings, which were supplied to the deceased while he lived, enabled him to continue his existence and to maintain unimpaired all his reconstituted faculties and powers.

9. The water with which the corpse or statue was washed or sprinkled was not merely cleansed from its impurities but brought together the head and bones and made the body complete (tm) in every particular. Accordingly effluents of water that flowed about the corpse of the dead User terminates in a large symbol of life, \( \sigma \) (see above, V, 1). With the offering of libation-water to the deceased is associated the offering to Re, the sun-god (hry) and his power (aou), and at the same time he is bidden to stand upon his feet and to gather together his bones.

10. In this way the dead might cleanse the head from all the evil that appertains to him, and make him strong and powerful above all gods.

11. For the divinity's virtuous function of the food- and drink-offerings see Breathed, Religion and Thought, p. 60.

12. The libation-water and libations and the libation of the deceased was reconstituted in the purifications that he underwent in the other world. After ablutions in the Field of Eaur he received this libation-water and libations (w'b-t) and other sacrifices were sprinkled and sprinkled over the deceased. The limbs which are in the womb of the sky-goddess. By the washings of Horus and Thoth and other divinities the dead was cleansed from all impurities, moral and physical, his body came together again or was entirely refashioned, and he was fit to enter heaven as the 20. Tui, under world.

4. Purification of divinities in the temple ritual. Owing to the influence of the Osiris myth, and to the fact that the Pharaoh was Horus and every god was conceived of as his father, the ceremonies performed at the temple of Eaur and tomb-chapel were in many respects identical. Every divinity, for cult purposes, was treated as an Osiris, and his or her statue was purified like that of a dead person—and for the same reasons.

When his statue was sprinkled, Anun was acclaimed not merely as pure but as reconstituted: 'Unite unto thee thy head, unite unto thee thy bones, make fast for thee thy head unto thy bones, which appears unto thee, and he whom that pure, pure is Anun, Lord of Karnak.' The libation-water also is 'life, libation-water is incense. Incense purifies the god and imbues him with life and vigour.'

5. Purity and purification of offerings to gods and dead.—(a) Purity. All offerings made to the gods and dead and everything used in their service, had to be pure.

The door-posts of temples often bear the following, or a similar, inscription: 'The offerings and all that enters the temple of such-and-such a divinity is pure.' The living pray that the mortuary equipment of the dead may consist of 'everything good and pure thing.'

References:

1 Book of the Dead, ch. xxi, 19 f.


3 Pyr. 1936, 1448 ff., 1431, 1430.

4 Book of the Dead, ch. xxi, 42.

5 Ch. Heroët, ii. 38.

6 Breathed, Religion and Thought, p. 103.

7 Pyr. 511; see vi. (a), 8 (b).

8 Pyr. 1593 f. Incense, like the water, is purificatory (ib. 1910, b, 20962 c, b), and upon a cloud of purifying incense smoke the deceased is wafted up to heaven (ib. 2002 f., cf. 3656).

9 Ib. 5193 f.; cf. 12474 f.

10 Pyr. 1870–18856.

11 Ib. 14282; see Sothe, op. Borchard, Grabkunden des Alten Reichs, v. 97.

12 Pyr. 18454, b.


14 Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, p. 55.

15 Ch. the employment of models (Book of the Dead (Pap. N.), 1913, p. 592), reconstituted the divinities (Junker, Die Stundenge- wachen in den Osterrömischen, Vienna, 1911, p. 87 f.) of; cf. G. Müller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, Leipzig, 1913, p. xvi.


17 Jasper, op. cit., p. 45.


20 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 52.


22 Jucker and Müller, loc. cit.; Book of the Dead, ch. xxi, 6–8.

23 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 53.


25 Griffith, Stütz, pl. i; Newberry, Deni Hasan, pl. xx, and passim on the funerary stele.
PURIFICATION (Egyptian)

Herodotus\(^1\) describes the measures taken to ensure the ceremonial purity of victims offered to the gods, and suggests that this concern formed a matter of supreme importance.\(^2\) The testing of at least funerary victims was customary as far back as the Old Kingdom.\(^3\)

\(\text{V} \text{I} 122\) A ritual introduction forbidding the officiating priest to offer a victim until he had received a written certificate of its purity.\(^4\) For an extant example of such a certificate, see \(U.\) Wilcken, Grundzüge und Christentum der Papyruskunde, Leipzig, 1912, ii. 'Chrestomathie,' p. 118, no. 89.

(b) Purification. — Offerings were purified by pouring libations over them and by funigilating them with incense.\(^5\) Virey (pl. xxv.) shows a lector pouring water over the carcases of a victiou, which a brother then begins to remember. Offerings presented to the dead could be washed or sprinkled with water containing natron, the purifying qualities of which were thus transmitted to the dead.\(^6\)

The purification of the offerings possessed the same significance as the other purificatory rites. As already seen (\(V\), p. the water used in lustrations and lustrations and liturgies,13 offerings were endowed with mysterious reconstructive powers. The soaking in the liquid, therefore, and the funigilation added to the alacrity of the body of the food, and without the formula of presentation was recited, the combined qualities were imparted simultaneously to the god's (or dead person's) soul.\(^14\) Purification, which was an essential step, was placed nobly first to be purified with water and incense.\(^5\)

The following formula shows that the water might contain natron: \(\text{V} \text{I} 81\) To purify the offering-stone (\(w\text{hdw}\)) with natron, with cool water (\(\text{k}t\text{w}t\)), with incense . . . for the ka of the Osiris \(\text{v}r\).\(^7\)

6. Purification of temples and of buildings used for religious ceremonies.—(a) Consecration of a new temple or shrine. — A new temple was solemnly purified before it was handed over to its divine owner. The two chapels or booths of Upper and Lower Egypt that figure in the funerary ceremonies appear to have been purified by having water sprinkled over them.\(^8\)

(b) Removal of purification. — It was sometimes thought advisable to purify a temple afresh. A certain Sekhechefkaf informs us that he was sent by Senosritu n. to purify the temples in the Theban temple 'for the sake of the pure purification of the month festival and the clean observance of the half-month festival.'\(^9\)

Purification would naturally be necessary after the proclamation of a temple or sacred city. The day after PiAnkh had taken Memphis by assault, he sent men into it to protect the temples of the god, hallowed (? the sanctuary and the statues of the gods, offered to the community of god (\(\text{d}t\text{d}r\)-\(\text{d}\)) of Heketpa, purified natron with water and incense.\(^10\) So also Mentemhet purified 'all the temples in the nome of all Pators, according as one should purify violated temples,'\(^11\) after the Assyrian invasion in 667 B.C.\(^12\)

7. Purity and purification of the priests.—The most characteristic mark of the priest, from the earliest days to the latest period, was his purity. This

\(a\) Ii, 281f.


\(3\) Otto, i. 62 f.

\(4\) Ii, 56s. pl. 666, 1896; Blackman, Derr, iii. xxxvi., Meir, ii. pl. x.; XXI xxi. 1901, 142, xlii. 1900, 67; see also Schiaparelli, L'Aile du Pharaon, Book of Opening the Mouth, ii. 94; Junker, Götterkulturbücher über das Abaton, pp. ii ff., 20, 20.

\(5\) Blackman, Meir, iii. 31f.; Pir, 11126, d.

\(6\) Junker, Götterkulturbücher über das Abaton, p. 141.

\(7\) Schiaparelli, ii. 157; Bridge, Book of Opening the Mouth, i. 901; Yirey, p. 125.

\(8\) Siehe Spätere antikes auf neuer Epochen, ii. 50.

The same formula occurs in Cairo, no. 20455 (H. O. Lange and H. Weigall, The Turin Papyrus: a Selection from the Ancient Records, Berlin, 1908, ii. 49), with the word 'natron' omitted.


\(10\) Virey, iii. p. 238.


\(12\) Egyptian Steke, iv. 7.

\(13\) Meteor, Urkunden, iii. 34 f.; Breasted, Ancient Records, iv. 565.

\(14\) Breasted, Ancient Records, iv. 905, 906.

\(15\) Breasted, Ancient Records, iv. 905, 906.
lector, possibly depict the cutting and cleaning of priests' fingers and toenails, and not, as has been suggested, surgical operations.

(f) Depilation. — Herodotus states that the priests in his day shaved their heads and body every third day for ceremonial purity. Depilation seems to be an ancient practice (see above III. 6). The depilation of a priest is perhaps depicted in the mastaba of 'Enkh-me'-hor (the priest of the temple of Osiris) in Egypt. The head and body of the priest is quite clean, but the hair of their body has been removed.14

(g) Shaving.—The clean-shaven head does not appear to have become the distinguishing mark of the Herodian caste till towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty. In the Greek-Roman period the regulations about the priests shaving their heads were very strict.7

(h) Dress.—From the time of the New Kingdom onwards, the priests seem to have been very particular in the matters of dress.8 As early as the IXth to Xth dynasties we learn that a priest during his period of service had to wear white sandals.9

(i) Circumcision. — See art. CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian), vol. iii. p. 670 ff.

8. Purity and purification of the laity. — (a) Purification before entering a temple or sacred place.—Until the Greek-Roman period we know practically nothing about the laws of purity of the lay people before entering a temple,10 but we may be certain that ablations of some sort were deemed necessary. There is possibly a reference to this practice in an inscription dating from the reign of King Tetti of the Vth dynasty.11 In the Old Kingdom it also appears to have been reckoned impious for those who had eaten an impure thing, beth,12 or who were still purifying themselves, m bau-sen,13 to approach the portrait-statue in a tomb-chapel, or indeed enter the building (cf. below, VI. 1). Ch. liv. of the 'Book of the Dead, line 46, speaks of a worshipper's hands as pure when praising the god. Herodotus says that a man had to discard his woolen cloak before entering a temple.14

Hero of Alexandria (i. c. 250 B.C.) says that 'spear-throwers' for the temple guards were kept by those who enter15 stood at the entrances to Egyptian temples.16 Perhaps we have examples of the paqepetria of Hero in some of the larger vessels of the Ptolemaic age, which, as the inscriptions show, came from temples, and which, apparently, were meant to hold water. Some of them are decorated on the inside with the symbols 𓊀𓊁𓊂, 'good fortune, life, stability', which are associated (see above, V. 9) with religious ablations.17

Hero also speaks of bronze wheels, which were apparently fixed to the doors of temples, and were turned by those entering, because it is thought that bronze cleanses.18 This is quite an un-Egyptian device, and was probably imported from the East.19 Von Bischoff describes what may be an actual bronze wheel as being given and drawn over by the worshipper.20

An inscription of the Ptolemaic period states that people who had become impure through sexual intercourse, birth, miscarriage, menstruation, etc., had to pay dues before being admitted into the temple.21 From this it is evident that Ptolemaic temples were apparently paid into a money-box (bygparps) at the entrance to the temple.22

A bronze wheel was sometimes, it seems, associated with the money-box. Amos Forten suggests that the worshipper drew the wheel when it was turned, and we also learn from Hero that bronze wheels were set up near the water-stoops. He therefore proposes to make a "coincidence of such a kind that when the wheel is turned the water runs out of it for the sprinkling."23 For further particulars as to these two contrivances, the former of which was a pen-in-the-slot machine worked by s-drachma pieces, the latter an ingenious swivel tap, see Rosch, Annales du Service des Antiquités, xi. (1911) 26.

(b) Purification in sacred waters and pools.—(i) Near Kherkeš (the Greek-Roman Babylon) there was a pool connected with the Heliopolitan sun-cult. In its waters the sun-god washed his face, and it was of advantage to mortal men to do the same.10

(ii) At Herakleopolis Magna there were two great pools in the precincts of the temple of Haršef, called the 'Pool of Natron' and the 'Pool of Ma'.24 The worshippers came and were washed in these pools and so were cleansed from their sins; their offerings were washed in them also.25

An official of the Satte period records that he built a wall 'round this pool.26

(iii) The water at the First Cataract, the traditional source of the Nile,27 was believed to be endowed with special cleansing properties, and therefore was used (or supposed to be used) for all the frictions and libations offered to the gods and the dead. The fact that the dead go there to be bathed by the goddess Satis28 suggests that the living also performed ablutions there.29

(c) The Osirian mysteries.—Participation in the Osirian mysteries30 was productive of religious purity, as suggested by certain statements in the Book of the Dead.

E.g., the deceased thus addresses the gods in the other world: 'I am pure of mouth, pure of hands, one to whom is said "Welcome," by these means do I give; for I have heard those words which the ass spake with the cat' (ccxxv. ['Conclusion'] 131). Again he says to his ka who stands in his way: 'I am pure; I am pure. I am pure. I am able to triumph against his foes' (cv. 8); see also i. 8, 10-11, cxxix. 10 ff.

9. Purification before going into battle.—Apparently the only reference to this custom in Egyptian writings is Pfr. 2190a-2191b, which says:

'Horus comes forth from Khnum. Butz Town arises for Horus, and he purifies himself there. Horus comes pure that he may avenge his father.'

i. 1, 22; Erman, ZA xxxviii. 53.
5. See Herod. ii. 64.
6. Otto i. 396, see also Edgar, loc. cit.
7. ZA, vii. 29, 30; ZA, xxx. 54.
8. ZA, xxxviii. 55; see also Otto, i. 397.
9. PсV. , see also Pierret. Ancient Records, i 780; cf. Book of the Dead, cxxix. 194; Pfr. 211-213; see V. 1 ff.
15. See Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 102.
17. Ibid. p. 29.
Purification (Greek).

VI. PURIFICATION AND MAGIC IN MAGIC.

1. The reciter of a spell and a magician must be pure. In the recitation of the Book of the Dead must be pure (ω' θ') and clean (τυρα). He must be clothed in the finest linen and shod with white sandals (cf. above, V. 7 (b)), have his eyes painted with stibium, and be anointed with the finest unguent.

The purity demanded of the reciter could be obtained by washing with water containing natron 1 or by washing and bathing in the sunlight, eating pure food, such as venison and fish, and sexual intercourse to be avoided. 3 In the case of one spell the reciter, and his servants also, are directed to purify themselves by washing and bathing with water containing natron. 4

To be successful in ‘spirit-gathering’ the magician must be pure.

In divination by the moon the magician, if a medium is not used, must be ‘pure for three days’. 2 In divination by a lamp without a medium the magician, who must be ‘pure from a woman’, is directed to lie down on green, i.e., fresh, reeds.

2. Purity of the medium.—In ‘spirit-gathering’ the medium must be a boy, pure, before he has gone to a woman. 3

3. Purity and purification of the objects used.—The papyrus upon which a spell is written must be pure. 4 The table used in ‘spirit-gathering’ is to be of olive-wood, having four feet, upon which no man’s foot ever sat. 5

In lamp-divination the lamp must be a white one ‘in which no mineral or gum-water has been put, its wick being clean;’ it is to be newly made for this viewing, and in then be set upon a new brick. 11 The Book of the Dead, ch. xxv., rubric, directs that the representation of the hall of the Two Truths be drawn upon a pure tile of porcelain fashioned of earth upon which no pigs or small cattle have trodden. The canopic (i.e. placed over the model of a boat used in a magical ceremony to be purified with natron and incense. 12

In Griffith-Thompson, xxvii. 4, we learn that the bronze vessel used in the same divination is to be washed with water of natron.

4. Purity and purification of the place where the ceremony was performed.—The place where the magic rite was to be performed must be clean. 10 Sometimes it had to be both ‘clean’ and ‘dark without light’, 14 and in addition must be purified with natron water 15 or sprinkled with ‘clean sand’ brought from the great river. 17 Furthermore, it is laid down that there is to be no cellar underneath it. 16

VII. PURITY OF THOSE WHO WISHED TO HAVE AUDIENCE OF THE PHARAOH.—In the Priest-Khete-Ste, lines 147–153, we are informed that of the four princes who came to the Pharaoh to pay homage three, being fish-eaters, were not admitted to the royal presence. Perhaps this scrupulousness on the part of Pharaoh is due to the fact that he had just been affiliated to the sun-god (see above, V. I (6)), to whom fish was evidently supposed to be an abomination. 19

Literature.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

Aylward M. Blackman.

1 Book of the Dead, ch. xx., rubric.
2 ib. xxxv., A, rubric.
3 ib. ch. lxv., rubric; cf. rubric of ch. xxv., and Priest-Khete-Ste, line 1814.; cf. v. 86 (b), VII.
4 Naville, P.S.A. iv. (1870) 16; see art. MANO (Egyptian).
6 ib. xxvi. 23. 
7 ib. v. 35.
8 ib. ill. xi, xxvii. 15
9 ib. ii. 26, ch. dead, ch. rubric.
10 Griffith-Thompson, iv. 11.
11 Griffith-Thompson, iv. 1.
12 Griffith-Thompson, iv. 20; see also xxvi. 21–25, xxvii. B, xxv. 8–18, xxix. 13–20.
14 Griffith-Thompson, iv. 3.
15 ib. vi. 1.
16 ib. v. 31., xvii. 23.
17 Cf. the mound of sand upon which the statue is to be placed for the ceremony of ‘opening the mouth’ (Davis-Gardiner, Tombs of Amenemhet, p. 88; Hodges, Book of Opening the Mouth, i. 9, 145, ii. 1f.). An Egyptian Muslim uses sand instead of water in his so-called prayer thanking God, if no water is obtainable (cf. art. PERSEPHONTES (Muslims)).
18 Griffith-Thompson x. 91.
19 ib. xxvi. 16-15.

Purification (Greek).—All the lower religions and most of the higher are concerned with the ritual of purification in its manifold forms; the higher are also deeply interested in purity as a spiritual ideal. The history of Greek religion falls into line with the general history of religions in that these respects—these purificatory, ritual agrees in essential respects with that of the other communities noted in the various sections of this article; it agrees also with the history of the higher religions in that a spiritual ideal, appealing to the more exalted or more sensitive part of the nature, emerged from this period. Nevertheless, the phenomena of Greek purification, the ideas and the value attaching to it, bear the impress of the unique temperament of the people, and especially illustrate the plan.cy with which the Greek communities could adapt the traditions of ritual to serve the purposes of legal and ethical development.

The student of this department of Greek religion is at once confronted by a chronological question that is also in a way an original one, for from what period and from what source did the cathartic system arise in Greece? It has been maintained that the whole of it was post-Homeric, and that in origin it was non-Hellenic, being derived from some Oriental or Anatolian source—e.g., from Lydia. 1

As early as the Homeric Hymn to Apollo there is a sound concernning it, and his silence is explained by his ignorance of any such ritual, which therefore could not have existed in the period when the poems were composed. But we have now learned that Homer's 'silence' has to be carefully and critically judged and interpreted before it can be accepted as certain evidence that what he is silent about did not exist in his time. Also the statement that the Homeric poems are wholly silent concerning the ritual of purification from some ignores the plain or the probable significance of certain texts. We read that Odysseus purifies his hall with fire and sulphur after the slaughter of the suitors; 2 we may suspect a religious sense of impurity as a motive, though we cannot prove it. But Hecker's words, 'It is not meet for a man stained with blood and grime to offer prayers to God', 3 cannot but be interpreted in relation to a contemporary simple rule of ceremonial purity—the same rule that two Greeks would wash his hands in lustral water before raising them in prayer to Zeus, 4 or to Telenchos to wash his hands in sea-water before praying to Athena. 5 Also, we find the νερός, or lustral water, the purificatory value of which cannot be doubted, a constant accompaniment of the Homeric sacrifice and libation. 6

Again, we should consider the purification of the Achaeans, the underlying reason why we cannot accept the view that the Achaeans were not a monotheistic nation and that the rituals of purification played no part in them. We cannot accept the view that the Achaeans were not a monotheistic nation and that the rituals of purification played no part in them. 7

1 G. Grote, (Hist. of Greece, 10 vols., London, 1888, i. 22; P. Stengel, Die griechischen Alterthümer, p. 314.
2 Od. xxii. 401 f.; 267 f. Od. ii. 229.
3 Od. ii. 501.
4 ο. p. 440, xxvii. 385; Od. iii. 440.
5 ι. i. 314; cf. the thrown into the sea of the slaughtered boar upon which the oath-curse had been laid (II. xix. 397f.).
modern anthropology, as in this important respect distinguishes the Greeks from the other peoples of the world. It is evident that the invaders from the north, whose blending with the southerners, the people of the Minoan culture, generated the Hellenes of history, brought with them their own cathartic ideas and practices; and the evidence of festivals recorded by the later Greek writers suggests that they found on the soil of Greece and in Crete a more elaborate system of the same significance and of immemorial antiquity.

But there is indeed a marked difference between Homer and the later Hellenic society, so far as that is mirrored in the Homeric poems, and the succeeding periods of Greek life; and this difference should be noted at the outset before we proceed to the details of the subject. If we call the people to whom those poems were originally addressed the Achaeans, we may venture to say that the Achaean consciousness took its cathartic duties, such as they were, very easily and lightly; on the other hand, the later Hellenic conscience became anxious and at times even sombre in regard to such matters. It was haunted by terrors of the ghostly world and by the feeling that certain acts, especially homicide, might arouse the wrath of unseen spirit-powers or ghosts, and that such dangers could be averted only by a cryptographic ritual of purification. There is a wide cleavage between the Achaean and the later Attic religious consciousness in this vital respect, as wide as that between the genius of Homer and the genius of Eschylus.

The later Greeks, just as and perhaps more than their predecessors, endowed the social-religious world, no shadow on the brightness of that early epoch. And nothing more vividly illustrates the moral light-heartedness of the Homeric world, so splendidly endowed in most respects, than its normal indifference concerning the consumption of human flesh. domicile, haunts of the ghostly world, and by the feeling that certain acts, especially homicide, might arouse the wrath of unseen spirit-powers or ghosts, and that such dangers could be averted only by a cryptographic ritual of purification. There is a wide cleavage between the Achaean and the later Attic religious consciousness in this vital respect, as wide as that between the genius of Homer and the genius of Eschylus.

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of a change in feeling is the citation of an incident in the *Aithiopis*, an epic poem by Arktonos of Miletos, composed probably near the close of the 8th century B.C. Theseus, for some reason or other, caused his kinsman of Thersites, slew him and was thereupon obliged to quit the army for a time and to retire to Lesboe, where he was purified by Apollo and Artemis.2 It is very doubtful if the poet of the *Iliad or Odyssey* would have any part in the story; for this kinsman was a Milesian, and at most only a degraded member of the same Aecean stock. Yet the Milesian poet feels that his homicide, however justifiable, deeply concerns the whole army and is a blot on its honor. Ideas must be purged out of the religious ritual at some distant place before he can safely resume fellowship with his compatriots. The legend represents, no doubt, the contemporary State law of Miletos, and exhibits that State as having advanced soon after its foundation beyond the stage of culture wherein homicide is only a matter of the blood-feud and the *xorgid* to the higher religious thought that the slaying of any member of the community brought a stain on the whole community. A whole nation, which it must protect itself. We are still very far from the establishment of advanced secular law; the various stages of progress in later Greece and the ideas that inspired and assisted it are obscure and difficult to trace. On one point we may form a certain hypothesis. As ideas of purity and religious impurity are closely related to natural sensations of horror and aversion, and in Greece as elsewhere these feelings were most strongly excited by the shedding of kindred blood, it is probable that this type of homicide was the first occasion for the institution of an elaborate ritual of purification. Some of the few legends concerning its origin and vogue convey this impression. Ixion, who slew his father-in-law treacherously, figures in Greek mythology as the first murderer, and he is also the first suppliant who is pitied and purified by Zeus *Ikeus*, the god who hears the prayer of the suppliant and outcast. Bellerophon was purified by King Proitos for the accidental slaying of his own brother; Theseus, who slew the monstrous Minotaur, was most justifiably, had to be purified from the stain, as Sinis happened to be his cons; and the typical exemplar of the divine law of purification is the *matricide Orestes*.3 But, if the law in origin linguistic, did it originally mean *the lustration of the soul*. At least, the only evidence that can be quoted of some such feeling is isolated and peculiar; the priest who slew the sacred ox in the Attic Bouphonia had to go for a time into exile; but this ox was a mystic, 'thesanthropic' animal, charged with the divine spirit of the altar, and the priest had shed divine blood; there is no reason to believe that at any time the Attic people regarded the slaughter of an ordinary ox as a heinous impurity. We may note also the fact that a certain altar of Apollo in Delos was specially called *ayvds*, 'the pure,' because the offerings and ritual were bloodless, no animal-sacrifice being allowed; this is no proof of ordinary Greek feeling, but suggests rather some peculiar sacerdotal development of thought concerning blood.

Not bloodshed alone, but any contact with death and the ghost-world was a strong source of im
y any evolution of the early post-Homerian epoch; and we may seek a more probable explanation in the increasing terror of the ghost-world; for we may infer that those who have the share in the religious ritual, confirmed by many legends, to suggest that this was more potent in the post-Homerian than in the Homerici and Myceenian periods. Given an intensified danger in the ancient world, as a necessary consequence of bloodshed, was the only safeguard both to the individual and to the community against the wrathful spirit of the slain, we can well understand the wide extension of the law, until it covered the slaying of a slave and, by a parallelism of phrase, might be the same. The misgivings emanating from a ghost was supposed to attach also to inanimate objects that had caused the death of a man; the civilized Attic law required that the axe which had slain the sacrificial ox of Zeus Hekatos should be formally tried and cast into the sea—a means of purging and purifying the land; solemn purification ceremonies were performed over the head of the bronze ox at Olympia that fell upon a boy and killed him.

This sensitiveness to bloodshed and death may become extravagant and morbid, and has at times evoked such strange vagaries of the religious law of purity as may half-paralyze the life of a community; but the Greek was saved from this by his moderate character. Of a certain sensibility, which protected him from the extreme logic of the view that all bloodshed was impure. We are not sure that any purification was imposed by Greek State law or social custom upon a man who had slain an alien in foreign lands; that would depend on his own sensitiveness or on his desire to be initiated at any of the great mysteries, which would demand a *katharsis* from such a stain. Nor have we any record proving or suggesting any rule, such as prevailed with stringency among the Hebrews or still more and with detrimental results among the Indian tribes of N. America, requiring the purification of the army returning from battle; the Greek soldier was probably content with an ordinary lustral washing, sufficient for the purposes of refinement. Nor, again, was the ordinary Greek troubled by over-sensitiveness in regard to the blood of animals shed for sport, for food, or for sacrifices; there is no hint that the butcher or, as a matter of fact, the owner of the animal that was killed for food, should be purified. The law, which as at least, the only evidence that can be quoted of some such feeling is isolated and peculiar; the priest who slew the sacred ox in the Attic Bouphonia had to go for a time into exile; but this ox was a mystic, 'thesanthropic' animal, charged with the divine spirit of the altar, and the priest had shed divine blood; there is no reason to believe that at any time the Attic people regarded the slaughter of an ordinary ox as a heinous impurity. We may note also the fact that a certain altar of Apollo in Delos was specially called *ayvds*, 'the pure,' because the offerings and ritual were bloodless, no animal-sacrifice being allowed; this is no proof of ordinary Greek feeling, but suggests rather some peculiar sacerdotal development of thought concerning blood.

2 Demosth. κ. Αρχοςτ. 76, p. 045; cf. OCS I. 561.
3 Panu. 82; cf. Paus. xvi. 13.
4 The Macedonian army was purified in spring before the campaign (Livy, xi. 6); a similar Boeotian custom described by Plutarch (Pepheus. 29) may have become general. Cf. Dind. 1211.
5 As regards the hunter, there is a passage in Arrian, Ἐνεργ. 32, recommending the purification of the hounds and the hunters after a hunt, with observance of ancestral rule; but the text is not well preserved.
6 See OCS, loc. cit.
7 Clem. Alex. Strom. 849 P; cf. OCS IV. 432, R. 276.
PURITY or μητεμα. The household to which the corpse belonged was impure; even the friends and others who attended the funeral were impure. In the tolerant Greek world this did not mean that they were guilty, merely boycotted, but only that they were unfit to approach the altar and to take part in divine service with others, also that it might be unlucky for them to carry on any serious business while in that state; Hesiod is our first witness to a period of mourning of far older date, for he mentions, in the following period, that it was unlucky for a man returning from a funeral to try to beget a child.1 The inscriptions and other evidence show that the period of impurity varied in the different states; at Lindos in Rhodes (in the time of Hadrion) it lasted for forty,2 at Eresos in Lesbos for twenty days.3 Those who merely attended the funeral were under the tabo for three days at Eresos, but at Pergamion they could recover purity on the same day as the beginning of purification.4 The fear of the ghost-world, implying a shrinking of vitality in the living and a general sense of bad luck abroad, explains much of the funeral ceremonies of the Greeks, which show indeed the desire to please the ghost and to assure it of the family affection, but at the same time the determination to keep it at a distance and especially to prevent it following the mourners back to the house; one day of the Attic Anthesthria was devoted to an All Souls' celebration, when the spirits of the dead kindred were formally invited to an entertainment within the houses, but great care was taken to purify the dwellings at the end and to effect a complete riddance of them;5 meantime the whole day was μακρόι, impure and unlucky. The same feeling explains the elaborate ritual to which θαύμα must submit, the person who had been reported to be dead and had had funeral ceremonies performed over him and was then found to be alive and desirous of returning; society was afraid of such a person, and yet at the same time due to beget a child.6 The presence of the matricide Orestes was supposed to pollute the Taurie image of Artemis, which therefore needed washing in the sea.7 Another momentous crisis was the foundation of a new city, and we have some indication that the ground was first carefully purified so that the settlement might start under good auspices purged from evil demoniac agencies.8

The gravest crisis of all was one that was only too frequent in the life of the Greek states—the outbreak of civic massacre, when kindred blood was shed, the sense of guilt weighed on the citizens, and it was feared that a man might be changed into one or more of wrathful ghosts. This was the condition of things at Athens in the 6th cent. B.C., when Kylon and his adherents had been sacrilegiously slain, and the people appealed to the aid of the Cretan prophet Epimenes, who came over and purified the whole city, the fields, and the homesteads; the reconstruction of this historic event lingered late in Attic tradition and gave rise to the erroneous belief that it was this prophet who first taught the Athenians the ritual of purification and its value.9 As will appear from a careful inspection of the sources, there is evidence that the Greeks, like other primitive and advanced peoples, regarded the act as an occasional source of impurity and held the belief that abstinence had a certain value and efficacy for some religious or magical ritual. A deeper and more interesting question arises when we consider purity in the abstract and the Greek view of chastity as a religious duty and ideal. The law of purification in this matter was very simple and easy; such an act was supposed to render the person unclean in the religious sense, but the uncleanness could be immediately removed by washing and anointing, and some temple codes might allow the person to approach the altar on the same day, others might impose a tabo of one day or even more; for the case of the mysteries and for certain lengthy ceremonial such as the Thesmophoria a longer abstinence might be required. In the later inscriptive records we are interested to mark the glimmer of an ethical idea; for the impurity is regarded as greater and the period of tabo imposed longer in the case of irregular and lawless indulgence;10 and by Attic law the adulterers was permanently excluded from temple worship.11 But, on the whole, the temple rules in regard to this act are confusing and at times inconsistent. The idea of a superstition arising from a primeval feeling that has evolved our modern social laws of decency; and the non-ethical standpoint is sufficiently revealed in some of the special rules and some of the phrases used in temple writings; in the inscription from Eresos a longer tabo is imposed in

1 CIG I. 351 f.
2 The impurity of the stranger is illustrated by the phrase in Greek ritual inscriptions, ἱερὸ ὄν θείας.
3 Pindar, Oly. IV. 117.
4 CIG exi. [1913] 90.
5 Dig. Laet. 1. § 110. Crete was from time immemorial the principal home of the Chthonic rite; Apollo had resolved thither to be purified, and an Orphic sect with a punicistic code of purity had been established there.
6 C.F. Dittenberger, nos. 569, 567.
7 Demott. A. Nos. 89–97; cf. Stoebner, Flor. 74, § 40 (Melos, 6, 64).
8 Works and Days. 745.
9 Porphyry, de Abst. II. 44.
10 Abst. 383 L.
11 Abst. 214.242.
12 Cf. Demost. A. Nos. 89–97; cf. Stoebner, Flor. 74, § 40 (Melos, 6, 64).
of loss of virginity than in any other sex-indulgence, and in the rules of bygela, or 'purity,' handed down to the altar of Zeus Kybele and Artemis Kybele at Delos the prescription of temporary chastity was put on the same footing with abstinence from salt-fish and meat. The priest was concerned, not with society in general, but with the purification of the temple. Therefore the sexual act, by which a stain was incurred that must be washed off before the person could safely approach the altar, became insurmountably more heinous if committed within the precincts of the temple; in the Greek legends that relate such exceptional incidents the whole community suffers divine punishment until expiation is made.

The same feeling was attached to the law, which is practically universal, against the defilement of the temple or the temple-precincts with the evacuations of the human body; and some of the sacred codes carefully prescribed the entrance of cattle into the τέμενος for the same reason. It may also explain the rule prevailing in some of the Greek temples against the wearing of sandals in the holy place, the rule which is universal in Muslim communities; the source of it may be sought in the fact that the sandals are made of the skins of dead animals and that therefore they bring the impurity of death into the shrine.

From the same prompting of primeval feeling, child-birth has been generally regarded as a strong source of impurity to both the woman and the man of the house, not because it is the result of the sexual act, but because of its concomitant and the awe attaching to it; nor did the civilized Hellenic societies differ in this respect from the savage, though their tabus and rules of purification were much milder and easier. Such an event was not likely to happen within the temple itself: but we are familiar with the law that required the removal from Delos of any woman who was approaching her time, lest the island of the pure god should be polluted. The ordinary temple codes would be concerned only to prescribe the period during which the woman should be in tabu after travail; it is noteworthy that in one example we find the abnormally long period of forty days imposed in the case of miscarriage, the more unnatural event producing the greater stringency of stricture. As to the woman, the idea of religious uncleanness is so closely linked. In the ἱεροπόρος of the Greek temples we might have expected to find under this head some rule of tabu concerning menstruous women, about whom the code of Leviticus is anxiously severe; but no direct evidence touching this matter has yet been found, and probably none will be; for the Greek religious mind was more easy and tolerant than the Hebrew, and the vast number of Greek priestesses would have the application of any such rule very difficult.

As regards impure food, the Greek world was happily free from the severe scrupulosity of some other religious laws. For the distinction between clean and unclean animals natural to the Greek mind; the Greek inscriptions that preserve certain temple laws only indicate that it was desirable, in order to attain the bygela necessary for participation in religious service, to abstain for a short time beforehand from certain foods. In the case of the various codes probably did not agree in determining, and it would be hard to find a common principle explaining all. In some we seem to detect the natural feeling that foods which left an unpleasant taste or attacked to the person ought to be avoided before worship; hence would arise a tabus on pea-soup, salt-fish, cheese, and garlic; for evil smells have much to do with the sense of uncleanness and with the belief in the presence of evil spirits. Again, the rule sometimes enjoined abstinence from certain animals because they were specially dear to the divinity, and the question of the origin of such rules involves a discussion of totemism (q.v.).

As speech suggests action, it was natural that the same law should apply to foul speech as to impure act, and that evil words should be considered to mar the purity of the divine service; hence the universal Greek rule that before the sacrifice began the command for νομοποίησις should be proclaimed to the people; this word, at first meaning 'auspicious speech,' became indirectly a synonym for 'silence;' for, as it was difficult for each member in a vast concourse to be sure what word was auspicious and what not, it was best for general silence.

In accordance with the same idea, the purity of the ritual would be disturbed if any quarrelling or altercation arose, for quarrelling suggests bloodshed. Hence during festivals of exceptional solemnity, such as the Eleusinia, by Attic religious law no legal action was thought to be taken, no creditor could distrain, even a person aggrieved by the State might not lay a suppliant-bough on the altar; for all this implied strife.

2. The means of purification.—The means of purification are of two kinds, (a) mechanical, and (b) religious or quasi-religious; and the two may be used together. Among the former we find in Greece, as elsewhere, such natural purgative media as water, fire, sunlight. To the examples already mentioned we may now add the additional custom of purifying the bride with water from the sacred spring before the marriage ceremony. It is not clear that there was any ceremonial purification of the new-born infant with water equivalent to our baptism. The need was fulfilled some days after birth by an interesting ceremony called Μαινιδώρης, 'the running around,' in which the new-born infant was carried at a running pace round the fire of the domestic hearth; and with this we may compare the Eleusinian legend that the goddess Demeter is said to have purged away by fire the impure and mortal parts of her fostering Demophon. The use of fire in certain Greek rituals, such as that of the Menaids who sprang through the fields with torches, may be supposed to have had the cathartic effect of purging evil influences from evil persons.

Dittenberger, nos. 564 (inscr. from Delos, wine labeled), 567 (Lindos, pea-soup, goats' flesh, cheese), 663 (Sounion, Men. Tyrran- nus, garlic and pork, 'celestial influence'); Propert-Ziegen, ii. 1, no. 41 (Delos, shrines of Artemis, goat flesh); id., no. 51 (Delos, shrine of Artemis, goat flesh forbidden), no. 92 (Delos, shrine of Artemis, salt-fish). The rules of (a) bygela in the mysteries were much severer than in ordinary cults—cf. Adel. 4, 116, Aristoph., Orn. Corsich. iv, 556 (Relake).

2 Ch. xi. 35; J. ii. 12, 13; Arist. Thesm. 394; Eur. Hec. 530.

3 Or. Dict. v. 110; cf. Demost. x. 9, 10; id., 110, p. 517; cf. schol. Demosthenes, 22, 68 (L. R. Farnell, Greece and Baby- lon, 2, 527).

4 Schol. Pind. Ol. 5, 58.


6 Hom. Iliad, 239-331.
though other explanations are possible, and we are told that the torch was used in the purification of cities. The idea of the purity of fire is strikingly illustrated by the annual rite practised by some of the Greek states of renewing the purity of their hearth-fires, both public and private, by bringing new fire from some specially pure source, such as the altar of Apollo at Delos or of Hephaistos in the Academy at Athens.  

The most important form of the sacrificial, as a mode of purifying the air by fumigation, which Greece adopted from Assyria in the 8th cent. B.C., had in the East a strong cathartic power against demons, who are generally supposed to be attracted by evil smells and banished by good; and, though its pleasing odour would cause it to be maintained merely as an attractive concomitant of worship, we may believe that at least the earlier Greeks were aware of its original significance.  

Fumigation by sulphur had an obvious purificatory value; for, though its odour is not pleasant in itself, its pungency is such as to overpower other smells which might be dangerous; hence Homer calls it κακῶς ἄκος, 'a healing of evils.'  

The boughs of certain trees, probably on account of the picturesque value of possessing a cathartic value, such as the laurel at Delphi, which Apollo was supposed to have brought back from Tempe after his purification there from the blood of the Python,  

the withy-bough, or λαύς, which the Attic women used in purifying new oaths in the Thesmophoria,  

and especially the squill, or σκίάλα, which was used in the general purification of cities and for beating the scapegoat in the Thargelia,  

a ritual of purification or expulsion of evil; therefore the Arcadian rite in which the image of Pan was carried in procession by women who sang no doubt may be interpreted as cathartic.  

When the Athenians on one day in the Anthestria stuck branches of backthorn at the entrances of their houses, this was a mechanical means of purification, its object being to keep out ghosts;  

for its thorns would naturally harass the ghost, as would the sticky pitch with which the citizens at the same time smeared their doorposts.  

Thunder-stones in certain religious circles had a recognized cathartic value, which their mysterious origin or the mysterious powers which their colour, their force, or their shape would naturally attach to them. Perhaps it was a stone of this kind that, according to a Boeotian legend, Athene dashed at Herakles to cleanse him of his madness after he had slain his children.  

The formula of an Arcadian story about the sacred stone called Ζeus Κακωστός, evidently from its name meteoric, by sitting on which Orestes was healed from his madness.  

There is some evidence that gold, the pure and bright metal, was regarded as purificatory;  

also among the mechanical cathartic media we must include amulets, which were as much in vogue in the later periods of classical antiquity for keeping ghosts and evil spirits at a distance as they were in Christendom; some of the Greek types, such as the φαλάκρα and the pointed finger have the connexion with religion; others might be carried in the form of divinities, but their working was mechanical magic.  

The other type of purificatory methods consists of those that may with more right be called religious, as connected directly and indirectly with the worship of the divinities or with their influence. The use of certain animals—their blood or skin or both—was perhaps the most constant method of purification from bloodshed and other taints. The fleece of the ram offered to Zeus Μυκήων, the god who had specially to be appeased when kindred blood had been shed, was used for the purification of the catechumens at Eleusis, upon whom the stain of blood rested and who knelt on the fleece of God,' the Δοξ κάθωσ— as it was called—while the purification ceremony was performed over them. In the mysteries of Andania we hear of the 'ram of goodly colour' used for the purification of the initiates.  

Plague might be averted from a city by a priest carrying round its walls the ram of Hermes. But the most usual animal employed for purification was the pig, of special potency in the Eleusinian mysteries. The Athenians in assembly was purified before its meeting by a ceremonial procession of little pigs; and no other purification was of such avail for the homicide as pig's blood. Hence on one vase representation we see Apollo himself purifying Orestes by holding over his head the sacrificed bleeding ram.  

Now, we have strong evidence that in the magic rites of purification practised by many modern savage societies the blood of animals—the goat, the bullock, or swine—has an intrinsic mysterious potency itself, wholly unconnected with sacrificial or divine worship; and this primitive feeling may have survived here and there in historic Greece. But that this is in general a sufficient explanation of the Greek ceremonies is not credible. A new-born pig's blood in Hellenic purifications were suggested by their intimate sacrificial association with the high god and the great goddesses and powers of the lower world; just as the αἴγις, or goat-skin, of Athens, wherewith her priestess at Athens visited the newly-married couples for cathartic or fertilizing purposes, derived its efficacy from its contact with Athene. In Hellas the pig was the sacred animal of Demeter and Kore, the powers of the world of spirits; the pig's blood was charged with a portion of their divinity, and therefore the homicide who had offended those powers could recover grace by its contact, in fact by a sort of communion with them.  

A different type of communion, serving a cathartic purpose, is suggested by a record of Phintarch that at Argos the period of mourning for a death in the family lasted thirty days, and that at the end of that time the mourners regained their original status by a sacrifice to Apollo; we may interpret this to mean that by communion with the pure god they finally wiped off their impurity.  

It has been observed that cathartic features, often overlaid and obscured by other accretions, attached to some of the complex Greek festivals; the Thargelia at Athens and elsewhere is an example. The goat, which was its central act, effected a καθάρσις of the whole community from sin and other evil. Another curious but not unique accomplishment of certain Hellenic ritual and festivals was the employment of curses, ribaldry, satire, and abuse.  

1 Dio Chrys. ii. 144 (Dind.  
2 See above, p. 455.  
3 Fausse., Gérard, 233.  
4 See above, p. 426, note 2; cf. Theocr. Id. xxiv. 94 f.  
5 OGS iv. 294 f.  
6 Dio Chrys. loc. cit.; Festza. Chilid. v. 790.  
7 Theocr. Id. vii. 106 f.  
8 Phot. e. Masp. ἡμέρα.  
10 The stone was called σώφρονιστής, 'the restorer of reason.'  
11 Paus. i. 14.  
12 See A.W. (1907) 402 (inscr. from Kos, 3rd cent. B.C.—the priestess of Demeter to purge herself from any pollution αὑτής).  
14 OGS iv. 265-266.
in the solemn procession along the sacred way to
Eleusis the aspirants to the mysteries were ceremo-
nially abused and ridiculed by the crowd at one
point; in the Thesmophoria the men abused the
women and the women the men; and that such
leading had a cathartic purificative influence; the
smelling of ρυγια or of evil spirits—is a reasonable
theory confirmed by a text in Suidas that the
people of Alexandria in old days purged the city
of ghosts by going round in wagons to the doors of
the houses and purifying them with the spitting of
the individuals within. This humorous pro-
cEDURE may be regarded as a kind of vicarious
confection; the cathartic character of confession
has been long recognized, but confession in our
sense, a private and personal revelation of one's sins to
a priest, was alien to the old religious system of
Greece. The purgative value of personal satire
may have been one motive for its dramatic de-
velopment in the Dionysiac festivals.

The religious aspect of the Greek system of puri-
fication was further emphasized by its close associa-
tion with certain high divinities, especially Zeus
Nicandros and Apollo of Delphi. The former deity
belongs to the older stratum of Greek religion, but
retained his function of granting or withholding
purification and purificative grace throughout the
whole of antiquity. The Delphic-Apolline καθάρσις
has been a subject of much dis-
sertation and cannot be even summarized here.
But it may be noted that it was the claim of the
Apollo was purged to deal with the question of
purification from bloodshed that led to the estab-
lishment of one of the most important law-courts
in Athens to deal with the plea of justifiable holi-
micide, whereby the civilized Athenian State ap-
proached the legislative form. Though power was thus
taken out of the hands of the priesthood, the secular court at Athens
that dealt with homicide remained strikingly religious
in their procedure; and it is mainly their strong
infusion of cathartic ideas concerning the massas
of blood that differentiates them from the modern
tribunal.

A side question that may be glanced at under
this section is whether Greek feeling about in-
purity was always associated with a belief in
gnostic purificative restraint. The question is
important because an overstrong susceptibility
to the terrors of the demon world can vitally affect
the religious and scientific development of a race.
We have seen that the sense of the impurity of
bloodshed in Greece was connected with the fear
of the ghost and that ghosts made a household
impure; but we have no reason to believe that
this fear or any clear belief in evil demons ac-
counted to the Greek of the 'classical' period for
the other sources of impurity. It is true that
Porphyry declares that the chief motive for the
various ἔγρευς, or methods for obtaining purity,
was to drive away the evil spirits which clung
to certain kinds of food. But Porphyry is no true
witness for the earlier Greek thought, as he repre-
sents the later demonology that swept over the
Mediterranean world from the East and found
expression in Neo-Platonism and the Hermetic
literature. But in the earlier Hellenic spiritual
world there was no true dualism of good and evil
spirits; there was the Orphic θεραπευτής, who cleared
centuries ghost-ridden or demon-ridden or much
dependent on the exorcist for his peace of mind;
and this is one of the most salient differences
between Greece and Babylon.

3. The idea of purity.—It remains to consider
briefly certain religious and moral aspects of the
idea of purity. This was expressed by the Greek
ἐγρευτική, meant originally a state of the body
and the person that fitted an individual for commu-
nication with the deity, and this state could be
obtained by certain ceremonies and abstinences.
It was required with peculiar insistence in the Greek
priesthood, as a condition of participation in
the greater mysteries, which offered to the
initiated the promise of posthumous happiness.
Hence the idea could gain ground that a state of
purity, as it qualified a person in this world for
divine fellowship, might also be a sufficient
means of grace and salvation in the next. It was
the Orphic sects that developed this view with
the greatest zeal in Greece. They preached and prac-
ticed a specially stringent code of abstinences,
and based on this their claim to happiness in the
next world. The θυρυγια ἐκ καθάρσιος was the Orphic
password in the portals of Hades—'I come from
the pure.' But most of our ancient evidence
concerning Orphism suggests a ceremonial and
'Pharisaic' purity, rather than an ethical, and an
implied ascetic prejudice which demanded personal
separation for the separate burying-ground for the
avatars. And we cannot allege that it was wholly or mainly from
their influence that the ideal of purity of soul per-
meated at last the higher mind of Greece. Its
earliest testimony is in the 6th cent. B.C., a phrase of Epicarvmos,
'If thy mind is pure, thou art
pure in all thy body'; and the elevated ethical
thought that purity of soul was of more avail than
all lustration and mere washing of hands was pro-
duced in the Delphic-Apolline καθάρσις of ancient
Greek literature near the beginning of our era; and
even some of the later codes of temple ritual
adopted it in their formulæ. This 'purity of heart'
commenced to the Greek the absence of any
stain on the conscience and of evil purpose or thought; it is important to note that the idea of
sexual purity, which is often the sole significance of our English word, was not the dominant idea
in the Greek ἔγρευς. The Greek philosophers and
ethical teachers, who preached σωφρωσύνη, or self-
restraint, did not attach so great importance to
such occasional chastity under special circumstances, as never preached chastity in general as an ideal of
life. The Greek priest and priestess were usually
married; chastity was enforced very rarely upon the
priest, and not upon the priestess, who required
occasional chastity upon special occasions, and
whose position was only temporary. The Greek priest
had to be of unblemished body, and led the normal
life of a citizen; the eunuch played no part in
Greek religion, which was saved by its sanity from
the morbid anti-sexual excesses of the Phrygian.
Even the worship of Artemis, apart from its myth-
ology, could not and did not attempt to establish
among the Hellenic people any conception of the
chastity life as spiritually more perfect and
dearer to God.

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1 See Farnell, Greece and Babylon, pp. 296-308.
2 J. E. Harrison, Procopemona to the Study of Greek Religion,
Cambridge, 1896, pp. 204-205.
3 Income of Farnell, Evolution of Religion, London, 1905,
p. 151.
4 Ibid., p. 151.

5 Ibid., p. 204-205.
7 See Farnell, Evolution of Religion, p. 204 ff.
8 E. O. Prebisch, Die Propheten der Religionskritik, Unterv
sucbungen, ix. (1826) 5; Anth. Phil., Adolph, cxxxix; CIG, Ins.
Mar. Agi. L. 789; Dittenberger, ii. 583.
PURIFICATION (Hebrew).—The term 'purification' is applied to those ritual observances by means of which Israelite was, absolved from the taint of uncleanness. This article deals exclusively with the Jewish laws and customs relating to purification; to estimate the methods by which the Israelite probably reached his conception of it, it will be necessary to refer to the other articles in this series.

W. Robertson Smith ('The Religion of the Semite,' London, 1894, p. 425 f.) points out that, 'primarily, purification means the application to the person of some medium which removes a taint or impurity or defilement or infection peculiar to the individual or to the ordinary life of his fellows'; he shows that the normal life of the holy people was a holy life. When a person used purificatory rites it was not to tone down, to the level of ordinary life, the excessive holiness conveyed by contact with sacramental things, but rather to impart to one who has lost it the measure of sanctity that puts him on the level of ordinary social life. 'Speaking of blood as being one of the media of purification, he says (p. 427): 'In the most primitive form of the sacrificial idea the blood of the sacrifice is not employed to wash away an impurity, but to convey to the worshipper a particle of holy life. The conception of purificatory media as purificatory, however, involves the notion that the holy medium not only adds something to the worshipper's life, and refreshes its sanctity, but expels from him something that is impure.'

We must first consider in what ways the uncleanness was produced or contracted, and then the observances by which purification was effected. And we shall see that there were ritual ordinances in connection both to persons and things and to a land defiled.

I. Uncleanness and its penalties.—Uncleanness was contracted in various ways.

(a) Sexual uncleanness, in the functions of reproduction (Lv 15:1-51), by issues in both sexes (Lv 15:15), in menstruation.

The functions of reproduction 'early excited the superstitious awe of mankind, who invested the organs and their activities with mysterious powers. Sexual intercourse was widely regarded as producing uncleanness' (A. S. Peake, in HDB, iv. 827). The period of separation lasted seven days, and the uncleanness was communicated to the bed or seat, contact with either produced uncleanness. Whenever the evening washing, the washing of the body and clothes (Lv 15:18, 22 S 11:19).

It is worth observing that 'holiness' and 'uncleanness' were regarded as infections and demanded similar ritual purification, and instances occur in which a condition of uncleanness necessitated absences which resembled in all respects the uncleanness to the approach of Jehovah at the giving of the Law (Ex 19:10); the holy bread of the sanctuary could be eaten by David's men in 1 S 21 only if they had strictly observed this abstinence; and the same regulation applied to men on active military service, for war was regarded as a sacred act (cf. the expression נַעֲלֵי בָּדָן [Jer 6:4 22 5127]), from the custom of opening a campaign by sacrifice). The same idea obtains probably in the case of the first year of marriage, when a man was absolved from military service (cf. Lk 14:2), and in Uriah's refusal in 2 S 11:8 to obey the king's order. In ordinary cases the uncleanness lasted till the evening (Lv 11:152), but in menstruation, at the end of seven days from the cessation of the symptom, in the evening, the candidate for purification performed an ablation both of the person and of the garments, and on the eighth offered two turtle doves or two young pigeons, one for a sin-offering, the other for a burnt-offering. Two methods of purification applied to males with abnormal issues. And so infectious was the condition in such cases that contact with such persons or contact with their clothing or furniture involved uncleanness as a sanctified ablation on the day of the infection.

In lesser cases of illness, such as gonorrhea dormientium in males, a condition of uncleanness was involved until the evening, and

the ablation of the person and of the defiled garments was necessary.

(b) in childbirth, J. G. Frazer (GB, London, 1900, iii. 463) inform us that 'women after childbirth and their offspring are more or less tabooed all the world over.' With regard to purification after childbirth, a difference was made between the birth of a boy and that of a girl; in the case of the latter the period of uncleanness was doubled, as it was commonly held that in this case the symptoms of infection continued much longer. In the case of the birth of a boy the mother is unclean for a week, during which time she would be suffering from menstruation. In the case of the birth of a girl, 'in the blood of her purifying' for thirty-three days (during the latter period she would not presumably be infectious). During the whole forty days 'she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary.' At the expiration of the forty days she was required to offer a yearling lamb for a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon or turtle-dove for a sin-offering. In the case of poverty she was permitted to substitute a second pigeon or turtle-dove (e.g., Lk 2:24, Lk 12:1).

(c) Contact with uncleanness.—In contact with uncleanness was not to touch with the hand, or to carry a carcass involved, besides uncleanness till the evening, the necessity of washing the clothes, and in some cases (Lv 17:2), the washing of the person. In the case of a Nazirite coming in contact with uncleanness, it was necessary to shave the head, and to offer two turtle-doves, for a sin-offering and for a burnt-offering, and a lamb for a trespass-offering.

(2) Caused by contact with one unclean by the dead (Nu 19:11, Hag 2:13), or by contact with one unclean from whatever cause (Lv 5:22), or with some thing unclean (222). The purificatory observances in these cases involved the ordinary condition of uncleanness until the evening, the confession of guilt, and the offering of a trespass-sin offering.

(3) Caused by contact with creeping things (222) or by eating creeping things, or with certain animals which were always unclean (1160: 'every beast which divideth the hoof, and is not cloven footed, and which taketh not its vomit backward, the same is unclean to you'). The purification in these cases was principally that of remaining unclean until the evening.

(4) Caused by leprosy. The full regulations are dealt with in Lv 13 and 14, in regard to the disease in the person, the garments, and the house.

The ceremonial of purification consisted of various elements.

(a) After the examination by the priest, two living birds were to be brought, together with a rod of cedar (juniper)-wood, scarlet wool, and hyssop; one bird was to be killed over water from a running stream, and the leper was to be sprinkled seven times with the blood of the bird, signifying the new life imparted to one who was regarded as 'dead,' and the living bird was to be released, a symbol of the removal of the evil.

(b) The washing of the clothes, shaving off all the hair, and bathing. It was also necessary to remain outside the house for seven days, and the shaving and ablutions were also repeated.

(c) On the 5th day the final offering was made at the 'tent of meeting,' consisting of (i) a guilt-offering, (ii) a sin-offering, (iii) a burnt-offering, (iv) the purified leper by the priest placing oil on parts of the body and pouring on his head. 'This offering was a reparation to God for the defilement of the leper, and was offered during the seventh day, when the leper was held ceremonially pure. Into the blood of the victim (a lamb) and the oil being symbols of the sanctuary and consecration (Lv 8:12, 13). Reasoning from Le 14:8; iii. 18); (ii) a ewe-lamb as a sin-offering before readmission into the congregation; (iii) a ewe-lamb as a burnt-offering, and (iv) an bearing provision was made for the poor by the substitution of doves for the lambs, and a reduction in the quantity of the flour for the meal-offering.

(d) Uncleanness in religious matters.—Uncleanness might be caused by idols (Ezk 22:26), conceived
as whoredom (Hos 5:3, Ezek 39:22), by necromancers (Lv 19:1), or by sacrificing children to idols (Ps 106:37-39). The prohibition rings out clearly in such cases, but it is often disregarded. But what is the purification? Jahweh takes the matter into his own hands; the only purification possible is punitive; such sins need the smelting in the furnace of Jahweh's wrath; 'And ye shall know that I the Lord have poured out my fury upon you' (Ezk 22:2). Sacred places were also defiled by sin (2 Kgs 23:8, 25:4), and Jahweh 'defiled' him thereby, and made him desolate to the end that Israel might 'know' Jahweh. Josiah 'defiled' the idolatrous places of worship by destroying them and making them unfit for use (2 Kgs 21:20).

Death, stoning, excommunication, the opposition of the face of Jahweh, could be the only purification.

c) Uncleanliness of land or country.—Again, a land or country is defiled by the sexual impurities of the people, by spiritual whoredom (Ezk 22:4). Israel is warned repeatedly against this contamination: it was the sin of the nations driven out by Jahweh; Israel had been and will be visited for such, and the very land itself 'vomited out her inhabitants.' The assiduous practice of idolatry was an abomination in the remembrance that Jahweh is their God, and the purifying punishment is the cutting off of the souls from among the elect people, and the raising up of the divine instruments of judgment, the Babylonians, etc. It was accompanied by the shedding of innocent blood (Nu 35:34).

The purifying punishment of the land is the shedding of the blood of the murderer; the land is sacred because Jahweh dwells among His people; there can be no expiation, except by the shedding of the murderer's blood. A land may not be defiled by allowing a murderer to hang upon the tree all night; the body should be buried on the day of execution; the land is sacred because it is the inheritance of the people sacred to Jahweh (Dt 21:21 ff.). A land was defiled by idolatrous practices (Jer 2:7, Ezek 36:39); it was a goodly land that Israel had inherited, and the people, priests, and rulers had made it an abomination by idolatry; their way was before men; they had forsaken the word of the Lord's servant, and the land was cursed by its rejection of Yahweh.

2. Purificatory media.—We have seen that there are various media of purification, and various acts of ritual to be observed. Speaking of cathartic sacrificial washings, Robertson Smith says:

'Purifications are performed by the use of any of the physical means that re-establish normal relations with the deity and the congregation of his worshippers—in short, by contact with something that contains and can impart a divine virtue. For ordinary purposes the use of living water may suffice, for, as we know, there is a sacred principle in such water. But the most powerful cleansing media are necessarily derived from the blood and blood of sacrificial victims, and the forms of purificatory embrace such rites as the sprinkling of sacrificial blood or ashes on the person, anointing with holy unguents, or incense, or sometimes anointing with holy-lived-in oil, that is, the ashes of the burnt-offering, or of the heathen, were the purifying, purifying remedies.

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With these physical media of purification, and with the use of living water, blood, ashes, herbs, incense, oil, shaving the hair, seclusion, confession, and punitive destruction.

(a) Water.—In regard to water it should be observed that rivers, wells, and streams are often found near sanctuaries in Arabia, Phoenicia, and Syria.

Robertson Smith points out (p. 173) that 'the one general principle which runs through all the varieties of the legends [about sacred waters], and which also lies at the basis of the ritual, is that the sacred waters are instinct with divine life and its purifying and sanctifying power. In its highest sense, the stream comes to be impregnated, so to speak, with the vital energy of the deity; the object in its drinking is to be cleansed of the defilements of sin. The stream is thus a life-giving power, to the primary conception of uncleanness is that of a dangerous infection. Washings and purifications play a great part in Semitic ritual, and were performed with living water, which was as such sacred in some degree.'

(b) Blood.—For the cathartic nature of blood reference should be made to art. SACRIFICE. Here we need only quote the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews (9:24): 'Without shedding of blood is no remission.'

c) Incense.—For incense used in purification see above, and Robertson Smith, p. 428 ff. Cf. Nu 19:17 (RV, 1894) for its atoning efficacy.

d) Confession.—For instances of confession cf. 1 Kgs 8:50, Ps 32:7, Pr 25:11, Ezr 10:12, Neh 9:5, Dan 9, Lv 16:9 (P) 20:7 (8), Nu 5:4 (P), Lv 5:1 (P), Neh 10:5, Hos 7:19, and especially the ceremony of the scapegoat (Lev 16:22; Nu 28:15; Is 58:5, etc.). In Nu 19:8 (P) it denotes the mixture composed of the ashes of the red heifer and those of 'cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet,' and used for the preparation of the 'water of separation' (cf. G. B. Gray, Numbers [ICC, Edinburgh, 1900], p. 241-247; for ashes of the red heifer of HDB iv, 207 f.).

e) Ashes.—The term ἐξοσμός is frequently used as a token of humiliation and atonement (Job 22:17, Is 58:5, etc.). In Nu 19:8 (P) it denotes the mixture composed of the ashes of the red heifer and those of 'cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet,' and used for the preparation of the 'water of separation' (cf. G. B. Gray, Numbers [ICC, Edinburgh, 1900], p. 241-247; for ashes of the red heifer of HDB iv, 207 f.).

(f) Herbs.—For the use of herbs, especially the hyssop, for the act of sprinkling blood in ceremonies of purification cf. Ex 12:8, Lv 14, Nu 19, Ps 51:18; it is spoken of literally in 1 Kgs 19:21. G. E. Post (HDB ii 442) identifies it with Origanum Marit., which is eminently adapted for the purpose of sprinkling. He points out that in certain of the ceremonial sprinklings, as in the case of leprosy, the sprayer was made to put on the robe of the laity, and sprinkled with scarlet wool, and a living bird. Gray (p. 251) contends that it was used 'on account of its cleansing properties,' and he adds:

'The scarlet thread was presumably selected for its colour, for the same obscure reason that required the cow to be red; the cedar, perhaps, on account of its soundness and endurance, and its supposed property of imparting these qualities.' He reminds us that Pliny mentions 'numerous medicinal qualities with which cedar and hyssop were credited in the ancient world' (HN xvi, 70).

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited throughout the article.

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PURIFICATION (Hindu).—There is nothing that an orthodox Brahman, or Brahmanized caste generally, will shun so much as external defilement. 'The predominating idea in their general conduct, and in their every action in life, is what they call cleanness,' says J. A. Dubois. The rules regarding impurities (Purification) (cf. Purification 1) and purifications, therefore, a conspicuous place in the Sanskrit law-books, and there are many special treatises in Sanskrit on this subject—the Astauchanirnaya, Sudhottaretta, Sudhamanvaksah, etc., which are the idea of a separate code inspired by the sight of a corpse becomes particularly manifest in these rules. The impurity of a Brahman caused by the death of a relative is declared to last in general ten days. Those who have carried out a dead relative and burnt his

3 Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, p. 129.
Purification (Iranian) has its own unique religious requirements which are not found in other religions. In the Islamic religion, purification is a significant practice, and it is mandatory for every Muslim to perform ablution (wudu) before prayer. Similarly, in Hinduism, purification is essential for religious practices, and it is performed through various rituals such as the Ganga Aarti and the Ganga Darsan. The tasks involved in purification vary from one religion to another, but they all emphasize the importance of cleanliness and respect for the sacred. Hinduism, in particular, places a strong emphasis on purity and cleanliness, and this is reflected in the rituals and practices associated with purification. In Hinduism, the Ganges River is considered sacred, and bathing in it is believed to purify and cleanse the body and soul. The Hindus believe that the impurities of the body can be washed away by bathing in the river, and this is why the Ganges is considered the most sacred river in Hinduism. In contrast, the Muslims believe that purification is achieved through the ritual of ablution, which involves washing the body with water and sprinkling it with water. The rituals and practices associated with purification vary from one religion to another, but they all emphasize the importance of cleanliness and respect for the sacred. 

LITERATURE.—The Institutes of Vijnana, tr. J. Jolly in SBE vii. (Oxford, 1900); The Laws of Manu, tr. G. Bühlcr, ib. xxi. (1907); Hindu Social Organization and Customs, tr. H. H. Beau champ, Oxford, 1906; J. Wilson, Indian Customs, Bombay, 1887; S. C. Bose, The Hindus as they are, Calcutta, 1890; Indian Life and Customs in British India, tr. E. Wilson, 2 vols., London, 1888; BG, passim. 

Purification (Iranian).—In the less developed religions of the world purification means

1 Loc. cit.

2 Ib. p. 182i.

3 Ib. p. 181.
the expulsion of the contagion of a ritual pollution. In higher religions it is above all the liberation from an ethical depredation. Mazdeanism combines both conceptions. The annulment of sin is primarily to be obtained by outweighing the evil deeds, evil thoughts, evil good words, good thoughts (hususyouthmana, hýchta, húnata). A penitential formula (pastita) was also recited before the dastār.1 The term pastita expresses the balance of merits and sins, and in later times the applied saying of the penitent renouncing the sin, and saying, 'Henceforth I will no more permit the sin.' But there is no remission—or, more exactly, neutralizing—of the sin unless by good actions in compensation for the evil inflicted on good creation by the evil act. In the Vendidad these works are enumerated; they consist in building bridges, gifts to the priests, purification of defiled good beings, etc. More often regular penances are provided, in the form of strokes by means of a whip. (ashtā, svaashtā-hūrana.) The rate of strokes is given in several passages of the Vendidad. In later times, as a substitute for the strokes, silver coins were paid by the penitent, and a scale of fines was fixed.2

Often, also, spells had to be recited, expiatory offerings to be presented, or purifications performed;3 and here we have prescriptions connected with the more materialistic conception of purity and purification, as we find it in the Zend-Gathas, where sin is but one of the many pollutions that may be inflicted upon man and have to be wiped off by means of some ritual process.4 Mazdeism gives to purity and purification as much importance as any lower religion, because those conceptions have been made to fit into the double system. Pollutions come from contact with impure beings or are ascribed to demons, exactly as in the beliefs of primitive people, but they are considered at the same time as an achievement of Ahura, the spirit creator of the evil creation, source of every evil, material or moral. When those defilements are suppressed by means of water, gómê, and other substances, or by rituals completely similar to those used for that purpose, it becomes the aim of Mazdeism, as these elements are endowed with the purifying power emanating from Ormazd, the producer of good creation. In all this we have to do with aspects of the great struggle between the two principles. The material and the moral aspects of purification are wholly intermingled in Mazdean conceptions.

The verb yazsdhā, 'to purify,' is akin to Lat. jus and Skr. yosh. It refers to all that is fine, good, or right—all that is as it should be. In the Gathas the word is found only once and means 'to accomplish,' 'to make perfect,' 'to put in good shape.' It is used of the daēna, the conscience, the soul of the faithful, while in the Vendidad it is used by the body and all of kinds of material beings and substances.

Darmesteter5 compares this double meaning to that of 'cleanliness' in English, which is a moral as well as a material virtue—'cleanliness is next to godliness'; and he adds with much reason that, for the Zend-Gathas are a complete philosophy of discipline and morality, since it is the state of a being belonging to Ahura Mazdā. In most cases one has to do with pollutions that are real infections or defilements. But they not only soil; they also put one in the presence of God and in a purity most nearly resembles by contact and dooms the visitor to perdition unless it be redeemed by a purification that gives it back to the realm of Ormazd. The conception of a soul, its purity or impurity, its moral health, that is unhealthy or abnormal in the body is impure: disease, menstruation, childbirth, death of the whole body or of parts of it; and, after all, sin is a kind of disease also—a folly in contrast with wise conduct (armesht-gāh) or the right kind of mind (Vohu Manah).

It is therefore not surprising that Mazdeism professes that wise conduct and good teaching purify man's life (Yazdshāo nanṣayān aipti sanheth [Ya. xlviii. 6]).

The worst impurity is that which arises from contact with a corpse. For a Mazdean, to die was to pass into the power of the dāvīr Nāus (vēkšt). Hence it is necessary to minimize the evil produced by this demon by protecting all good beings of its sphere (including for example the enemy of man) from contact with it. When it has taken place, it is urgent that the defiled substance should be freed as soon as possible from the grasp of the dāvīr. The first process of purification applied in that case is the sūy-dīd, or the look of a dog; probably of a white dog. The second is application of an emetic (i.e. with spots near the eyes). This, however, is not sufficient to destroy the impurity inherent in the corpse, and every person and thing that has come in direct or even indirect contact with it must be purified. The contact is greater on soft and wet ground and where decomposition has set in. The corpse is therefore deposited on a flat stone around which the nast-sālār traces with a knife three deep circles to prevent the Nāus from infecting the surroundings. The corpse has to be stripped of its soft and liquid parts by the action of vultures or other animals of the evil creation. It is therefore deposited in some remote and dry place far from the cultivated fields or on a dakhima till it is completely dried up. Then it is presumed to be no longer infectious. All kinds of purification are prescribed for the people who perform the duties connected with the dressing of the corpse and its transportation. See, further, art. Death, etc. (Parsi).

Next to death, the worst impurity is menstrual blood. This is the only pollution that must be kept indoors for a distance of a stick. The woman after childbirth is treated in the same way, and must be confined during forty days in the armesht-gāh, which greatly increases the mortality among Parsi women.

All that is detached from the body, being dead, is impure. Hence the ceremonies prescribed for cutting the hair or the nails (Vend. xvii. 1-9). This is also the reason why the priest wears the pastidadā, or piece of gauze, before his mouth when he comes near the sacred fire lest he should spoil it by his breath. All that has been touched by one of the defiling substances has to be purified, and the greater part of the Vendidad is devoted to the description of the ritual processes securing the purification of all kinds of elements or materials, such as wood (Vend. vii. 28.), corn (ib. 32), water (vi. 26), fire (ib. 34), iron (ib. 75 ff.), sheep (ib. 184), the dead man (viii. 3) or the road followed by the carriers of the corpse (ib. 14, 22), household utensils (vii. 74), clothes (ib. 10 ff.), and animals—e.g., the cow that has eaten from a corpse (ib. 76 ff.).

Soft and porous substances need more careful cleansing than hard and dry ones, and purifications are more elaborate in winter than in summer.

The cleansing substances are the same as are used in all rituals of the same kind, viz. above all, water, and next to it gracias (Pahl. gómê, 1
3 G. Bartholomae, Altirn. Worterbuch, Strassburg, 1904, s.v.
4 Shahrvarī-š-Šīvast, viii. 5; Casterelli, p. 179.
5 Vend. xiv. 7 f. 6 Cf. art. Satan (Iranian).
6 Zerd-Avesta, ii. p. x.
PURIFICATION (Jain)

or urine of cattle. A rivôet quoted in Darmesteter [Zend-Avesta, ii. 266] explains that, when Jamnial (V. X. 20) extirpated Tahmudi, from the body of Ahriman, he soiled his hands; but, a drop of gomêz having by chance fallen on them, they immediately recovered their fine aspect. Earth is also mentioned at times as a purifying element (Vend. viii. 15, 74).

As for fire, it is generally considered to be the purifying element par excellence; it has been exalted so high in Zoroastrianism, as the purest offspring of the good spirit, that it cannot be used as fuel and fire must never come in contact with anything impure.

For some specially serious cases of contamination there was provided an extensive ceremony—the barâshnâm, or purification of the nine nights, described in Vend. viii. 35-72 and lx. 1-67. The ground had to be prepared by cutting down trees in a dry place. Then holes had to be dug, and furrows drawn. The unclean person had to walk to the holes, recite a prayer, and be sprinkled with water and gomêz on all parts of his body in succession.


ALBERT J. CARNOW.

PURIFICATION (Jain).—Introduction and remarks.—The Jains of to-day are as rigidly proud of the old saying that a Jain might be trusted in the zenâna of a king; so great, indeed, was their character for purity that it won for them the epithet of paraghurâ pavete, "worthy to enter another's house." There can be little doubt that this splendid reputation was due to the ethical character of their religion, though even to-day the ethical nature of Jainism is insufficiently realized by European scholars, and too little appreciated even by the Jains themselves. It is in accord with this ethical tradition that sins against purity of any kind are never glossed over, but always treated with the greatest severity. Adultery is accounted one of the most heinous sins, equivalent to the taking of life (ahimsa sin). The Jain monk who breaks the vow of chastity is held to have broken all his vows. Every sin of impurity, whether it lie in thought, word, or deed, or in causing others to offend against the law of chastity in thought, word, or deed, must be confessed to one's director (guru) as soon as possible, and the penance imposed by him performed. The usual penalty for unchastity is for a monk nothing short of expulsion from the order, and he must undergo long fasting before he can hope to obtain readmission. A layman guilty of impurity is held to have slipped back on the ladder of rebirths and fallen below the stage not only of being a Jain but even of being human, and he must observe the strictest fasts with the idea of torturing the body which led him to commit such crimes before he can win back again the birthright which he has forfeited. If the sin be not repented of and confessed, the most hideous torments await the offender in a future rebirth as a hell-being. With regard to women who transgress this law of chaste life, a husband can never divorce his wife, but, if she prove unfaithful, he would very probably separate from her, and though, as a rule, the practice of taking a second wife is much looked down on, it would be considered pardonable in such a case, and the woman would look forward with dread to being widowed in her next existence. The idea of purity differs of course for a monk and a layman. The monk must observe the most rigorous celibacy, never looking at, thinking of, speaking of, or sitting where a woman has sat or stroking a female animal. It is interesting to notice that these laws are enforced in their sacred books not only by every religious sanction present and future, but also by appealing to the natural laziness of the monk, warning him of the burdens and cares of married life.

A layman vows to maintain his wife in all honour and loyalty and to renounce the society of other women. It is customary for a devotee to observe celibacy before any of the great Jain festivals or fasts, before going on pilgrimage, and for twenty days in every month, and, as he advances in holiness, he at last renounces entirely the society of both sexes (brahmacharya pratimâ).

All unnatural sins against purity are punished in this life by heavy penances, or after rebirth by the most hideous tortures.

The Jains are also proud of the purity of their worship, fasts, and ceremonies are not to be found connected with their temples, nor does their religion permit any sakti or vina mirga orgies, and their entire sacred literature contains nothing approaching to the Tantras of the Hindus.

With regard to the purity of inheritance and purifications, the Jains themselves say that they have borrowed their rites from the Hindus and especially from the Brâhmans; so it will be interesting to compare the two systems on this point. A Jain is always most anxious to maintain ceremonial purity, for only when in a state of ritual holiness can he go to temple or monastery, or perform any of his religious duties, such as meditation, adoration, or reading the sacred books; but ceremonial pollution is very difficult to avoid, accruing, as it does, in so many minor ways, and especially on the occurrence of any birth or death in a family.

2. Birth impurity (upadhi sítaka).—Before the birth of the first child the young mother goes to her own old home, where she must stay for at least a month, and only after the child's birth; during all this time she is considered ceremonially impure and 'untouchable,' and her husband is not allowed to see her or to enter the house where she is living. The child, when born, is considered ceremonially impure for nine days, and it is not allowed to go to temple or monastery, or to perform any of its religious duties, such as meditation, adoration, or reading the sacred books; but ceremonial pollution is very difficult to avoid, accruing, as it does, in so many minor ways, and especially on the occurrence of any birth or death in a family.

There are four distinct stages in the progress of the mother back to ceremonial purity:

(a) On the tenth day after the child's birth she bathes in the house and on the very bed on which she gave birth to the child; her forehead is marked with an auspicious mark (chandita) in the name of the presiding god and change is made in her diet. She is to be allowed to touch milk during the whole forty days of her impurity, and the first day after the child's birth she has to observe very strict Purificationfasts. She must not eat rice, meat, or fish, but is allowed to eat only a favourite dish of pepper and garlic (the same ingredients as in the Hindu râita, but less liquid), but after the tenth day she may take bread and the curried vegetables which she so keenly relishes, and several different kinds of gruel.

(b) On the twentieth day the mother again bades in the house, her hands and forehead washed which is to face the sun; and the earthen floor and sometimes the walls of the room are freshly plastered with the usual mixture of clay, cow-dung, and water; but the auspicious mark is again put on her forehead (she had not been allowed to do this during the intervening days), and an Aryan dish called dîna (the same ingredients as the râita). At the same time she must not eat and after she may now be allowed to sweep the house, but

1 See M. Stevenson, Heart of Jainism, p. 223.
2 Ibid., p. 258.

If, however, he is very anxious to see his first-born, he may be brought outside the house for him to look at after it is twelve days old.
must not go outside (unless the family is so poor that she must help with the work). On this particular day she may again eat dāru, or dūru, if the Jains, she may not wear her ornaments or her beads.

(c) On the thirteenth day, or on the Thursday nearest to the thirteenth day after the child's birth, the mother bathes in the ordinary bathing-place of the household, whether it be in a room, a well, or a tank. She will wear a new and auspicious mark and given dāru to eat; she is now considered less unclean and allowed to go outside the house, though she still must not touch any one or go to the mansion or temple.

(d) On the fortieth day, or on some convenient Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday, the fortieth day after the child's birth, the mother bathes again in the household-bathing-place, and is at last considered ceremonially pure; she is now allowed to touch the household water-pots, though she still must not bathe, and the last of all, she is allowed to be present for her friends. If during these forty days she has used earthen pots, they will be thrown away, but the brass vessel returned to her own mother's house for a varying period lasting probably six months—the seems the correct thing to do, as it is the Brāhmans' custom to perform the purificatory ceremonies before the child is bathed. Amongst most of the Jains the child's father is considered impure for ten days, and for that length of time he is not allowed to go to the temples or perform any religious duties; all the relatives, however, that bear his surname are in the same state of ceremonial impurity (though, unlike the Brāhmans, they are allowed to celebrate weddings during that period). The impurity is removed at the end of ten days by simply bathing in the ordinary way. In cases of poverty, however, the father and his relatives may purify themselves by ordinary bathing the day after the child's birth.  

Thus the Jains are anxious that the mother should not die before the purification is completed. The Indian friends have assured her that, if their wives were to die in childbirth, they would now break through every custom and insist on being with them at the last.

3. Death ceremony. —The dejection which death brings on a household (maṅgyu sītaka) is far heavier than that of a birth. During the time the pollution lasts the Jains, like the Brāhmans, can celebrate no marriage, hear no music, eat no sūryā-kīrtana, or saturnalia, and they must wear only white turbans, but, unlike the Brāhmans, they need not shave off their moustachest.

When a Jain is dying, he is placed on the floor, which has been previously washed with clean and strong water. If Hindu influence is strong, the corpse will probably have been mixed with water from the river Ganges), and the patient is so arranged that his head is towards the north and his feet towards the south. Great attention is paid to the purification of the last day. The body is bathed, and, with this in view, he is urged, even before he has been placed on the floor, to take certain vows, especially that of religious suicide (sanyāsa pātham), in which he promises never to eat or drink again, to renounce all the world, and, without food or drink, to put off the skin, and the moment he dies, his heirs offer further alms in his name. Still with the object of purification, a lamp is lit with melted butter, lit close to the man when he is on the point of death, and is kept constantly burning till the dead body is carried out of the house. The corpse is not usually bathed, but, in the case of a woman dying while her husband is still living, the big toe of her right foot is bathed, and her forehead is smeared with red powder.

Every one in the house is considered unclean; the men of the family go with the corpse to the burning-ground (pūrṇa); the women leave the house to go and bathe in a river or tank after the corpse has been carried out, but they must be careful to return before the men. The period of ceremonial impurity lasts for seven or nine days, and is broken on a Monday, Thursday, or Friday, nearest the seventh day when the men all go to the river and bathe, and then shave for the first time since the death occurred. The women bathe in the house, wash their hair, and change their clothes. The house has also been impure during the week, and no outsider would drink water in it; but now it is all cleansed and re-plastered with cow-dung. The room in which the person died is re-plastered with special care, and, if Hindu influence is strong, it will be further purified by the presence ofCLEANING-HEARDI] and cow-dung. All the clothes worn during the seven days have to be washed, the vessels used purified with ashes and water, and the cooking-hearth cleansed with ash and cow-dung. The funeral ceremonies are led with all the customary Vaisnava, Jain, or Śvētāmbara by religion.

4. Special impurity of women. —The birth and death sītaka are the two great periods of impurity for a man, but a woman contracts a much milder pollution more frequently, and is regarded as un-touchable for four days in every month. During this time she must sit apart either on a thick cloth or on a hessian made of sacking, and, though she may sleep on a bed, it must not have the mattress spread over it, but only sacking or thick cloth. She must eat apart, and may not touch copper or bronze vessels, though she is allowed to use brass or crockery, but she may be used to wash her hands and face, and only by the women of the house. The fourth day she bathes, changes her clothes, and washes her hair. On the occasion of first attaining puberty, however, the purificatory ceremonies are more elaborate. The girl, who, though married, is probably still living in her mother's house, bathes after the fourth day and puts on a simple green bodice and red sāri (two auspicious colours) that her mother has prepared for her, and then starts out for her mother-in-law's house; but, just before she leaves, her mother puts some molasses in her mouth. Arrived at her destination, she makes her reverence at her mother-in-law's feet and offers her two rupees; and the old lady, if gracious and kindly, presents her daughter-in-law with a more elaborate green bodice fashioned of silk. Then the daughter-in-law invites her to a feast of specially nice food, which will include a dish of wheat, treacle, and ghee (dāpasī). The girl can be summoned any time after this to go and live with her husband in her new house, and the seventh day must be fasted on, for she must not go till this is completed. Prob-

1 It is interesting to notice that, though the body may be carried out through the ordinary house-floor, there are usually one or two special city-accessed ceremonial roads for the purpose.

2 Near relatives, even if living in a distant village, are obliged to go and bathe in a stream immediately after hearing of the death.
ably, despite all the bowing that she has done and will do at her mother-in-law’s feet, the last thing that he will brook will be a word or more. He will say, ‘I will not go to another bowl for water; and if you will be spattered [with water] you shall be spattered, and you will be eaten up [with the work they will put on you].’

5. Accession of pollution.—A Jain, however, may acquire pollution in his ordinary life, and especially through what he eats and drinks. The worst fault that a man can commit is to eat meat, and, if this were done openly and persistently, he would be placed absolutely out of doors. He is not allowed to eat with others, nor is he allowed to speak to them. If, however, it were done accidentally and repented of, the offender would confess it to his director and have to observe very strict fasts before he would be regarded as purified. The rule is the same for drunkenness; even moderate wine-drinking is absolutely prohibited on account of the entry of life by fermentation, though eating opium and smoking tobacco (while not approved of) do not render a man impure.

Pollution is also acquired by touching an outcaste (an untouchable), and, after sitting beside one in a train or brushing against one, Jains purify themselves either by bathing and changing their garments, or, if less particular, by just sprinkling water over themselves. If, however, they are content with simply touching a Muhammadan by way of purification. If an out-caste passed very near their house or accidentally entered a room, Jains would purify it by sprinkling water, and, if the owner would wash his hands or touch the water on the faggots; in the same way, after walking through an out-caste quarter of the town, they would purify themselves by bathing or by sprinkling. The rule seems to be that a very particular Jain purifies himself by immersion or, rather, affusion, and a less strict one does it just as effectually by aspersion—an interesting parallel to the varying methods of Christian baptism.

Bronze and copper vessels are treated with great respect; if they should, despite every precaution, be dropped, the vessels are put into the fire to be cleansed. Brass vessels can be purified with fire or more simply with ashes, crockery by being washed in warm water; but the writer was shown in one house the glass that a Muhammadan visitor frequently cleansed in a temple, and the whole garden wall. In schools, in the same way, the vessels used by Muhammadans are kept separate from those belonging to Hindu or Jain children.

If the whole of a house be defiled—by a dog bringing a bone into it or a crow dropping some meat in the courtyard—the householder summons a Muhammadan or some meat-eating Hindu, such as a Koli, to take it away and himself purifies the house by sprinkling water and cow-urine where the meat had lain.

Unlike the Hindus, the Jains do not become impure during an eclipse, but, where Vaishnava influence prevails, they throw away their earthen cooking-pots when the eclipse is over and bathe in a river.

Like the Hindus, the Jains perform ceremonial bathing and teeth-cleansing every morning, and until their teeth have been rubbed with the tooth-stick they will not swallow a drop of water. Moreover, unless they have taken a bath, they may never bathe, lest they should injure the water-resources. Naturally clean ascetics, however, evade this by rubbing themselves over with a cloth which has been moistened in warm water. But they must not allow their clothes to dry. When they are professed, they bathe in the ordinary way, and when their heads are shaved except one lock of hair which they must themselves pull out. Every year after

The idols in the temples are also bathed every morning, but the most elaborate idol-bathing is that which takes place on the great annual confession—a custom which is believed to be peculiar to the Jains.

The village life is even more simple. In the morning, the men go to the temple and the women to the fields. The special purities that are practised in the temple are also communally kept in a particular room attached to the temple. In Kāṭhiāwār the Jains seem to be able to go to England without going through any special purification on their return, but in other places where Vaishnava influence is strong a Jain goes and bathes in a sacred river, such as the Ganges, the Godāvari, or the Narbādā, and, under the pressure of Hindu opinion, he might even sip the livefold nectar which consists of butter, curds, milk, sugar, and honey. He would also probably have to make a special journey to Bombay, Gājā, or some other sacred place. All this trouble, however, is sometimes avoided by a well-understood and useful fiction—the man simply giving out that he is going on pilgrimage, and then quietly proceeding to his destination. Thus, when a Jain gentleman was travelling in Germany at the outbreak of the war and suffered all sorts of difficulties before he was able to leave for India, he was careful, however, to return to his native place by way of a sacred hill; and it was apparently assumed that he had spent the whole time there, when he had found it difficult to reconcile the stirring adventures, alarms, and excursions under the Kaiser’s banners, which he openly recounted to every one he met with, to the peaceful happenings incident to a pilgrimage, which ought to have composed his story. Anyway, no purification was demanded.

LITERATURE.—The information contained in the above article has been derived directly from Jain informants. See also the present writer’s Notes on Modern Jainism, Oxford, 1910, The Heart of Jainism, do. 1915; and SBE xxii. (1884) and xiv. (1895).

MARGARET STEVENSON.

PURIFICATION (Japanese).—As cleanliness or purity is the dominating ideal of Shintō, rites and ceremonies of purification make up a considerable portion of the ‘way of the gods.’ The most important ones are the two ceremonies known as harai and misogi.

Their origin is said to date from pre-historic times as far back as Izanagi and Izannami, the male and female creators of the land of Toyo-ashi-hara, as Japan was anciently called, the experience of this anciently called 1 after it had departed to the land of yomi, or darkness; her husband followed her and, beholding her body was already putrid, maggots scoured over it...and Izannami, greatly shocked, exclaimed, ‘What a hideous and polluted body! I have come to unawares!’ So he speedily ran away. He threw aside the stick with which he had touched the dead, and his belt, garments, waist-cloth, hat, and bracelet, thus sweeping off everything that had clothed his body. The action was called harai, literally ‘to sweep away.’ Thereafter he jumped into the sea and cleansed his body with its water. This was termed midare, ‘watering’ the body, in token of the removal of all impurities. Thus harai and midare became integral parts of court ceremony and consequently of Shintō ritual.

There are various kinds of harai, named according to their purpose and importance: yoshino-harai, o-harai, akuno-harai, kamono-harai, nakuna-harai, shinama-harai, etc. Yobi means ‘good,’ and yoshino-harai is to secure the good; aku means ‘evil,’ and akuno-harai is to avoid evil; ō means ‘great,’ and o-harai is the most important of all; and shinama and shinama-harai are roughly ‘upper,’ ‘middle,’ and ‘lower,’ thus indicating their grade of importance.

The o-harai, or great purification, is a ceremony intended to cleanse from all impurities the last court celebration. It is observed twice a year (at the end of June and the

1 Stevenson, p. 165.
PURIFICATION

end of December), when the official in charge, after the proper purification of his own body, offers flax and a sword. The most important part of the ceremony is the reading of the formula known as the Shintō no Norito, a ritual prayer that in the beginning the family of Nakatomi had charge of the reading. The formula first announces to all whom it may concern the celebration of the ceremony, then enumerates the evils and impurities which have been incurred, and concludes with the statement that all shall be purged away by the virtue of the rite.

The ō-harai was usually performed at the southern gate of the royal palace in Kyoto. Special messengers were sent by the court to all parts of the empire, and the same ceremony was performed in various Shintō temples. Regulations governing the details of the ceremony were formulated from time to time, but these tended not to perpetuate the ceremony but to hasten its decline. For several hundred years preceding the restruc-
tion of 1868 the observance of these ceremonies was much neglected by the court; but with the restoration, together with many old forms, they were again brought into more or less prominence.

Special occasions of public calamity, such as the outbreak of pestilence, famine, or destructive fires, also call for the observance of ō-harai. Local and individual harai are at times observed for various reasons upon a much smaller scale. Individual harai can be based upon a penalty for certain offences, and in A.D. 801 was carried to such an extent that the court issued an ordinance regulating its use.

Saikitō, or monomi, is a form of self-purification in Shintō worship, which has been fully performed, the worshipper discontinues the saikiti by a ceremony of koi-sai, dismissing the sait. While under sai kitō, certain things are forbidden, such as attending funerals, visiting the sick, sentencing a criminal or putting him to death, playing upon a musical instrument, or taking part in any impure or desecrating act.

The length of the observance may vary from one month to a month, according to the importance and nature of the occasion.

The ‘Book of Ceremony,’ published during the Yenta era (901–923), has the following regulations concerning those who are to be regarded as polluted by various acts of impurity and who are therefore to be prohibited from taking part in Shintō worship. Pollution from thehuman dead shall debar for thirty days from the day of the funeral; pollution from human birth for seven days; pollution from animal dead for five days; and from animal birth, not including chickens, for three days. Those who ate the flesh of beasts were impure for three days. Participation in the re-
burial of the dead rendered one impure for four months or longer. Those who had attended a funeral, visited the sick, or been present at a memorial service were forbidden to enter the royal gate on the same day. Buddhist prayers performed and those in mourning were forbidden to enter the palace during the sai kitō, and both before and after the chief festivals such as kaien, konname, and wakayama.

Court ladies in pregnancy were obliged to withdraw from the court during the time of sai kitō, as also were those temporarily incapacitated at the time of the ceremony itself. A confutation rendered those within the house impure for a period of thirty days. Such ordinances, as it has been said, were formulated governing all possible cases; but in practice the observance has gradually decreased, so that at present slight attention is paid in general to ceremonies of purification.

Various symbols of purification are still more or less common. People returning from a funeral are not infrequently greeted with salt, that they may be freed from all impurity before entering the house. Splitting or breathing on them is thought to remove contamination from sights and objects near at hand. Shaking the gokei, strips of white paper attached to a rod, is an act of purification, and the shimenawa, or straw rope above the entrance gate, is likewise thought to protect the dwelling from impure influences.


TASUKU HARADA.

PURIFICATION (Muslim).—I. The ritual of purification.—The Muhammadan view of ritual pur-
ification is based primarily on the late Qur'anic passage, v. 9, repeated with slight variations from iv. 46:

(a) ‘O believers, when ye come to fulfil the prayer, wash your faces, and your hands as far as the elbows, and rub your heads, and your feet until the ankles’; (b) ‘and if ye be polluted by any evil, from your private parts or sweat, or from the outlet of your noses, take a good purifying wash, wash yourselves, tapal-talilis;’ (c) ‘but if ye be sick, or upon a journey, or one of you from the privy or have touched a dead body, and have no water to purify you, then take pure earth and rub your faces and hands therewith.’

With the help of traditions, the variations in the two versions of this law have been harmonized.

Many verbal and logical obscurities removed, and the details elaborated into a ritual of practice as follows.

The wu'dū’, or wudū’, the minor ablution, of the appendages (not the trunk) of the body.—It is per-
formed regularly before each of the five daily prayers, at home or in the mosque; but it may be omitted if the worshipper is sure he has in no way become polluted since the last wu’dū’, as, e.g., when he continues praying from one period without interruption into the next. It is usual also before touching the Qur’ān and the approach of death, and it forms an integral part of the major ablution.

The wudū’ is performed at a tank (miyājah) or reservoir (banafsqah) provided with spouts; after a declaration (niyyah) that the intention is for purification, the Muslim, with sleeves tucked above the elbow, performs each of the following: washing of the face; washing of the mouth (here the tooth-pick also is used); compressing each nostril with the left fingers and snuffing up water from the right hand, or up from the declination of the arm without wetting the face; washing the right arm and permitting the water to run from the palm to the elbow; washing the left arm similarly. Then following the same path, wetting the upper part of the head, the turban being pushed back with the left; combing the beard with the wetted fingers; inserting the tips of the forefingers into the ears and passing the thumbs around the back of the ears; wiping the neck with the back of the fingers of both hands; washing each foot as high as the ankle and passing the fingers between the toes (Shī‘ites, however, conform more literally to the Qur’ānic passage by rubbing [maṣḥ] the feet with the wetted hand instead of washing them; see also maṣḥ, under tahār, p. 497a).

(b) Ghaust, the major, total ablution of the body.—As based upon the Qur’an, it is demanded in the case of certain physical pollutions, specified by tradition to be those of collision, nocturnal pollution, menses, and childbirth, the period of uncleanness in the last (nifās) continuing for forty days according to Sunnite law, for ten according to Shī‘ite. As based upon tradition only, and hence called nifās muṣāla, it is the standard form of purification for conversion to Muhammadanism; before the prayers of Friday and the festivals; after washing a corpse; after blood-letting; after death (performed by the unghassil, or washer of the dead). It must be performed in more than a certain minimum of water, which must touch every part, every hair, of the body, and hence takes place usually in the hammāmah, with its plunge bath. Ghaust includes also the wu’dū’, though the washing of the feet should be deferred by a niyyah to the end of the
entire ablation; in the case of the wudu' as part of the ghut of a corpse the mouth and nose are stopped with cotton instead of being washed.

(c) Tawmam, the minor purification with dust in place of water.—It may be performed when water cannot be secured within two miles or without incurring danger; in case of sickness, open wounds, or fractured bones; because of lack of time for the proper wudu' before the prayer on festive days and at funerals. The conditions of the declaration of intention, and of clapping dry sand or dust upon the face and hands.

(d) Various practices of personal cleanliness.—Some of them, together with wudu' and ghut, are classed under the general term tabarrā', 'purification,' some of them form part of the regular wudu' also, others are practised as occasion demands; in so far as they are not mentioned in the Qur'an, they are declared to have been sanctioned by the Prophet as fīrāq, i.e., as a separate religious practice by which each man acts in accord with his own religious feeling. These are of use to the tooth-pick (miswak)—an insistent practice of Muhammad; cleansing the nose and mouth with water and clapping them into the dust to prevent them from entering the mouth; clipping the finger-nails; cleaning the finger-joints; depilation of the armpits; shaving of the pubes; abstention (isti'nin') with water or dry earth or a piece of cotton after evacuation and urination. Washing the hands before and after meals is also declared sometime to have been demanded by a ḥadīth; and it is quite generally practised. Another enumeration of five usages of fīrāq includes circumcision, which in usage is also regarded as an act of purification, and hence the term tāḥrīr (see below) applied to it; it is nowhere mentioned in the Qur'an, however, nor is it absolutely necessary in the case of an adult converted to Muhammadanism.

(e) Tāḥrīr, the purification of objects which have become ritually unclean.—This is based on ḥadīth only; like personal purification, it may be performed with dry earth instead of water. One of the most important rules of tāḥrīr is that it is not purifying with dry earth the internal part of the boots; according to Sunnite law, if they cannot be cleansed of filth by rubbing dry earth upon them, they may still be made ceremonially clean (and worn during prayers) by stroking (mush) them with the wetted fingers three times; Shi'ite, however, deny that the boots may be worn at all during prayers. Some of the other numerous details of tāḥrīr are the following:

Any spot can be made ritually fitted for prayer by spreading a clean rag or garment upon it; but the ground itself is clean when dry. Handling forbidden animals, such as dogs, pigs, and rats, requires purification of the person and garments. Dishes which have contained wine or the flesh of 'awāli (conditions which may exist when such dishes have belonged to Jews or Christians) must be purified before a Muhammadan may eat from them. A vessel from which a dog has drunk must be washed seven times; a moist dog in a field can be purify according to the legal status of the owner of the dogs from the Qur'an; it should be noted, however, that the presence of the animal, if dry, does not render unclean, while, on the other hand, the slightest contact of its body with the clothes requires (so the Shī'īs hold) that the clothes be washed seven times; a fresh rag, a fresh water, and a fresh earth; even Muhammadans less strict hold that body and clothes are defiled by a dog's saliva, and naturally by its meat and milk. Another rule is that one must never use a knife not washed after contact with dogs' flesh. Another tradition declares that any considerable amount of flesh' blood defiles a garment. To a certain extent the ordinary washing of clothes is considered an act of purification, since the operation is concluded by pouring clean water upon them and alluding the shafā of, or testification of faith.

Thus it will be seen that for purifying by purposes must itself be pure, i.e., clean. Therefore rain-water is preferred and regarded as specifically recommended in Qur'an, viii. 11:

{Remarked: He sent down upon you from heaven to purify you therewith and remove from you Satan's pollution' (v; perhaps intended rather in the sense of keeping除 away from the mild indulgences of man.)

On the basis of ḥadīth, water from other sources may be used; that of the sea, springs, wells, rivers, hail, snow, and ice (but not sea itself), providing colour, smell, and taste give no evidence of pollution; with those restrictions, running water may also be used even by dead body or other unclean thing has fallen into it. The same permission is given in the case of standing water of more than a certain volume; but, if an animal falls into a well, at least 300 bucketfuls of water must be drawn, and this water must not be used for a day, or until so purificatory as to be fit for use.

2. Origin and motive.—The details of these purificatory practices were derived by Muhammad and the elaborators of his laws from pagan Arab, from Jewish, and from Christian sources. Occasionally a tradition seems to show that the Prophet (or those speaking in his name) was still under the influence of the primitive superstitions which have not been dispelled by the particular practices in question; some traditions show an appreciation of the religious and ethical transmutations of Judaism and Christianity; others a mere toleration of existing customs in so far as they were free or could be freed from idolatrous implications.

But to the extent that there was any logical purpose in his eclecticism as a whole, that purpose seems to have been partly rationalizing and disciplinary, mainly aesthetic. For it would seem that filth in any form was indissolubly connected with uncleanliness, simply as a matter of custom, its origin probably going back to the natural impregnation of all things by the evil spirit. This abhorrence of filth and keenness of smell may well have been due in part at least to his early Bedawin apprenticeship, for both are very pronounced in the true Bedawin. At any rate tradition is insistent in ascribing them to Muhammad.

Thus one hadīth declares that he demanded that any one who had eaten garlic or onions should avoid his presence (a variant reading reads 'his speech') for the period of the prayer; another, which is observed by some tradition, accounting for the institution of the ghut as a regular Friday practice, declares that he ordered it on an occasion when the people had performed their daily prayers while wearing blankets and had perspired to such a degree that their breath was offensive. Again, he is reported to have said that in paradise all bodily excretions will be carried off as a perspiration with the odour of musk, and that every dressing of any pungency or a sound must be considered an interruption of the required absorption in prayer; and, still more significant, that, when a man tells of the foulness of his odour his guardian angels a mile away.

It is possible, of course, that under the self-sufficing aesthetic motive there was a trace of that sublimated anthropomorphic conception which leaves to the devil a gratification in the offence of sacrificial smoke or of incense, and hence might ascribe to God man's own aversion to foul odours. Indeed, there is even a tradition which declares that the sacrificial blood itself reaches Allah's acceptance, and, if not, is intended for Satan. As far as Muhammad himself is concerned, this evidence is nullified by the Qur'an (xxii. 37):

'Their flesh will never reach to Allah, nor yet their blood, but your pieté will reach them.'

The tradition cited probably represents merely a popular exaltation of the surviving primitive superstitions conception; still more primitive in conception is the declaration that the nasal purification was instituted for the purpose of driving out the evil spirit which lodges in the nostrils during sleep. From the same tradition the impression is derived that Muhammad's purificatory ordinance was perhaps merely an expression of the feeling which, superstitions origins forgotten, still demands a certain decency and comeliness on the part of the worshipper; for the ordinance in
question follows immediately the rational injunc-
tion of the Koran to wash away while ye are drunk,
until ye understand.' The rationalizing tendency of
Muhammadanism in the purificatory ordinances is
seen also in the limitation of conventional ritual
to cases of actual physical trans-
ference of perceptible filth. It is evident that the strictness of Hebrew legislation in regard to
the menstrual woman was shared at least in part
by the pagan Arabs (in the earlier Arabic usage the only clear equivalent to the Hebrew
tamím and tahír, 'unclean' and 'clean', seems to be
'támír and tálír as applied to the 'dirty' and the
'clean' woman); but several traditions show
that Muhammad, in accepting the general principle
and some particular details from both sources, modi-
ified the severity and declared that mere contact
with a woman in this condition need not be avoided.
Nor does touching a corpse render unclean any one
even the person who washes it for burial; still
less does mortifying in general, or contact with
sacred objects. The same tendency to identify
ritual uncleanness exactly with physical male-
dorous uncleanness, with excretions, dampness, and
putrefaction, is evidenced in some of the defini-
tions cited above; e.g., a dog's contact defiles only
if the animal is wet; earth is clean (and cleanliness
if unsoiled) only if it is not discharged from the
micturition of a 'clean' animal does not defile is,
of course, not of this rationalizing tendency.

3. Connexion with expiration.—There are a few
isolated indications that purification might by
some be regarded as having an atoning or
atonizing force—that it washed away guilt.
Whether any such idea attaches to a tradition
that in paradise the faithful will be distinguished
by the marks of purification on hands and fore-
head is doubtful; the hadith that he who performs the
wudu' thoroughly will extract all sin from his
body, even though it may lurk under his finger-
ails, is clear. And such an idea may have been
present in the mind of the governor of Kufah who
ordered the pulpit of its mosque to be washed
because his predecessor, who had been guilty of
immorality and injustice, had occupied it. But
such a conception of purification from sin is not
found in the Qur'an, nor has Muslim theology
developed it. Even prayer, for which ablation is
obligatory, has no connection with any part of
sins (those inherent in human nature and hence
more or less unconsciously performed) and not
from the major sins (including all crimes, usury,
lying, disobedience to parents, and the frequent
commission of minor sins); one looks in vain for evidence that the ablution of a convert represented
a baptism into new birth, or that circumcision was
really regarded as an act of purification. Neither
blood nor fire appears as a purificatory medium.
Nor does the use of earth as a substitute for water
indicate that purification was a symbolic act; for
earth or sand was regarded as an actual sanitary
hygienic medium; in the case of sickness the
avoidance of water was due apparently to an old
and still persisting belief that water poisons
wounds and, when cold, causes fever; though here
again there is a contrary tradition that Muhammad
thought his own fever was due to a spark from
hell-fire and might be cured with cold water.

4. Application to food.—Muhammad's treatment of
the subject has been spoken of as having dispensed
with the support that he did not place much emphasis on the ritualistic, technical distinction
between clean and unclean, for he did not use the
terms at all in this connexion. To him permitted
food was 'lawful'; and the purificatory ritual had a decided value; if it was
then 'sound', 'healthful': [ii. 269, v. 6, xxiii. 53].
Forbidden animals are not specifically mentioned
in the Qur'an (except the swine): later law, how-
ever, characterizes various animals with the legal
terms: sulúh ('lawful'); mubáh ('permitted';
legally indifferent); makráh ('disliked' or
'abominable'; disapproved, but without penalty
for use); harád ('forbidden'); the various local
schools differing in the assignment of certain
classes. If one included their prey with their teeth are absolutely
prohibited; included in this class are the elephant,
the weasel, the ass, the mule; according to Ḥanî-
lite law, also the hyena, the fox (but these are
considered permissible by the Sháfi'ites), and the horse
(held to be indifferent by the Sháfi'ites, while Mālikite law agrees with Ḥanîfite).
Birds which seize their prey with their talons, such as ravens
and some crows, are also forbidden. According to
some interpretations, all aquatic animals except
fish are unlawful (though the Mālikites permit
them). Included in makráh are pelicans, kites,
crocodiles, otters, and insects (except locusts, which
are permitted); in mubáh are hares, crows
that feed on grain, magpies. But all animals used
for food (except dogs) and birds (except crows)
by drawing the knife across the throat in such a
manner as to sever windpipe, carotid arteries, and
gall; and at the moment of slaughter (in the
case of prey at the moment when the weapon is
applied), would be regarded as 'disgusting'.

5. Value of the ritual.—The prescription of
ritual practices and distinctions belongs to the later
period of Muhammad's life; and it may be con-
cluded that his priestly or legal, as distinct from
his prophetic, activity was of secondary im-
portance to him, adopted, at least in part, because
of the demands for definition in creed, code, and
practice which the mass of believers demands.
Moreover, the ritualistic prescriptions provided a
certain discipline of unifying value; and they were
the more demanded in that his religious system
did not dispense with fixed personal responsi-
bility upon each individual.

As a sanitary code which made cleanliness not
next to godliness but a part of it (in a tradition:
'Cleanliness ... is one half of the faith'), the
purificatory ritual had raised the standard of clean and healthy living
among all classes of observant Muhammadans.
Some Bedawin, it is true, are little observant of
cereories; Burton 1 quotes the Bedawin saying: 1 'We pray not, because we must drink the water of ablation'; nevertheless they show an innate eagerness to bathe at every opportunity. A more serious neglect is frequently noticed in the case of children, who are purposely left uncared for out of fear of the evil eye. But in general those who have lived in the Muhammadan East support the emphatic verdict of Burton and Lane that there is a marked contrast between Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans in this matter of personal cleanliness.

On the other hand, Muhammadanism by its emphasis on ritual has subjected itself to the danger of making cleanliness not a part but the whole of godliness. In the effort to prevent this the ritual provides that each act of the _siyād_ should be followed by a short prayer making the act at the same time the symbol of some ethical or religious idea.

Thus, after the rinsing of the mouth the prayer is: 'Oh Allah, assist me in the reading of Thy book, in thanking Thee through worshipping Thee well'; on washing the ears: 'Oh Allah, make me to be of those who hear what is said and obey what is best.' As a matter of fact, however, many Muhammadans neglect these intermediate prayers, and consequently fail to discharge the obligation (despite the exactness of regulation, there is a decided difference in the manner of performance by an educated and that by an uneducated Muhammadan); and, when the prayers are recited by non-Arab speaking peoples, they may be little better than meaningless.

7. Outward and inward purity. — But these defects are not necessarily to be regarded as of the essence of Islam; they are rather inherent in any system which gives to unthinking mankind fixed forms and ceremonies. It might even happen in more advanced circles of thought that the Qur'an, by making clearer the distinction between forms and faith — e.g., by making of the purification ritual merely a divinely-ordained sanitary ordinance and the clause of superstitious connotations — might lead to a lofty spiritual conception. But it is the misfortune of any theocratic code which must provide for all the life of man that the distinction between police and religion is not generally easily clarified — that, perhaps contrary to intention, emphasis is misplaced upon the easily comprehended ritual to the neglect of less specific exhortations to moral righteousness. In the Qur'an, as a matter of fact, the ritual of physical purity is a sublimation of the moral purity mentioned at all in the definition and summary of true piety found in ii. 172. References to religious, ethical, and moral purity, however, are many, though the exact meaning of the term 'purity' is sometimes difficult to determine. On the whole, 'purity' is a negative term, denoting the absence of what is foreign and obnoxious to the normal, natural, or simple state.

Man was created in purity; though of clay, even the angels how to free it (xx. 19), and a purity of faith, to Muhammad who were merely freed from idolatrous corruptions and superstitions which had crept into the natural, original faith of Adam. Purity of the heart is demanded under varying forms of expression. As ideality is unceasing (naja), firm belief in Allah is purity; thus, in x. 6, 'those whose hearts Allah does not please to purify (nja'ahin)' are those who do not believe sincerely and without hypocrisy'; in xvii. 2, the Qur'an itself is 'pure' (mushtari), 'a house of purification beyond all superstitions'. Tradition (vi. 78, 'none shall touch it [the Qur'an] except the pure'); in the language of other small unenlightened societies the hearts of those who are pure of heart. Another word for 'purity,' 'one normally not used in the ritual sense, appears in i. 140: 'And we sent you [the Prophet] as a Mercy to all mankind, saying: you have signs and purify you (puzkka'llam) and teach you the Book and wisdom, in which the purification excellently refers to faith; so also the Qur'an says: 'ye shall not take it [the Qur'an] in your hearts; this is to be pure of heart' (9. 57, xxvii. 83); 'he is pure of heart' (xxvii. 82, 89), while hypocrisy is found in those 'in whose hearts is sickness (f. qubbatun mawraf); the sincere in heart are those who 'clarify their faith' (mukallatun al-din: i. 143); and in the 'Sura of Sincerity' (Sūrat al-Imārāt). Vaguely the same idea is expressed in bār, 'pious' (li. 41, 173), which in Hebrew is 'pure.'

Purity of purpose is demanded in many passages where no specific term is used; thus lx. 26 is directed against those who out of fear of loss of trade were willing to make concessions to idolaters; lxxiv. 6 inveighs against those who, when they do a kindness, have in their hearts the hope of receiving in return the same, etc. On the negative side purity of intention is emphasized in the teaching that no sin attaches to one who under compulsion eats forbidden food, provided that he is 'without lust or wilfulness' (li. 108). And this Qur'anic insistence upon purity of intention is embodied in the purification ritual itself, which, like every act of devotion, must begin with the _niyāt_ ('intention'), the thought or the words, 'I purpose to offer up to God only with a sincere heart'; and it is expressed doctrinally in the statement that 'the fundamental and essential attributes of Muhammadanism are sincerity of belief (sīhab al-aqíd), truth of intent (ṣidq al-adq), observance of the lawful limit, and keeping of the covenant' (so stated in the Shāhīinnie Exposition of Muhammadanism put in written form and widely accepted in the 443rd night of the Thousand and One Nights). The Sāyid Amir 'Ali quotes, against those who find in the Qur'an only physical purity as a prerequisite for prayer, vii. 29, 30:

'And think within thine own self on Allah, with lowliness and with fear, and without loud spoken words, at even and at morn.'

8. Moral purity. — In the moral (sexual) sense it is difficult to fix a definite idea of the term 'purity,' even of the term, as denoting sexual self-restraint within varying limits of indulgence, is expressed in the Thousand and One Nights (night 918) in these words:

'As for the lust of reproduction, that which pleases Allah thereof is, that it be of that which is permitted, and that which he disdains is that which is forbidden.'

As compared with previous conditions, the Qur'ān (see CHASTITY [Muslim], LAW [Muhammadan]) narrowed the legal limits of indulgence; but it is difficult to set a wider, or the ideal limits set by Christianity, e.g., in that it specifically permitted monogamy and concubinage, and made divorce easy, especially for the male. In so far as this freedom was based only on the Semitic desire for numerous offspring, it does not involve the question of moral purity, though it might perhaps be suggested that Muhammad should by analogy have deduced the doctrine of purity in morality through monogamy from that of the purity of religion through monothelism. But Muhammad in his legislation was mainly an opportunist, a compromiser, satisfied to ameliorate the most evidently vicious social evils to the extent that he could without jeopardizing the success of his main purpose. It is doubtful, indeed, whether monogamy, if defined with wider or more lenient limits of achievement, would have been possible to the extent of social good than he otherwise would have achieved. At any rate, he raised the standards of moral purity among many primitive peoples which other systems had not before, and have not since, been able to raise; and to an extent correspondingly or possibly unusually, that has been his success in trying to estimate how far Islam lends itself to the more enlightened social systems in this matter, it is again necessary to consider not only standards of monogamy but also what extent these standards are reached. In the first place, not even

1. Pilgrimage, ii. 110.
a strictly observed monogamous relationship, of necessity denotes ‘purity’ defined as self-restraint in sexual indulgence. Moreover, there are some who doubt whether the amount of indulgence through the lax interpretation of laws of divorce (but more especially through the legal and social traditions) is any smaller among non-Muslim Europeans than among Muslims. For polygamy and concubinage, owing to imposed conditions and natural difficulties, are by no means practised even by a majority of Muslims, and the serious defect in the legal code is a double standard. The double standard implies a lowering of the general ideal of womanhood, it has meant the saving from absolute moral degradation of a considerable portion of womanhood. For the punishment for transgressing legal bounds is strict; and the seduction of Muslim women is exceedingly rare. Legal restrictions, however, are of no avail in checking those outbursts of sexual violence which accompany the riots of mobs inflamed by racial or religious fanaticism or jealousy, whether in Moslem or non-Moslem lands, and which are directed against the women of the persecuted race.

It is in such crises, perhaps, that the moral shortcomings of Islam stand out prominently, because the Qur’anic permission for cohabitation with former unbelievers, for example, is neither immoral nor anti-Christian, furnishes a ready excuse for reactionary and fanatical Muslim leaders who are willing to make lust serve the purposes of religious hate.

In so far as ‘purity’ is used not only of actions but also of thought and word, it is again a relative term. In Islam, since matters of sex-relations in themselves are not considered to be impure, the thought or mention of them in literature or conversation is not, in itself, regarded as evidence of moral depravity. Here also the law of purity be made the amount of sexual stimulation produced, it is doubtful if the natural frankness of Muhammadans is worse in its results than the veiled suggestiveness permitted elsewhere; it is extremely difficult, e.g., to judge what the actual effect of Muhammad’s picture of the pleasures of paradise is upon the mind of the Muhammadan.

At all events a high ideal and voluntary practice of moral purity are not impossible even when the law in such matters is a question of personal indulgence. The interpretation of Qur’ân (and Scripture) is often more important than the letter; and, while there are not many Muhammadans who have attempted to allegorize away the sensualism of the Prophet’s paradise, there are many of high moral standards who have found and emphasized other texts in the Qur’ân (see, e.g., the passages quoted in art. CHASTITY [Muslim]; it may be added that in the popular version of the Shi‘îte teaching presented in the Tha‘âlib ‘Ali, the Thousand and One Nights) of the super-structure of Islam is said to include ‘striving against the lusts of the soul and warring them down,’ while prayer ‘restraineth from lewdness and frowardness’). It is, of course, of more significance that certain Muhammadan teachers (e.g., in such passages as Q. 24:30) have demanded rather than that detractors of Muhammadanism deny the possibility of such ideals within the faith; it is hopeful that such a passage, e.g., as xlii. 17, ‘No soul knoweth what joy or satisfaction rilleth within the heart of the well-favored, nor for the good’ as a reward for their works,’ together with the frequent promise of the ‘grace of Allah’ (lit. ‘additional recompense’), is explained by some to refer to a higher reward reserved for those who are morally worthy, merely like the idea that God’s face and in this spiritual pleasure forgetting the lower, sensual pleasures of paradise. In a similar way Ghazâlî taught that there are degrees of purification: that of the body from pollution and filth, that from wickedness and vicious promptings, of the mind from irreligious ideas and worldly distractions. Graded lessons are taught also in the matter of polygamy; there is no direct prohibitive in the Qur’ân (as there is nothing in the OT) to inhibit those Muslims who desire to insist upon higher moral standards of purity through the voluntary relinquishment of polygamy and slavery.


PURIFICATION (Roman) — 1. Early history of the idea. — In the earlier ages of Rome the feeling for purity and the need for purification depended mainly on a yearning on after ceremonial exactitude, in order to avert resentment of supernatural beings because of flaws in the forms of service which they prescribed. Hence all those beings whose discontent would be dangerous were very dimly apprehended, sometimes as ghosts, sometimes as nuniina, divine forms hardly recognized with clearness as persons. Anthropomorphic ideas of the supernatural slowly made their way into Roman religion from without, through foreign channels. Consciousness that duty towards existence not of this world had been imperfectly performed did produce a sense of defection, which weighed upon the soul, even when the wrong done was involuntary. At first the penalties arising from conduct, except in extreme cases, was hardly regarded as belonging to the spirit. But the use of the words purus, puritas, like that of terms cognate in meaning, such as curatus, scutum, suggest a progress in thought in the spiritual direction. The notion of impurity accidentally incurred, and independently of the will, tended to pass away from the realm of the educated class, and to retain its force mainly among the rude and the rustic.

Although the apprehension of divinities in the earlier days was but dim, their power to protect the household and the state was real. The strong sense of law which was characteristic of the Roman in all ages led him to consider the relation between himself and the god or the ghosts in terms of a bilateral contract. If he did his duty by them, they were bound to do their duty by him, and to hold him free from harm. There was in time elaborated a complicated code of divine law (ius gentium) which the historian of religion has named Natural Law. Originally, those who knew and expounded both forms of this law were the same, the college of pontifices. It is too much, however, to say, as has often been stated, that the primitive idea of obligation towards the gods, or the divinity in general, was ethical. The horror inspired by murder, especially of the atrocious kind called paricide, and even by lesser offences, such as wrongful treatment of a client by his patrician patron, placed the country above the body, and rendered him accursed (saeer) and deprived him of civil rights.

2. Common acts of purification. — The necessity of purification ran through the life of the indi-
vital. In a sense the new-born babe was in pure and was the subject of various ceremonies. The day on which a child received its name was its dies lustricus, 'day of purification' (Macrobius, i. 16: 'dies lustricus quo infantes lastratur'). The cleansing operation was probably at first conceived as a purifying act, spiritual protection. It was only in a later

case, when a death had occurred in a house, a cloud hung over it, which could be dispersed only by elaborate purification. Without it the family would continue to be funesta, i.e. at variance with the world of spirits. The pontifices evolved elaborate rules to bring this condition to an end (Cicero, de Leg. ii. 55: 'Omni funestae faulae'). Until this was accomplished, a branch of Cypress

was hung at the door, or in poorer houses a bundle of fir twigs, to warn from entering those who were specially bound to purity—in particular, priests and vestals. A sacrifice was offered to Egeria, of which a myth is preserved to this day. In a certain ceremony called oasisigeum, which affords a remarkable example of the Roman unwillingness to break entirely with the past. What was called 'the gathering of the bones' was, after the introduction of Christianity, practically the collection of the ashes, but one finger-joint remained unburned, in order to do homage to the more ancient custom. All unpurged contact with the dead would bring with it fouling and a liability to misfortune. A Roman poet makes the spirit of a wife who died early, to the torch which glorified her marriage must have been lit at a funeral pyre (Propertius, v. i. 13; cf. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 577). The prohibition (general in the Roman empire) against burying within the walls of a city probably had its origin more in the dread of ghosts than in sanitary considerations.

Parallel to the lustratio of the house is the periodical purificatory ritual applied to a country district (pugna). The lustratio pugna consisted in a religious procession through the towns, with sacrifices and with sacrifice. There seems to have been in ancient times a similar procession round the walls of a city, called amburbium. In historical times special purification of the city (lustratio urbis) was carried out when calamity called for it—e.g., after the early disasters in the Second Punic War (Livy, xxii. 20). The object of all such expiations was 'to seek reconciliation with the gods' ('paenem deum exposeere,' of frequent occurrence in Livy). A lustral ceremony accompanied the foundation of a colony (Cicero, de Divin. i. 102). The Terminales, protective of boundaries, and the Comitia, of streets in the city, were also probably lustral in their origin. Down to a late period the priests called Luperci purified the boundaries of the city, and the vicus Servus was lustral with the luperci (Tac. Ann. xii. 24). That archaic priesthood, the Arval brotherhood (see ARVAL BROTHERS), was concerned with an annual solemn progress round the limits of the most ancient Romanus urger, the territory of the primitive city. The ceremony was called Amburvalia, and it was distinctly piacular. When Roman territory was expanded, no corresponding extension of the lustral rite seems ever to have been made. These roundabout piacular ceremonies were common also outside of Italy, and particularly in Greece. The solemn words and prayers of the traditional chant, duly gone through without slip of tongue, seem to have had a sort of magical effect. Any error in the pronunciation of these forms would involve a need of reparation, just as in the earliest Roman legal system the mispronunciation of the established verbal forms would bring loss of the law-suit. At Iguvium in Umbria there was a solemn day on which the priests, who were almost certainly contained in the great and very ancient record in the Umbrian dialect, preserved in the Iguvine Tables. It may be noted that, from the commonness of these lustral perambulations, the verb lustrare developed its secondary sense of surveying a scene with the eyes.

Other forms of quaint ancient ritual were connected with the piacular conception. The Salli, ancient priests of Mars, made a journey at certain times round a number of stations in the city; they also had a "cleansing of the trumpets" (arminuslustrum) and a 'cleansing of the trumpets' (tubilustrum), which testify to a primitive notion that the efficiency of the army's weapons required the use of religious as well as secular means. The 'washing of the walls' (lapsus muros) which the census ended was in essence military; for it was connected with the comitia centuriaria, which is merely the army in civil garb (exercitus urbano (Varro, de Ling. Lat. vi. 88)). A lustratio exercitus was often performed for the former, which may have been a superstition which sometimes attacked it; at other times it was merely prophylactic. There was also a lustration of the fleet (Livy, xxxvi. 42; Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 96). We very seldom find the lustratio terrestre and piacular divinities. In Virgil the host of Aeneas as offering a piacular ceremony to Jupiter on landing in Italy (Aen. iii. 279).

3. Irregular occasions.—In almost all the instances given above the purificatory operation is frequent and ordinary. But often it would occur and irregular. Religious officers, particularly the flamen of Jupiter (flamen Dialis), were beset by many tabus, the breach of which would involve expiation. So, when the Arval Brothers took an iron implement into their sacred grove to plant or trim the trees, atonement had to be made. The erring Vestal, if unpunished, brought calamity on the whole people. Individuals who made unauthorized compacts with the enemy, as the compacts rested on the sacra of the trandurum, unless the nation, on repudiating the agreements, handed over the authors to the foe—a cheap form of expiation, adopted, e.g., in the case of the officers responsible for the agreement made after the disaster at the Cannae, 216 B.C., and in that of Hostilius Mancinus in Spain. On one notable occasion the irregular shedding of blood in political strife at Rome spread a sense of impurity among the people, which the senate thought it well to remove. The murderers of Tiburtius Gracchi (a tribune of the people) were sent to the temple of Ceres at Henna in Sicily, and a choir of twenty-seven young maidens was appointed to minister to them with sacrifice and with secular justification for their crime, but, on the advice of the keepers of the Sibylline books, a sacred embassy was sent to the temple of Ceres at Henna in Sicily, and a choir of twenty-seven maidens was appointed to minister to them with sacrifice and with secular justification for their crime, and, on the advice of the keepers of the Sibylline books, a sacred embassy was sent. Theneed for purificatory ceremonial was especially felt in times of national disaster, particularly those entailed by war or pestilence. The people's souls were narrowed by extra-sensory activity, and the ceremonies which had shown to be signs of divine wrath. Elaborate regulations were evolved for averting the consequences. The experts of Roman origin were the pontifices; but from Etruria came the haruspices, and of Greek influence established firmly the college of the decemviri (later quindecemviri), who had charge of the Sibylline oracles. Prodigies or portents of the less serious kind were expiated after consultation
with the pontifices or haruspices; extraordinary signs led to an examination of the Sibylline books (Livy, xxii. 9: ‘tetra prodigia’). But the priests in all these circumstances had no initiative; they had to wait until they were asked by the senate to give an opinion. There was a fixed ritual for making appeasement when a thunderbolt struck the ground or killed a man. The spot became harboured, and the neighbourhood was held sacred until the weddings were concluded; hence the special meetings for public business in Rome, as in Athens, and in other ancient states. If affairs were carried on in defiance of the sign, guilt would be incurred and a publican offering would be due. Some ceremonies which have been deemed to have taken up the name might have had to do with an external signification, which only doubtfully be so regarded. Whether the curious ceremony of driving in the nail in the temple of Minerva every hundred years was purificatory in character is uncertain. But the ludi sacrificiales commonly were, as abundantly shown in the records of the elaborate celebration by Augustus in 17 B.C. The ceremony was a sort of larger lustrum, a great amplification of the censor’s performance, which came every five years.

5. Dies atri et religiosi.—In Rome certain days in the year were called atri, such as the anniversary of the battle of the Allia, and others religiosi, on which public business was prohibited and many private affairs would be suspended. Even more solemn occasions were those when the law courts were closed, a prætor who opened court incurred a publican offering (Varro, de Ling. Lat. vi. 30). One form of taint from which both private families and the state itself had to keep free by forms of purification and appeasement, was derived from contact with unsatisfied spirits of the dead, who were conceived as in a sense divine and described as di parentum. The month of February was in part devoted to observances of the kind, and derived its name (Ovid, Fasti, ii. 19) from februa, which in the ancient tongue meant ‘expiations’ (piauminia). Another application of februa was to the leathern thongs wielded by the Luperci, when in February they ran their rounds and freed from sterility the women whose throats would be smitten by their blows. From the 13th to the 21st day of February was a time of ceremonial gloom. These were the dies parentales, and the ritual of offerings to the dead was parentalia. All temples were not open to the public on this occasion, as the magistrates divested themselves of the purple-bordered robe (prætecta) and other marks of office. Family ceremonies called parentalia also took place on anniversaries of the birthdays or death-days of deceased members. In the imperial period there were in May or June two days of flower-offerings for the spirits—a day of the rose (dies rosa) and a day of the violet (dies viola). Of these there is frequent mention in inscriptions. The 21st of February was called Feria, when appointed from sterility the women whose throats would be smitten by their blows. The 23rd day was one of joyful family feasts, and bore the name of Caristia or Cara Cognatio. The characteristics of the three days in May when the ritual called Lucrinæ was performed resembled those of the februa. A popular belief was quite natural that the wild festival of the Saturnalia, held in December, was originally directed to keeping the ghosts aloof. The theory is very doubtful; even if it is sound, the Romans early lost all popular sanctity in the intercalary. Other ancient practices have been held by eminent scholars to have a purificatory character. Specially may be mentioned the custom of passing prisoners of war under the yoke, which is best known from the story of the disaster to the Roman arms at the Caudine Forks. So, too, with the passage of the triumphing general under the porta triumphalis, and with the sororium tigillum which figures in the tale of the Horatii. All these ceremonies have been believed to be modes of purifying away the stain of bloodshed. The present writer is not convinced of the correctness of this explanation.

6. Means for ensuring purity.—The signs of purity and the means of purification were very various. The purity of the Ludi and the festivals required abstinence, especially from sexual indulgence. Priests were of course under stricter rules than ordinary worshippers. The innocence of young boys and maidens was welcome to divine beings who desired to meet them as spirits in worship as singers or in other ways were called camilli or camille; from this usage Virgil’s Camilla takes her name. Only such children as had living parents were permitted to serve, and these were designated as lumi et materini. The Vestals were in touch with purificatory rites. The sacrificial offerings on such occasions were of many different kinds. In great public expiations the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull (sacred alaria) was common. The pig was offered in private as well as public expiation. When (suffinitia) had lustral power. Bodily impurity, and also the defilement of a bad dream, could be removed by running water (Ovid, Fasti, iii. 35 ff., 622 ff.; Persius, Sat. ii. 15). Many herbs were believed to have a purifying power, and the laurel originally worn by the triumphing general, and later by the emperors, has often been believed to have been a means of cleansing the stain of blood shed in war; and the verbena, which the fetiales carried before them, has been supposed to be of lustral efficacy. These beliefs are very questionable (see the present writer, in JRS ii. (1912) 46 ff.). Myrtle was in customary use in connexion with the dead and also in the marriage ceremony, and it is possible that lustro loci was the cause. The willow (agnus castus) was supposed to have purifying power, because its name was in popular etymology connected with ãyov. 6. Ethical aspects of purification.—In the belief of the rustic Italian personal purity was needed to give full effect to many operations. The birth of a boy was supposed to be non-sexual; therefore the bee-keeper, when dealing with his bees, must be ‘pride castus ab rebus veneration’ (Columella, i. 14.3). Especially did the efficacy of medicinal herbs depend on their purity. The purity of the name or title that they bore was more important than that the herb was grown in a garden or cultivated by a patient. To assure this, a boy or maiden might be employed (Pliny, HN xxii. 27, xxiii. 130, xxvi. 93, and many passages in medical writers).

Purification was not merely ceremonial or mechanical. That an ethical element entered into it, even in very early days, is indisputably shown by the fact that some taints were inapplicable. All those to whom the vague penalty ‘Sacer esto’ was attached were of this kind (Ovid, Fasti, ii. 35, is in error). There were some offenders with whom the gods would not meet to have been assured as such by the laws (Cic. i. 40, ii. 22). In literature from the late Republic onward a strong distinction is constantly drawn between material and spiritual purity. It is true, however, that the yearning after a clean heart which the ancients felt afforded an opportunity to quack purveyors of kalhpmv was not natural to the ancient Italic peoples. Faith in the old forms was gradually lost. The calamities of the Second Punic War spread among the people a conviction that a stain lay on the nation and could be removed away only by extraordinary expiations; but the much greater horrors of the Social War, followed by the long series of civil wars which ended with the triumph of Augustus, produced no such consequences. Although there was a feeling that the Romans were steeped in guilt, a feeling to which
PUFRIFICATION (Teutonic).

—The religion of the Teutonic peoples, as it is presented to us by our sources, was not a religion of fear. To a very considerable extent those peoples appear to have ignored the possibility that supernatural powers might exist who were hostile to mankind, and accordingly they aimed at securing the assistance of their friendly anthropomorphic gods by the positive methods of sacrifice rather than by the negative processes of avoiding ceremonial impurity and of forestalling devils by superstitious and natural dangers. We must remember, however, that our sources paint the picture of Teutonic religion either from the point of view of the missionary, whose attention is focused on the more active forms of heathenism, or, in the case of the Icelandic sagas, from the angle of vision of the upper classes. The practices of the modern rural populations of Teutonic countries must suggest to us that the conceptions of tabu and of ceremonial purity were by no means so foreign to Teutonic religion as we are inclined to believe. An examination of the older evidence in the light of modern customs will not yield very much, but the results will not be entirely negligible.

2. Birth.—In the life of the primitive individual purificatory ceremonies cluster round birth, puberty, marriage, and death. The sprinkling of water on a newly-born infant, which the sagas state to have been customary in Iceland in pre-Christian times, may be a purificatory ceremony, and there is no reason to suppose that it is a late imitation of the Christian rite of baptism. The ceremony was performed by the father; and, until it was done, the infant enjoyed no rights as an individual being, for the father could refuse to have it done.1

2 Puberty.—Of the ceremonies performed at the period of puberty we know nothing, and we must assume that they played a negligible part in the life of the individual. They seem, however, to have existed, for we are told that an Icelandic chieftain, Thord gellir, was taken to the cross-knots to be initiated when he was 'introduced into manhood.' 2 It appears that the ceremony was connected with ancestor-worship, for it was the belief of this family that they 'died into the knolls.'

3. Marriage.—For marriage ceremonies we are restored almost entirely to more modern accounts, beginning with that of the Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus, of the 16th cent., who describes the bridal hot-air bath, taken in the communal bath-house, to which the bride and her female friends walk in procession, preceded by men carrying jugs of ale or wine, bread, sugar, and spices. On their return the party wear wreaths.3 A number of other Scandinavian customs, but recently extinct, show that the people have clung to the Teutonic belief in the necessity of purifying the new bride by a period of moral seclusion, and that they incur a kind of ceremonial impurity which lays them open to supernatural dangers. A device clearly intended to avert those dangers is that of introducing another make-believe couple to act as, if it were, the bride's husband. This is sometimes called the 'double.' One of them a man got up as a woman, make their appearance in various parts of Sweden during the wedding festivities, are received with much honour, have a collection made for them, and finally are driven from the house. Sometimes it is only the bridegroom who has a 'double.' In some parts of Sweden the bridegroom is driven by a grotesquely disguised 'coachman,' who sits in front of him on the sledge; and in Vastmanland a kind of mock bridegroom, who was expected to dance and make music, is said to have been used to be thrown into the nearest stream on the third day of the feast. In Wurttemberg there was no substitute for the bridegroom in this part of the ceremony, and he was obliged to choose between 'wine and water.' If he chose wine, he had to treat the company; if water, he was ducked.4

In other parts of Sweden the youngest bridesmaid walked round the table at which the guests were seated, 5 in order to remove all evil. 6 In Norway and Sweden magical devices were employed to the attacks of chthonic deities, who had to be frightened off by the hallowing and pistol-shooting of the wedding-party. 7 Possibly the custom mentioned by Olaus Magnus, 8 of celebrating weddings on small islands, has its roots in a similar fear. Both in Norway and in Sweden weddings were usually celebrated at midsummer, when the powers of darkness were weakest.

In both ancient and modern wedding customs the wedding ale seems to have had a prophylactic or purificatory value. A Norwegian bishop of the 12th cent. has assured his flock that a wedding is legal even though celebrated with wine; and the belief in the special virtues of wedding ale seems to survive in a superstition current in some parts of Sweden. This pail, fantastically dressed, is made an empty cask; 9 i.e. before the wedding ale is brewed. In Sweden it was customary for the bride and bridegroom to drain a beaker before entering their house on their return from church.

1 Landnámab., ed. Fmlm Jonsson, Copenhagen, p. 158.
2 Ibid. om deckinn Fjallher, 1566. V. decept., Swedish tr., published by St. Michael's Guild, Upsala, 1909—
6 Frk. xiv. ch. 10.
7 Landgren, 'Draen de skilpadder... till en bekredskrift efter Ytre Härad i Östergötland,' Linköping, 1856, p. 110.
PURIFICATION (Teutonic)

The bowls used for the purpose were often apparently the property of the commune. In Dalecarlia a large tree was brought into the house and 'slaughtered' by having branches lopped off it, and the company drank the 'ox-blood—coffee and brandy.' In some parts of Sweden the 'wedding trees' was flung into a stream or pond at the end of the festivities.

4. Death.—In the more primitive communities purificatory ceremonies are regarded as especially necessary in the case of a dead man's personal property, of sending the corpse out to sea in a ship, etc., or in burning the dead man's bed. This idea is not actually expressed in our sources, but the customs of destroying, burning, or burying a dead man's personal property, of sending the corpse out to sea in a ship, etc., may have their raison d'être in such a conception. The custom of soti, which appears to have been at least occasionally practised, is probably connected with the fear of pollution from a dead man's personal belongings. Some traces of this fear can be found in the Norwegian custom of solemnly dragging the straw of a dead man's bed. The old town-law of Bergen, while prohibiting all other bonfires, specially exempts such fires, kindled in the streets. In a recent Norwegian account on which a Norwegian legend was left to rot or used as firewood by the poor.

Ancient Teutonic religion offers but few traces of this feeling of pollution on contact with death in general. But from ecclesiastical prohibitions of unseemly laughter, songs, dances, story-telling, and mask-wearing at the memorial feasts for the dead we can guess that in the Germany of Charlemagne such observances aimed at averting the dangers of association with the dead. In Scandinavia this feast seems to have been more orderly and of original significance made more of. But the necessity for purification was still keenly felt in regard to persons who had been of an evil disposition during life. An Icelandic saga tells us that, when the wicked Thorolf begirt died in his chair, his son breaks a gap in the house wall and has him carried through it, so that the ghost may not find the way back. In spite of this precaution, the ghost 'walked' until the corpse was burned and the ashes were blown out to sea. We may suppose that the rituals performed in houses subject to ghosts, for the account in Eyrbyggja Saga of the legal proceedings resorted to was probably intended by its author as farce rather than history. Here the ghosts are summoned in turn, and an abortive verdict is given against each. This saga, however, gives an example of the belief that the properties of the dead are dangerous: as long as the bedhangings of Thorogunn were unburned, the household was a prey to every kind of misfortune. We may assume that here, as elsewhere, dead persons who had not received the proper rites were regarded as a danger to the community; for, according to Icelandic law, a man who killed another became an outlaw if he failed to cover up the body with a shroud and wash it. In this connection we may mention the wide-spread belief which makes it obligatory on every passer-by to add a stone to the cairn raised over some person who had died a violent death. This custom was observed until lately in the inner district of Eyrbyggja.

5. Harvest.—The various purificatory observances connected with harvest or other seasons of the year can be traced only in modern custom and can be best studied in Frenzer's Golden Bough. An exception is the need-fire (m.a.), which first mentioned as early as 742.6 It seems to have been

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1 Gerns. 19.
3 Gerns. 40.
5 Ibid., p. 184.
6 Fornaldar Sagur, ed. O.C. Rafa, Copenhagen,1828, ii. p. 86.
freedom from formalism, shown also in the contempt of the upper classes for magical practices. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that regard for ceremonial purity may develop, into the conception of ethical righteousness, a conception to which the heathen Teutonic mind can hardly be said to have attained.  

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout.

B. E. PHELLOTT.

PURIM.—'Purim' is the name given to a festival in the Jewish Church, celebrated for two days, on the 14th and 15th of the month of Adar, the last month of the Jewish lunar calendar. The supposed origin of the festival, which is of a distinctly popular character, is traced, feasting, masquerading, and exchange of gifts, is given in the book of Esther, forming part of the OT canon. According to this book, the festival marks the miraculous deliverance of the Jews resident in Persia from the destructive designs of Haman, the grand vizier of King Ahasuerus, i.e. Xerxes (485-465 B.C.), who had planned a general massacre of the Jews for the 13th of Adar in the 12th year of the king's reign, corresponding to the year 475 B.C. Thrown into confusion and distraction by the Italian expedition of Xerxes, a Jewess whose beauty led her to the king's harem, where she rose to the rank of queen, the plan was frustrated. Haman and his sons were condemned to the gallows, while Mordecai, the uncle of Esther, was made ruler, as the invincible station to become the second in the extensive kingdom of the Persian king. Instead of being slaughtered, the Jews were permitted to slay those who attacked them on the day set aside for the massacre, which they did with great vigour; and in commemoration of the deliverance a two days' festival was instituted. The only religious feature of the festival, however, is the reading of the book of Esther in the synagogues at the evening service for the two days in question. The otherwise purely secular observance itself points to a non-Jewish origin for the festival. It is now universally recognized by scholars that the book of Esther is a pure romance to which a quasi-historical setting is given. From the silence of Ben Sira, the author of Ecclesiasticus (c. 180 B.C.), who does not mention Esther in his enumeration of the sacred writings known to him, the conclusion is justified that its composition cannot be placed before the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C., and was perhaps as late as 100 B.C. Apart from the fact that it is not necessary to warrant the belief that in the days of Xerxes there was any persecution of the Jews in Persia, or, in fact, that there was even an extensive Jewish settlement in that country, and apart from the inherent improbability of the story itself, the chronological discrepancy in making Mordecai one of those carried into captivity by Nebuchadrezzar in 597 B.C. and yet still living 125 years later suffices to show that we are dealing with pure fiction. It so happens also that we know from Herodotus (ix. 108, 112) that the queen of Xerxes was married only twice and that on the second occasion to occupy this distinction was Amestris, the daughter of a Persian general.

If, then, the book of Esther is pure romance in a quasi-historical setting but without any historical basis, then the origin of the festival into which the given in this book is equally fictitious, and we are thrown back upon investigations independent of the festal legend to solve the problem involved. The author of the book of Esther, by his evident desire to give a title to the book, with a Hebrew word pdr, supposed to mean 'lot' (3 K. 2:30), recognizes the name as foreign. In view of the Persian setting of the festal legend, suggesting that the author of the book of Esther was a Persian Jew, one naturally thinks of a Persian origin for the festival, and, if there were a Persian word pdr meaning 'lot,' the necessary proof would have been furnished that the author of the festal legend at least in mind the Persian festival to the Jewish festival cycles. Now the Persian word as pdr exists, however, and all attempts to find in it some adaptation of a Persian term (see L. B. Puton, Commentary on the Book of Esther, pp. 60-62, for various conjectures and suggestions), all, however, rejected (or properly so) have failed. On the other hand, the possibility that the author of the book of Esther, in connecting the name 'Purim' with pdr, had in mind a Babylonian term must be admitted, especially as a word so easily exists in both meanings, among which those of 'lot' and 'term of office' are possible, though not certain (see H. Zimmern's discussion in Kat. p. 518; P. Haupt, 'Purim', in B.A.S.S. vii. ii. [1906] 20; and art. CALENDAR [Babylonian], vol. iii. p. 77). The names of the two chief personages in the festal legend, Mordecai and Esther, carry us distinctly to Babylonian soil; for Mordecai is clearly identical with the Babylonian deity Marduk, the head of the pantheon after the Babylonian conquest. His connection with the name of the united districts of the Euphrates valley, where Esther is quite as unmistakably the Babylonian goddess, Ishtar, the chief female deity and as such directly associated with Marduk. Even though the Babylonian festival name Purim is a shorter form of the name Persia, Istahr (or Talm Bab. Mogillah, 13a), with which Ishtar was identified by the Babylonians. According to P. Jensen, who first called attention to this double identification, Mordecai=Marduk, and Esther=Ishtar, the two Babylonian names, Haman and Vashit (the queen whose Vashit displaces) are Elamite deities, Humman (or Humbar) and Mashi, skilfully disguised or connoted ('Elamitische Eigennamen,' in WZKM vi. [1892] 47 ff., 209 ff.). These two identifications, however, are less certain; and to go a step farther and assume that the story of the book of Esther rests upon a Babylonian myth, relating a conflict between Marduk and Ishtar, the gods of spring and light, against hostile powers symbolizing winter and darkness, and therefore identified with 'foreign' deities or as modifications of Kingu and Tiamat, who in the main Semitic-Babylonian version of creation are the personifications of primal chaos and discord, who must be overcome by Marduk to establish order—is to do this is to enter the province of pure conjecture. Until some fortunate chance reveals to us the story of such a conflict with all four names unmistakably introduced, we must content ourselves with the definite proof that at the foundation of the book of Esther, or at all events as an element in it, we have some Babylonian tale of the gods in which Marduk and Ishtar play the chief roles, and that this tale was transformed in such a manner by the Jewish author of the book of Esther winter and darkness, and therein identified with 'foreign' festival into the Jewish calendar. The character of this festival is unmistakable. Its occurrence in the middle of the last month of the winter season is at hand in mind the natural beginning of the year, points to its being the beginning of the celebration of the conquest of the winter by the youthful sun-god of the spring—as Marduk is regarded in various Babylonian myths. The Persian festival Purim fit in with such a spring festival, while the fast added at a much later date for the 12th of Adar—it cannot be traced farther back than the 9th century—is the prerogative to the festival which afterwards takes on a sombre hue as a preparation for the fasting to follow. As Haupt aptly puts
it (p. 1), 'shoving was preceded by shoving.' That the Babylonians began the year in the spring follows from their insistence on the order of the months adopted by the Jews, which begin with Nisan, the time of the spring equinox; and we know that the Babylonian New Year festival known as Zagmuk, and celebrated during the whole month of March—this being primarily the festival of Marduk and his consort in the days of the united Babylonian Empire (see Calendar [Babylonian]). The circumstance that in the 2nd book of Maccabees (159) the Purim festival is the installation of Maccabeus, and the festival of 'Marduk (or Mordecai) day,' is a significant testimony to the association of Purim with the Babylonian New Year period, bound up with the Marduk cult. The middle of the month preceding the 1st of Nisan would thus mark the preparation for the period of rejoicing at the approaching triumph of the god of spring, Marduk, over the hostile and destructive forces of the winter and rainy season. The Jews in Babylonia and Persia, subject to the influences of their environment, would naturally be led to take part in a merry-making season, just as at the present time Jews in Europe and America participate in Christmas festivities and in New Year's exchanges of felicitations, despite the fact that the Christian winter festival has been given a Christian interpretation. Moreover, the Jews still observe a religious 'New Year' in autumn (Rosh Hashanah, 'beginning of the year') on the first of Tishri, the seventh month, pointing to an older calendar, in which the year began in autumn.

Corresponding to the festal legend set forth in the 1st book of Maccabees for the celebration of the Roman Saturnalia or mid-winter festival at the time of the winter solstice (adopted by the Jews under Graeco-Roman influence and converted into a Jewish festival by association with the victory of Judas Maccabees and his army over the Greek forces), the romantic tale in the book of Esther was composed to provide a justification for the participation of the Jews in the general rejoicing indulged in by Babylonia and in lands where Babylonian influences prevailed, at or near the beginning of the vernal equinox. The one link missing in the chain of evidence connecting Purim with the period of merry-making in honour of Marduk and Ishtar, but also with the Babylonian New Year, is the influence of Persia in the middle of Adar—just before the New Year's season proper two weeks later. Until such evidence is forthcoming, the view here set forth lacks definite confirmation. It may well be, however, that with the coming of the Persians into Babylonia in the second half of the 6th cent. B.C., a Persian New Year's festival, celebrated at the period of the vernal equinox, and fixed for a time somewhat preceding the date selected in the Babylonian calendar for the Zagmuk, became the current New Year's season of rejoicing. The natural tendency would be to bring this Persian New Year into close affiliation with the Babylonian festival. Purim would thus represent the result of such a combination of Persian and Babylonian customs. The festival of Naour, celebrated in Persia in the middle of Adar—just before the New Year's season is a time of rejoicing and festivity in Persia. The New Year's day, known as Naour, is fixed for the first day after the sun has crossed the vernal equinox, and is therefore a movable feast. The festival of Naour, celebrated in Babylonia, is the first day of the Babylonian New Year's festival. The festivities incident to the Naour last a week. It is to be noted, also, that in the Jewish calendar the tendency is to fix festivals connected with the transition of one season to another in the middle or the end of each month (e.g., the spring festival Pesah and the harvest festival Sukkoth on the 15th day of Nisan and Tishri respectively) or at the beginning of the month, as, e.g., the Rosh Hashanah. The 15th of Adar would thus be fixed as corresponding to an analogous period, that is, the time of the festival, and we find evidence that in the 2nd cent. B.C. the Jews of Palestine also celebrated the 13th of Adar as a festival and that, under the same tendency to give to popular rejoicings, when adopted from foreign sources, a Jewish characteristic, the Purim celebration was associated with the victory of Judas Maccabees over the Syrian general Nicanor of Adasa in the year 161 B.C., and in consequence became known as 'Nicanor's Day' (1 Mac 7:18; Jos. Ant. xii. 5 (408). Finally, it was adopted into the civil calendar (see Macc. vol. v. p. 886). The book of Maccabees thus furnishes the festal legend for two holy days adopted by the Jews: (1) the Saturnalia, or mid-winter festival, at the time of the winter solstice, celebrated for a week, which became the Jewish Hanukkah, in commemoration of the supposed restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem to Jewish worship after the victories of Judas Maccabees; and (2) the spring festival in the middle of Adar, adopted under Babylonian-Persian influences and associated with the festal banquet with a special occurrence in the so-called wars of the Maccabees.

Nicanor's Day and Purim thus represent the same festival. To the one a Jewish aspect was given by making it a commemoration of a victory gained over the Syrian at a critical moment in Jewish history, while for the same festival adopted under Babylonian-Persian influences a festal legend was composed which transformed a Babylonian myth, celebrating the deeds of Marduk and Ishtar, into a Jewish romance. It may be also that the Jews of Persia suffered some annoyance from hostile officials, and that a liberation through the dismissal of an offensive vizier suggested some of the incidents in the festal legend, which, in accord with the tendency of legendary compositions, would give to a comparatively insignificant episode an exaggerated importance. All this, however, is purely conjectural, and it must be frankly admitted that there is no evidence for any persecution of the Jews under any of the Persian rulers, who, on the contrary, appear to have been at all times favourably disposed towards them. The main thesis in connexion with Purim, that it is a foreign festival, a precursor of the Babylonian New Year's festival of the Persians, is adopted by the Jews, is not affected even if we assume the historical occurrence to be a factor in the composition of the romance, which was written to give a Jewish setting to a celebration that had become popular among the Jews of Rome and Babylonia and had spread to other countries where Jews had settled. The sad experiences of the Jews, encountering hostility and frequent persecutions in the Diaspora, tended to increase the popularity of Purim. The story in the book of Esther became typical of the sufferings of the Jews in many lands. There were Hamans everywhere who tried to work injury to the Jews, and the celebration of Purim helped to maintain their trust during the dark days in the ultimate deliverance from the dangers of foreign enemies. Thus merry-making at Purim also afforded an outlet for pent-up feelings, and furnished a much-needed relief from the serious life led during the greater part of the year.

All the festivals of the Jews except Purim take on a sombre hue, even those which, like the Passover and the Festival of Booths, were in their origin distinctly joyous occasions. The somewhat cruel and vicious spirit of the book of Esther, reeking with evil and cruelty, with the Jews themselves on their enemies by slaughtering thousands of them (9:14), was overlooked in the abandonment to joy that marked the two days of Purim.
Masquerading and games became one of the features of the popular rejoicing. Presents were exchanged and gambling was indulged in as an obligation. Sober and serious-minded persons gave themselves over to the joy of Purim, and it was regarded as quite proper to put oneself in such a condition at Purim time that one could not distinguish oneself. "Cecil's Morals," The "Blessed be Mordecai" (Talmud Bab. Megillah, 76), though naturally a playful allusion of this kind must not be forced beyond the point of showing that, as far back as Talmudic days, Purim was regarded as a time of relaxation, departure from the regularity of any genuinely religious character. The exceptionally secular nature of the festival is also shown by the express permission of the rabbis (Megillah, 18a) that the roll of the book of Esther may be read in any language in the synagogue, while otherwise, as a matter of course, only Hebrew was to be used in the service. Even the synagogue service in connexion with Purim acquired some of the boisterous character of the festival; for at the mention of Haman and his sons the congregation stamped with their feet or made a noise with rattles or by knocking two sticks on which the name of Haman was written against one another until the name was erased. Such customs are to be regarded as popular survivals of endeavours to drive away evil demons by use of sympathetic magic. They are closely bound up with the popular view that at transition periods—and such the New Year's festival is—the evil spirits were particularly malevolent, lying in wait for victims. Masquerading is also to be viewed under this aspect as a means of disguising oneself from the evil spirits or of deceiving them. Another interesting trace of the original character of Purim as a New Year's festival is to be seen in the persistent use with which the idea of their being connected with 'drawing of lots' clings to it, for whatever the etymological origin of the word par, there is no reason to question the correctness of the tradition set forth in the book of Esther which connects it with 'casting lots.' At the New Year's period, according to the Babylonian view, the gods sit in the council chamber of fate and decide the lot or portion of individuals in the year to come; and from the Babylonians this view passed to the Jews, for whom the ten days of the New Year's month are the days of portions. In the Boanerges, in the ten or eleven days of the Babylonian Zangmuk period. On the 10th day, the Day of Atonement, the fate of the individual is definitely inscribed in the book of fate and sealed. The exchange of presents on Purim also rests ultimately on an association of ideas between 'lot' and 'portion' as something set aside for some one. The term used for 'presents' (monēdēth) in the book of Esther (9:2) in connexion with the description of the custom is the precise word which means 'portions,' while par is specifically explained in a gloss (10:9) as ha-gōral, i.e. the common term for 'lot.'

LITERATURE.—See Festivals and Fastes (Hebrew) and (Jewish); L. B. Paton, A Critical and Ecclesiastical Commentary on the Books of Esther and Daniel (3rd ed., Edinburgh and New York, 1905, pp. 1-118; P. Haupt, Purim, BIBL. V. ii. 1906.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

PURITANISM. — 1. Definition and application of the term. — The widely divergent estimates of Puritanism as a movement, as a religious, philosophical, and social tendency, unite in the designation of its significance as a formative factor in the life and character of the English people. Probably no other religious movement has left so deep an impression on the history of England. Some of the principles and ideas of the Puritans have been fundamental for all in the constitutional development and Church life of the country; others of their contentions may yet be realized. In a modified form, the Puritan ideal of a Church at once national and self-governing may be the subject of a modern revival. But the questions relative to the character of the Church of England to which the Puritans gave so much thought have been almost wholly set aside by the change in our religious life. Puritanism has a future, reverence for the very letter of the Puritan tradition lingers in many minds, while its inner force is by no means spent. It would conduce to clearness in historical studies if there were an agreed term which could be used to refer to that movement for further reform of the Church of England whose history falls within the century from the Act of Uniformity of 1559 to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. The Puritan party consisted of all those who believed in the maintenance of one National Church in England, and who desired that Church to be reformed after the model of Geneva. According to Thomas Fuller (Ch. Hist. of Britain, London, 1835, bk. ix. § 601), 'the odious name of puritans' was first applied in 1664 to those who resisted the attempt of the bishops in that year to enforce uniformity in ritual and in the use of vestments. A passage in John Bunyan's Life and Death of Mr. Badman (written in 1680) says: 'The man was a godly old Puritan, for so the godly were called in those days by many people. The word Puritan was used long before to include early reformers of the time of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, or, forwards, to cover later dissent. The kinship of Puritanism with earlier elements in the English Reformation is as obvious as the identity of the Puritan movement is with the English Church of later times. But Puritanism stood primarily for an ecclesiastical ideal which was not definitely adopted by any distinct body of Englishmen before the time of the Elizabethan settlement, and which was not fixed in the Church of England but in the dissenting Churches. Puritanism is most simply defined as the movement for Church reform whose first great leader was Thomas Cartwright and whose last was Richard Baxter.

A wider application of the term 'Puritan' to all who attempted a greater sobriety of life than was customary in Elizabethan England became familiar in the 17th. cent., if not earlier. Richard Baxter says that his father was dubbed a Puritan by his neighbours because he disliked the village custom of carrying about a glass of water at public dinners. Another preferred to pass his time at home, reading the Bible and the Prayer-Book:

'For my father never scurped Common-Prayer or Ceremonies, nor spoke against Bishops, nor ever so much as prayed but by a Book or Form, being not ever acquainted with any that did otherwise; but only for reading Scripture when the rest were Dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying (by a Form out of the end of the Common-Prayer Book) in his House, and for reviving Drunks and Swearers, and for taking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the Life to come, he was reviled commonly by the Name of Puritan, Precisian, and Hypocrite.'

The wider aspect of Puritanism revealed in this application of the term cannot be ignored in any account of the subject, because the effort after a sober godly life which drew it and directed it was part of the whole religious movement of which Puritanism in the strict sense was the narrower ecclesiastical expression. It is worth noting incidentally that the name 'Puritan,' like the words 'Church Smacker,' is a term of insult which became a title of honour.

2. Puritans as a party in Church and State. — (a) The Prayer-Book controversy. — When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, the hopes of reformers as to Church and State were not altogether dashed. They were certain that the House of Lords would resist the religious policy of her predecessor. The burn of May-pole, being not ever acquainted with any that did otherwise; but only for reading Scripture when the rest were Dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying (by a Form out of the end of the Common-Prayer Book) in his House, and for reviving Drunks and Swearers, and for taking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the Life to come, he was reviled commonly by the Name of Puritan, Precisian, and Hypocrite.'
ing of heretics would cease, and subserviency to the pope would be ended. Though the number of convinced Protestants was not large, the country as a whole was prepared for a considerable change. In some sense England would become a Protestant power. But how far was the queen prepared to go? It seemed to be the wish of some of the authors of the Prayer-Book had consecrated it in the eyes of its users, others who had been in exile on the Continent had come under the spell of Geneva, and desired a more thorough reform along the lines laid down by Calvin. The Protestant world had not stood still since the days of Edward VI., and it seemed absurd to be content with something obviously limited and faulty like the work of Cranmer. The position of many of the leaders like John Jewel, Edwin Sandys, and Edmund Grindal, who were among the first of the Elizabethan bishops, was that they would gladly go back to the system set up in the time of Edward VI. as a starting-point, but that they hoped to be allowed to make it the basis of a further and more radical movement.
The first appearance of the English Prayer-Book of 1552 was manifest. It obviated the necessity of thinking out at short notice forms of service and of government for the Elizabethan Church, and it gave a sense of continuity in the work of the Reformation in England. There was therefore no surprise or regret when the Act of Uniformity re-imposed the use of the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI.
The Act of Uniformity was preceded by the Act of Supremacy, which made Elizabeth chief governor of the Church of Christ in England. Her authority she was to exercise in the first instance through an ecclesiastical commission until a regular administration by duly appointed bishops should be possible. These two Acts ensured lay control of the Church, abolished papal authority and the Mass, and restored the English liturgy. So far, so good; but what was to be the next step?
When the revised Prayer-Book was issued, it caused a good deal of disquiet among the more radical reformers. The clause in the Litany praying for deliverance from 'the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' had vanished. The sentences appointed for the use of the priest in delivering the elements at communion included those from the Prayer-Book of 1549 which were capable of being interpreted to imply the doctrine of transubstantiation. Moreover, into the Prayer-Book was inserted, apparently at the last moment and without the knowledge of Parliament, an additional rubric directing that 1 'the minister at the time of communion and at all other times in his ministrations, shall use such ornamens in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the service and prayers of Edward VI.' In accordance with this rubric, ministers in the communion service were to put on 'a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope'—the garments used in the celebration of the Mass.

Referring to a point of a renewed vestiarian controversy. To the dismay of the reformers, the queen was determined that her clergy should wear a distinctive dress in ordinary life, and should continue to use the vestments of the un改革ist period. Protestant under pressure from the queen, determined in 1566

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The chief Puritan criticisms of detail may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Prayer-Book stands for a reading ministry as con-trasted with the preaching ministry. The reading of the services is not done by those who have not yet appeared, and which consequently cannot be approved. These homoines, too, are to discourage private prayer. The Bible is not required of the parson, but of the keeping of saints' days—contrast to the Fourth Commandment. (4) The order of the communion consists on the communion being a part of sitting and talking. The communicant may receive the elements. The book, moreover, retains the term 'priest' in this connexion. (5) The parsonate is a contract with the church, but the assent of the congregation is necessary. It is essential that the men elected be fitted for the office for which they are called. (6) The ordination backed by prayers is wanting; those who are to be ordained are not in the presence of God. (7) The ordination consists of public prayer together with the laying on of hands. The latter feature of the ceremony belongs of right to the word of God.

Turning to the particular offices, we find two kinds of ordinary official, viz. bishops and deacons. The bishops and presbyters, or elders for they are one and the same in the NT, are appointed to look after particular churches. They are of two kinds, doctors and pastors. Ability to teach and to pray in the chief qualification of the former; the latter's duty is to speak the word of exhortation needed on particular occasions and to administer the sacraments. The deacons, according to Travers, are also of two kinds, the first being treasurers and almoners, and the second overseers or elders responsible for the discipline of the individual members of the church. (8) The deacon of the NT has nothing in common with deacon's orders in the Church of England. For the latter is but a step towards the priesthood, while the former is a distinct and permanent office. These are the only offices required or ordained in the NT. (9) The ordination services in the Prayer-Book mention other offices, such as apostles, prophets, and evangelists; but these were extraordinary functions and not permanent offices.

(d) The break with Anglicanism.—The first Admonition to Parliament and the tract by Travers afford an excellent survey of the Puritan case against the theory and practice of Church government in the Church of England. The whole field was covered in the long and embittered controversy that followed between Cartwright and Whitgift, in which both writers displayed great learning, much animosity, and an inadequate sense of proportion. But their works were overshadowed by Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, perhaps the noblest piece of controversial literature in the English language. It is not possible to trace the development of the controversy in detail. The Puritans failed to secure any part of their programme in the time of Elizabeth. Indeed, the administration of the bishops, especially under the leadership of Whitgift, rendered their position more and more difficult. No relief was given to their grievances until the Revolution, and to which the separation of Church and State is due. The Puritans drew to the point that the monarchical episcopate is contrary to the spirit of early Christianity and to the letter of such passages as Mk 10:25 and Mt 19:12.

Travers proceeds to develop another point to which the Puritans laid great stress, viz. the anomalous position of the Church belongs, not to particular officials, but to a compound office, i.e. to individuals set over and above the ordinary members of the church. The bishops are denied the right of ordination, which authority belongs to the elders. The ordination or assembly gathered from the three chief orders of the church, viz. pastors, doctors, and overseers, or elders—exercized the highest authority. These symbols are requisite for elections and depictions of Church officers. They are also responsible to no one but God. There is no presbyterate, no orders from communion or in pronouncing complete excommunication. The essential point is the corporate character of the church, and the authority of the assembly, which is enjoyed by Puritans drew to the point that the monarchical episcopate is contrary to the spirit of early Christianity and to the letter of such passages as Mk 10:25 and Mt 19:12.

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ment is abandoned. On the whole side of the Puritan case embodied in Travers the petition is silent. Instead, the desires of the petitioners are grouped under four heads:

The first reproduces the following details from among the charges used in the First Administration. A church service, that the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to by a priest, and some superfluous, may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered to by an unevangelized man, and so explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That examination of a communicant, demanded by a sermon. That divers terms of priests and absolution and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like, be burned in the next Assembly of the clergy. Church service abridged. Church songs and music moderated to be done with more solemnity. It is no reason the Lord's Supper profaned: the rest upon holidays not so strictly urged. Traditions be uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish opinion to be any more taught or denied: no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures only be read in the church. In the second place, the petition urges the importance of a preaching and resident ministry. Thirdly, they protest against the abuses of pluralities and impropriations of tithes. Under the fourth head they ask that the nominees of discipline and excommunication may be restrained. They particularly desire that excommunication may not be imposed contrary to the laws and customs of the land. They criticize the fines and the fees, and the delays in ecclesiastical courts. The oath ex officio, whereby men are forced to accept a judgment from a body of which they would be more strongly dissatisfied.

In the Hampton Court Parliament the Puritan representatives went somewhat farther. The uniformity of doctrine which they desired was to be found in the famous Lambeth Articles of 1589, which the bishops, in their strictest, would call the truest handiwork of Puritanism. They desired corresponding changes in the other articles. Their plea for the association of ordinary ministers with the bishops in discipline drew from the king the famous and fatal aphorism, 'No bishop nor preacher either.' Under the title of feeling against episcopal rule, clergy rose. That, against presbytery commanded an ever more respectful hearing. In the Long Parliament the movement for ecclesiastical reform was no longer directed towards modifying episcopal control or securing detailed changes in the Prayer-Book; the fast-breaking was to be restored root and branch, the Prayer-Book displaced by the Directory for Public Worship. That, however, is not the final phase of the Puritan ecclesiastical ideal. At the Savoy Conference in 1661 they put forward somewhat sweeping pleas for a reformed liturgy, and expressed their willingness to accept Archbishop Usher's scheme of a constitutional episcopate—a scheme under which the bishops governed with the assistance of representatives of their own hands. The Puritans were out manoeuvred at this contest. The Commons were asked to state their full demands, and they did so, in good faith; and then the boldness of their demands was used as a justification for refusing all concessions. They would have been content with less than they asked; as it was, they got nothing but expunction, and thus regretfully they turned their backs on the National Church and on their ideal of such a Church and set themselves to create their own religious organization. Puritanism as a definite movement for the reform of the Church of England was ended.

3. The influence of Puritanism as a tendency on religion in England is far from clear. How far were the Puritans right in their ecclesiastical scheme? Did they form a correct estimate of the needs and possibilities of the English Reformation? Were their criticisms of the Elizabethan settlement justified, or resulted in principle? Any answer to these questions involves the introduction of the personal equation but some answer must be attempted nevertheless.

(a) Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy.—The assumption that the queen gauged the temper and wishes of the country with singular sagacity is part of the persistent legend of Good Queen Bess. Elizabeth is supposed to have given the National Church exactly the form that the mass of the people desired. In suppressing the Puritans she was really acting for short-sighted reasons, who would have broken the national unity, and given the Church of England a rigid constitution which would have offended the Englishman's love of compromise. This view is frequently taken for granted, and it is only open to question. It would be truer to say than the country was prepared to accept almost any Church that Elizabeth liked to set up, provided it was more or less definitely Protestant, than to say that Elizabeth gave the Church precisely the Church that it instinctively desired. No doubt the people generally would have revolted against any attempt to establish the Genevan model in England, but there is equally no doubt that, if Elizabeth had cared to go farther than she did in the Puritan direction, she would have won the approval and support of the majority of her first group of bishops and of many of her leading statesmen and favourites, including Burleigh and Leicester. Very little encouragement would have sufficed to make the clergy predominate in the council. As it was, a considerable and influential section of the clergy sympathized with the Puritan position. A majority in Parliament could have been found at almost any time to advocate and sanction further reforms. There is no doubt that in the matter of religion Elizabeth possessed enough acuteness for interpreting the mind of her subjects. The rank and file, like their leaders, would put up with almost anything from the queen, because the maintenance of her throne was essential to the national safety and independence. But, had she insisted on a more Calvinistic reform, the change would certainly have been accepted as readily as the actual settlement, and in all probability a more fully reformed Church would have evoked greater enthusiasm.

The limits which Elizabeth set to reform in England cannot be regarded as an inspired expression of the national mind in religion either then or since. It is possible to claim for Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy that it showed the diplomatic skill to which Puritans were strangers. The retention of the ornaments may have been intended, as Lindsay suggests, to give a Lutheran character to the Church of England and to secure for it from the emperor and the pope. But the quality extended to Lutheranism by the Peace of Augsburg. The ornaments rubric and the other little changes in the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. also conveyed to the pope and to Philip II. of Spain the impression that England had been shifted a little to the Catholic fold at any moment and at short notice. No doubt such an impression was intended, and
one cannot but admire the skill with which Elizabeth used her ecclesiastical settlement to minimize the dangers which she had to face in her foreign policy. But if the elements of Puritanism counted for less than the element of personal caprice. Diplomatic reasons justified a cautious beginning—they did not suggest an absolute halt—in the work of reform. After the pope had excommunicated her, and still more after the failure of the Armada, reasons of State counselled a stiffening of England's Protestantism rather than the reverse. If statesmanship had been the determining factor, Elizabeth might have held back the Puritans at first; she would almost certainly have encouraged them later. She did not do so, because she was a Tudor and liked her own way. She meant to have the Church reformed according to her taste, and the Puritans were not to her liking.

One reason for the queen's personal animosity to the Puritans was her indifference to religious truth. She was consequently at variance with the Puritans on the question of a preaching ministry. The queen did not greatly care whether the people were instructed in the faith or not. To the Puritans the essential and important statement of the Protestant position should be popularized. If it was desirable that the country should become Protestant at all, then undoubtedly the Puritans were right in desiring an intelligent congregation in the reformed preaching ministry. On this issue Elizabeth was obscurantist; the Puritans were standing for enlightenment and education, however narrow the views may have been which they would have propounded ostensibly for popular acceptance, and in effect for popular guidance. Elizabeth, in attempting to starve thought and stifle discussion, was a sheer reactionary, and one of the most short-sighted measures on which she insisted was the suppression of the prophesymings—a measure against which Archbishop Grindal vigorously protested, to his eternal honour. There is no reason to doubt that the Puritan demand for a preaching ministry could have been very largely realized, had the queen wished it. There can be no question that the maintenance of an educated ministry would have been in the best interests alike of Church and of State. Even the instruments and defenders of the queen's policy admitted that. The main obstacles to the creation of such a ministry were the avarice and prejudice of the queen.

In some particulars the Puritan leaders certainly showed a truer appreciation of the religious needs of England than did the queen. Events soon proved that they saw farther than their fellow-reformers, when they urged that reformed doctrine would not co-exist for long with unreformed discipline and worship. The apologists of the Elizabethan settlement pointed to the pure standard of reformed theology enshrined in the articles. Further reform of the liturgy or of Church government would have been in the best interests alike of Church and of State. Even the instruments and defenders of the queen's policy admitted that. The main obstacles to the creation of such a ministry were the avarice and prejudice of the queen.

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(b) The Puritan polity. — The details of the Puritan criticism of the Prayer-Book need not detain us. The weight and importance of the objections raised in the First Admonition apply not so much to the book itself as to its misuse of it and to the association of superstitions customs with its rites and ceremonies. Some of the Puritan criticisms seem now unimagineable if not captious (e.g., their objection to the ring in marriage or to the use of the Magnificat in public worship). Others seem obvious, and have been more or less accepted. They might have been pressed and pressed, and their demand for a revised lectionary was valid for other reasons besides the reverence for Scripture which dictated it. The protests against the strict observance of saints' days and the lax observance of the Sabbath were more ineffective. The matins may have been pushed too far. The 'lengthiness of matins' is likely to be taken into account in any future liturgical reform. But, in general, such reform, when it comes, will probably not owe much to Puritan criticism.

It is more important to notice that Puritan ministers might have been accorded the liberty to omit or vary unessential details, not only with great relief to their consciences, but also with advantage to their congregations. The denial of liberty of conscience to the Puritan clergy in things indifferent is not excused either by the probability that such concessions would not have contented them or by the fact that, as a party, they were as much possessed by the craving for observance of the canon of perfect regression as the Puritans.

With respect to the ministry and government of the Church of England, the Puritans were clearly right in pleading for a better educated, a better paid, and a more carefully appointed ministry. It would be a gross injustice to the Puritans to overlook the fact that they were undoubtly right in the protest they made against the abuses of pluralism and patronage. The system and methods of ecclesiastical discipline lay open to the charges which the Puritans made against them. By 1602 all England agreed with them as to the need to make the ecclesiastical offices, and Land had no successor in the position that he secured in the councils of State. The impression that Hooker completely disposed of the Puritan case owes not a little to the neglect of the incomplete posthumous books of the Ecclesiastical Polity—vi., vii., and viii. When he came to grips with the Puritan criticisms of the actual working of episcopacy, Hooker was obliged to make large concessions to his opponents, and, while he would not make concessions, he did not find it easy to maintain his defence. As a matter of fact, indeed, no answer to some of the main criticisms which the Puritans passed on the state of the ministry, and the only kind of reply possible was to depreciate haste in reform and to urge that the bishop should remember his best friends, and that, being the intrinsie of the queen and the vested interests of some highly placed laymen.

The platform of Church government which the Puritans drew from the Scriptures, and the appeal to the Scriptures on which it was based, raised further points of interest. As interpreters of the NT, Puritan scholars were not at fault in contrasting the diocesan episcopate with the NT bishops who were in charge of particular churches and were the same as presbyters. It was fair to insist, in view of the importance of the primitive diaconate—a distinct office alongside of the eldership—and the later use of the diaconate as a mere stage in the evolution of the presbyter or priest. The element of corporate action and responsibility, and the exercise of justice, and of the exercise of discipline, undoubtedly existed in NT times, and was rightly emphasized by the Puritans. In restricting membership to communicants, and in making strict examination of candidates for communion, the Puritans were also keeping close to the early Church. It is disputed whether they were correct, as a matter of scholarship, in claiming presbyteral ordination as the normal primitive practice, and it is doubtful whether their division of NT Church offices into extraordinary and ordinary can be legitimately
maintained. But the point on which their position has been most effectively challenged is the assumption that there must be laid down in the NT a final form of Church government, to be rigidly enforced at all times and in all places. The Puritans took great pains to prove that 'God must have delivered in Scripture a complete particular immutable form of church polity.' Otherwise, they said, the Christians would be worse off than the Jews, and God would be negligent if He did not provide for the legal order, and order is never happier than when undermining this a priori dogmatism, in which the Puritans so frequently indulged:

'In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that, rather than to dispute what he in conformity of reason ought to do. The ways which he hath walked in are not for us to argue. He is far more in number than we can search, other in nature than that we should presume to determine which of many should be the fittest for him to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen of many some one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the fittest, because he hath taken it before the rest. What we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds; who and where we are we forget; and therefore needful it is that our pride in such cases be controlled, and our disputing be turned back again to those demands of the blessed Apostle.'

"How unsearchable are his ways, and his counsels past finding out. Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was his counselor?"

It would now be generally conceded that the government of the Church to-day cannot helpfully be made to reproduce exactly the features of the NT. We know now better than we did then how much more than we do the character of that polity. It is probable that no uniform system existed in the early Church, and Church institutions have necessarily been developed and adapted to changing conditions. The Puritan hypothesis of a divinely ordained and unchangeable form of Church government is untenable. Yet their appeal to the primitive Church was not fruitless, and is still a necessary safeguard against the easy assumption that, in the development of Church order, whatever is is right. Growth in Church organization is inevitable and desirable, but not every development is suited to the genius of Christianity, and none can escape criticism in virtue of its mere existence. When we refuse to follow the Puritans in denying the legitimacy of development in the realm of Church life, we have still to consider whether they were not justified in condemning particular developments as alien from the temper revealed in the arrangements adopted by the primitive Church. We are not entitled to criticize episcopacy, as involving a social distinction and a secular greatness incongruous with the Christian ministry, and as exercising an arbitrary authority unsuited to the Christian brotherhood, they were exemplifying a ground from which it was very difficult to dislodge them. The difficulty is at once apparent in Hooker's ineffective discussion of the phrase, 'it shall not be so among you' (Mt 20:25).

In origin and in character the institution of episcopacy was not specifically Christian. Moreover, the representative and denominative element in early Church order cannot be dismissed as accidental. There was and there is something vital to the expression of Christianity in the presence of that element. And, above all, the Puritans sought a servitude which led to Chr

1 Eud. Pol. bk. iii. ch. xi. § 53.
2 Bk. vii. ch. xvi.
penalty for witches were strengthened by this appeal to the OT; the wide acceptance in Puritan circles of the theory that all the virtues are splendid vices may also be traced to the same root. If the English are essentially an OT people, the Puritans are largely responsible for it.

(e) Influence on education and industry. In the matter of education the Puritans had to provide for themselves after 1602, and they made no small contribution to educational progress. As a reformer they did not sit loose to the methods and classical traditions to which the universities and grammar schools were still wedded. They were ready for changes both in method and curriculum. It was in Puritan circles that Comenius's works, an attempt to reform education, were studied with interest. The Long Parliament seems seriously to have considered enfranchising him to the task of reforming national education. The dissenting academies of the 17th century, like Oxford and Cambridge, were obvious illustrations of the recognition of the need for an educational system more suitable to the religious views and the intellectual needs of the age.

1 Dowden, p. 31.
the 18th cent. compared favourably with the older universities alike in expense, morals, and intellectual keenness. It was in these academies that the teaching of modern subjects was begun. The Puritans are being blamed nowadays for having been too exclusively intellectual, and it is true that the Puritanism may be regarded as the children of Puritanism. But this strong intellectual tendency was really a virtue, in spite of its limitations. In the States it was the Puritan colonists who cared for education. The colonists of Virginia took no such interest in the subject, as witness the sentence of W. Berkeley, governor of Virginia in 1671:

\[1\] Thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years.\[2\]

After all, the sermon itself, on which the Puritans set such a high value, is an appeal to the reason of the common man, and is an instrument of education. It assumes that religion must capture the head as well as stir the feelings. And so far the Puritan appeal to reason made for a higher intellectual life and activity. The independence of character which Puritanism fostered also helped to produce pioneers in educational reform.

The moral discipline enforced by Puritanism had a dramatic effect upon industry. The Christian life was regarded as essentially an ordered life. The passions were to be under rational control. Puritanism cut men off from wasteful expenditure and forlorn indulgences which dissipated both wealth and energy were sternly denounced and repressed. Time and talents were not to be wasted. On the contrary, the Christian's first duty was to make the most of his powers and possessions in whatever vocation his lot might have placed him. If his vocation was not a useful one, he was urged to seek a more useful one. If he had no vocation, he was urged to try and find one. The Puritans believed that one standing in grace was dreadful. No one should be unemployed; even the men of leisure should find some occupation which would be of service to the community. Puritan pressure in these directions was largely tended to develop the spirit of enterprise and industry characteristic of modern capitalism. Both by inculcating frugality and by strengthening home ties, Puritanism encouraged thrift and the accumulation of capital. Moreover, the emphasis on self-discipline and on self-control, it helped to form those regular habits on which the conduct of modern industry depends. The business virtues, viz. honesty, punctuality, and steady application to work, were stressed and approved. Puritanism, again, the emphasis on personal responsibility which was characteristic of the movement served to make men bring an independent judgment to bear on their business problems, and so increased the power of individual initiative. Hence, the influence of Puritanism was far more clearly on the side of economic freedom. For the Puritans, having lost power, naturally distrusted State control, while those who were in any case convinced of the superiority of State institutions, their first concern was toleration, and they became the champions of the movement for limiting State interference in every direction.}

1 Puritanism and art. The relations of Puritanism to art and literature are not easy to define. The movement has been wrongly held responsible for the general degradation, especially in architecture, which took place in the 18th century. Much vandalism has been attributed to Puritans in which they only shared or did not share at all. It is of course clear that Puritanism tended to dissociate itself from certain forms of art, particularly the dramatic art and the stage, which it treated as hopelessly corrupt, and whose moral recovery it consequently tended to retard. Moreover, Puritanism taught that it depreciated the outward. Calvinism has been called "the ugliest of all religions." Its symbolism is of the plainest. Dependence on the outward is discouraged. The central emphasis on God's righteousness still further contributed to a neglect and a distrust of the merely beautiful. The Puritan was intensely preoccupied with moral issues, and, as a result of the Puritan tradition, many have neglected and shunted the artistic sides of their nature. And yet this very concentration on the moral life and on the supremacy of God's righteousness has not been without its vivifying influence on art and literature. The deepening of the inner life due to Puritanism was bound to find expression.

1 Puritanism in itself is ill-fitted to produce a great art. Yet the inward life of the soul may be intense and the more intense the better. It is only the soul itself through appointed forms; and absorbing thoughts and passions cannot fail in some way to discover or to create that outward vehicle through which alone they can secure a complete self-realisation.\[3\]

Nor is the self-discipline of the Puritan unfavourable to art.

1 For the maintenance of high passion the habit of moral restraint is in the long run more favourable than the habit of moral relaxation.\[4\]

And it may be urged that, in the last resort, art reaches its highest achievements precisely through the practice of moral renunciation, i.e. through the Puritan acknowledgment of the supremacy of God's righteousness.

\[3\] So man does real justice to beauty till he feel the moral beauty of resting beauty—upon due occasion. There is something incomplete in artistic taste till it see, with so great an artist as Pino, the beauty of Puritanism.

4. Summary.—To sum up, the Puritans stood for an ecclesiastical ideal, the chief importance of which lay in asserting that the Church must not be made the tool of the State. In thus maintaining the independence of the Church, a necessity for the existence of any true government, the Puritans promoted liberty and very powerfully influenced the ideas of government. These ideas led with them into the colonies which they founded in America and into our own constitution and of state found freer expression. The United States Puritanism has exerted an even greater influence on Saxon thought than it has through British character. By means of a narrow theology Puritanism has shaped generations of Englishmen on the themes of religion. By its resistance or discipline it has influenced a steady growth of intolerance. It has exerted itself largely in industry and in industrial practice which is apparent in all professions and all the men and women who have come under the influence of the Puritan tradition. If it has favoured the growth of democracy, it has developed those qualities of self-control and devotion to duty without which no democracy can be preserved from corruption. In speaker and outlook Puritanism has shown some of its defects in the 19th and 20th centuries. The movement known as Puritanism has been too much to the OT. Belief in

1 Sir C. Cripps, Puritans and Puritanism, London, 1918.


4 Ibid., p. 9.
original sin led to a too sweeping depreciation of human nature and to harsh, unsympathetic judgments on opponents. Their religion tended to lack gladness, and their 'cardinal error lay in a narrow conception of the pureness and sacredness of all as not also as the God of joy and beauty and intellectual light.' But no movement of religious thought could fail to enable human life and to possess permanent worth which, like Puritanism, was inspired with the conception of the world as being to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned in the article, the following should be consulted: 1. GENERAL HISTORIES:—


ii. PUNISHMENT IN STUART PERIOD AND COMMONWEALTH.—


H. G. Wood

PURITY.—A fine passage from the works of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More (1614-87) will give a good idea of the wide meaning which the gospel attaches to the word 'purity':

'By purity I understand a due moderation and rule over all the powers of the soul, not only of the angels, both of a holy spirit and having so watchful an eye over their subtle enticements and allurements and so firm and loyal affection to that idea of celestial beauty set up in our minds, that neither the pains of the body nor the pleasures of the animal life shall ever work us below our spiritual happiness and all the compatible enjoyments of that life that is truly Divine; and in this consubstantiality is contained whatever either mortal temperament or fortitude can make us.

To this large conception of the meaning of purity corresponds the view of Augustine that the purity of heart mentioned in Mt 5 means single-heartedness or simplicity:

'sicut aedificium est simplex cor.' *

It thus appears that 'purity', like 'temperance' and 'sobriety', has, properly speaking, a wider sense than is usually connected with the word. It connotes the singleness or simplicity of a thing which finds the perfect satisfaction of its desires in God. The opposite of purity is uncontrolled or misdirected desire; and the characteristic reward of purity is the vision which is man's true life:

'a visio Beatissimae Dei.' *

The origin and usage of the word are sufficiently dealt with in HDB, s.v. It will suffice to recall the obvious fact that the idea of purity, like that of holiness, gradually passed over from the material and moral to the spiritual conception, and into a large range of ethical ideas; the notion of outward conformity to any deontology of the service of the Deity gave way in process of time to that of inward sanctity. In this process the teaching of the Hebrew prophets played a conspicuous part. The culminating point is perhaps marked in our Lord's teaching recorded at the conclusion of Mt 5. Christ's argument was really about the thing that 'defileth a man' in fact distinguishes between two spheres, the physical and the spiritual, which men had hitherto tended to confuse. Henceforth, as Christians were led to perceive, 'the Kingdom of God' (Mt 5:36, 26) was to be contemplated by the Scribes can be prejudiced only of that which affects man's moral nature. It is interesting to trace anticipations of this principle in ancient writers—e.g., Cicero:

'Cuius est lorum genus unde ad hominum animam invasa solitudo?'

As in the case of other virtues which re-appear in Christian ethics, the idea of purity directly depends upon the Christian conception of God as a Being to whom 'all hearts are open and all desires known.'

1. Purity in the narrow sense of freedom from sensual pollution was a virtue which, before the coming of Christ into the world, held at best a precarious position. Israel cannot be said to have been very far above the general level of the animal world in this respect. Where polygamy is not condemned, no very high standard of purity can be expected, and grave lapses from chastity in OT times were of frequent occurrence. These were often closely connected with Israel's ineradicable tendency to idolatry, and in fact the prophets usually describe the apostasy of the nation as 'adultery' (Hos 2, Jer 3, Ezek 16, etc.). As regards the Gentile world, heathen moralists could hardly be expected to display any strong feeling to self-regarding and prudential motives. They had no resources for tampering or restraining the force of human passion. Purity was a virtue of which, in the picture of heathen degradation regards the Gentiles as actually given over to an abandoned mind (Ro 1:24, Eph 4:18). Religion itself was corrupted at the source; the current mythology was a chief factor in the general moralization. The better element in the ancient religion passed over into the mysticism of the Cabala, which at least approached to the sense of moral defilement, though they could not appraise it. These bore their own imperfect witness to the truth that purity of life was needed for acceptable approach to God.

Now, Christianity dealt with the evil which was too strong for the heathen world by re-emphasizing, with sanctions peculiar to itself, the Stoic doctrine of the sanctity of the body. Seneca had spoken of God as 'near us, with us, within us,' lodging in the human body.' Euphonet ix. 18.58:

'Thou bearest God about with thee, within thee; and thou dost not realize that thou art outraging Him with thy impure thoughts, thy impure deeds.' God Himself bore within thee and over looking and overlooking all, etc. St Paul points to the body as the actual temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Co 6:19), the bodies which are misused in sin are 'the members of Christ' (1 Co 6:20).

The sin of uncleanness does not descend to the indwelling presence of the Spirit; it overseas that nature which the Son of God made His own, and by the Spirit, who dwelleth with Him, he is forthwith

1. 'Hoc est, tibi deus, qui capite, in corde. Deum, deum, Deum; et tu, quicumque sumis comperti, in corde. Deum, deum, Deum.'

2. See HDB, s.v. 'Unclean, Uncleanness,' 'Holiness.'


4. De Puritate ad Deum.

5. See E. C. Trench, Synonyms of the NT, Cambridge, 1854.

6. ζητεοντος του τελουμενον ἐν τοις ἀνθρώποις, κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἰεροῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθρώπους.


8. Hist. xii. 11.5, quoted in Lightfoot, p. 514.
the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body' (1 Co 6:13). We find an echo of this language in passages like Genesis 2 and Isaiah 53, expressing the purity and dignity of the material which the Son of God has condescended to assume and to hallow.

'God forbid that He should abandon to everlasting destruction his own hands, the object of His care, the receptacle of His own Spirit, the queen of His creation, the heir of His holiness, the preserver of His religion, the soldier of the heavenly, the sister of His Christ.'

Christian purity is in fact sanctioned by motives peculiar to the religion of the Crucified. It forms a part of that self-control (τελειοτροπία) which is the most characteristic mark, print in the Christian morality, and which was 'primarily identified with sexual purity, and then extended to include renunciation of the world and mortification of the flesh.'

Purity is the spirit which strives to bring every bodily impulse, every affection, every passion, every faculty — thought, imagination, memory — into subjection to Christ. But it is important to remember that purity implies not mere abstinence from illicit pleasure but the positive dominion of the Holy Spirit over the body, which has been raised from the dead and made the temple of the Spirit, so that no longer can be employed as an instrument of sin (Ro 6:13).

The prominence of this doctrine in the NT is a proof of 'the intense dislike which religion has to the fouling of life against whatever might destroy, waste, or pollute them. Christianity erects a sacred fence round the most dangerous places in our life. It does not despise the body, but labours to preserve and increase vitality. With this motive, it visits with its sternest censure any assertions of the individual's right "to do with himself as he will with his own body."'

Further, if purity implies the right direction of desire, the gospel brought to bear upon the force of the self-affection, of the love of self as the most dangerous power of all, the life of the flesh, of the flesh's desires, in so far as it inspired and developed the love of God and of man for God's sake.

(b) Christ's law of mortification has an obvious bearing on the process of self-purification. If the former is larder, pluck of the soul, purging in the sense of purgation, implies something more than mere self-restraint, the habit of which in other matters is so essential a condition of victory over fleshly sin. It implies the cutting off of every innocent pleasures that are found to ensnare purity. 'If ye are mortifying the flesh, it is not a matter of asceticism. It means also the vigour which is against the beginnings and least occasions of evil.'

(c) Occupation is also a valuable and necessary safeguard. While sloth and ease are the frequent forerunners of impurity, any kind of employment which leaves few vacant spaces of time is of great benefit.

(d) Of the power of prayer and of the recollection of the Divine presence it is needless to speak. Without them purity in its perfection is impossible. One particular remedy may, however, be mentioned, namely, the profession of the sympathy of Christ with the tempted. He has felt the full pressure of temptation, yet without sin (He 4:15), and one great aid to purity is the thought of His example, of the travail which He underwent in order to be made in all things like unto His brethren, and of the cross on which He endured the open shame which is the appropriate penalty of secret sin (He 2:12).)

Finally, we must bear in mind that the desire which occasions the sin of impurity finds its appropriate hallowing in marriage.

'de beautiful marriage hath a natural efficacy, besides a virtue by divine ordinance to care for the purifying of theart otherwise might afflict persons temperate and sober.'

2. Purity in the larger sense is virtually equivalent to 'simplicity' or 'single-mindedness.'

It is a virtue by divine ordinance to care for the purifying of theart otherwise might afflict persons temperate and sober.

Purity means the integrity of a will dedicated to God in perfect simplicity of purpose; it implies not the sacrifice of innocent desires, but the conscription of them; not the effort to acquire a single virtue, such as chastity or purity in the narrower sense, but the striving after goodness in the widest sense. Purity of intention consists in seeking to please God in all things and to make His glory the object of every act and word. The pure heart is that which is continually seeking God, passing through all things onwards and upwards to God, embracing one only object of life, and holding fast to a single purpose as against the bewildering multiplicity of calls and duties, claims and responsibilities, which make life difficult and complex. The pure heart is undivided, undistracted, unsophisticated. It imparts to character that 'moral unity, which consists in a supreme degree exhibits, the unity which springs from devotion to a single end — the love and service of God.

And the reward of this purity is vision, insight, illumination (Mt 5'). 'Cor purum penetrat caelum et inferentiam,' Augustine was correct in the sentiment 'Beati mundo corde,' etc., with the Holy Spirit's gift of 'understanding.' The reward of purity is a certain freedom from intellectual illusion and error; by purity of heart, 'etsi non videmus de Deo quid est, videmus tamen quid non est.'

Further, the soul which shall satisfy not only the intellect but every element in man's complex nature is the consummation of a process that begins in this life — the cleansing of the heart and conscience from all lower sin that is built up in the Temple of God. In its completeness is the effect on the character of true faith in God (Ac 16:15), the faith that works by love (Gal 5). So Bernard makes it to consist in two things which are both different aspects of love: in quae erat gloria Dei et utilitatem proximal. For purity is, as we have already noticed, not mere abstinence, not the mere cleansing of the heart from wrong or inordinate desires, but desire or love directed aright, and finding in God and His service the one true and satisfying end of human life. The pure heart seeks not God's gifts merely, but Himself. It thinks of Him as the only adequate response to the deepest yearnings of human nature. It believes that what He is, rather than what He gives, is the true life of man. Ille non aliquis ex ilia quaestandis; sed se ipsum ubi dati ad freudum, se ipsum omnium conditionem.'


R. L. OTTLEY.


L. Thomas & Kempis, de Imit. Christi, ii. 4.

Summa, ii. ii. qu. 44, art. 7, resp.

De Hor. del Ceno. de la Cima.

PURUSA.—*Purusa* signifies in Sanskrit ‘man,’ then ‘the living principle in men and in other beings,’ and finally ‘the supreme Spirit,’ both the individual and the universal, and the impersonal world-soul in a pantheistic sense.

As early as the Rigveda (x. 90) there is found a hymn, which reappears with several variations in later Vedic texts, wherein the *purusa* is described as the principal being, as the personification and starting-point of the whole universe. The heavens, the atmosphere, and the earth proceed from the *purusa*, also the sun and moon, gods, men, and animals. From the head, the arms, the body of man are described as proceeding from the *purusa*. The individual souls are conceived (according to vv. 11, 12) the four castes of men, which are here mentioned for the first time in Indian literature. Since in this hymn, though only in mythological fashion, the idea of man as the image of the universe is expressed, we may see in it an anticipation of the main teaching of the Upanisads and the Vedānta (*q.v*.), that is, of the doctrine of the essential identity of the inner man, the soul, with Brahman as the soul of the universe.

In the philosophical systems of India the word *purusa* is used in the same sense as the more common *ātman* to denote the souls of living beings; and this is done independently of the particular meanings attached to the word *purusa*, as in *purusa śuddha*, the individual souls are conceived as one with the indivisible soul of the universe or, as in the Sākhyā, Yoga, Vaishēṣika, Nyāya (*q.v*.), as existing in infinite numbers.


**GARBE.**

**PUSEY.—** Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82), scholar and divine and leader of the Oxford Movement (*q.v.*) in the Church of England, later known as the Catholic Revival, was regius professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford from 1825 to his death. This crown appointment, combining with it a canonry of Christ Church, gave him a central and independent position, from which he was able, by books, sermons, and individual teaching, to gain a unique character and aim to the Movement, both in its earlier and to a great extent also in its later phases.

1. His place in English life.—Pusey was by birth an English gentleman ‘of the old school’ (cf. the anonymous in M’Arthur’s *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, i. 180), and it may be said that some of the best influences of his time had combined in the formation of his mind and character. He was one of the first English theologians to study German, and in two long visits to Berlin, the universities, and Götingen in 1825-27 he worked under Freytag, Ewald, Tholuck, Schleiermacher, and Eichhorn, and came to know what scholarship meant to them.

Eichhorn Pusey learnt the vastness of the world of modern learning and the standard of work which was necessary in order to explore it. When in later years he would say, ‘A German workman would think nothing of doing so and so,’ he meant Eichhorn (*Liddon*, i. 74).

Pusey was a fellow of Oriel at the time when this common-room was the intellectual centre of Oxford, and until his wife’s death in 1830 he mixed freely in what was called the life of the university. Even in the deep seclusion from ordinary society which he inflicted upon himself after that date he was in touch through his family with the life of the English upper classes, and such sermons as the following he said Dice: ‘In his Soul’ was printed (in all Saints’ Margate, St. Margate, Ash Wednesday, 1865), or ‘Our Pharisaism’ (delivered in St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge, on Ash Wednesday, 1868), show his unerring insight into their spiritual needs. This is an important element in Pusey’s life, which has not always been sufficiently recognised, of his attempt to combine no less a thing than the attempt to combine a man whom none could patronize or despise, and who knew how to speak to Victorian society about its vulgarities and worldliness with a searching directness which could not be evaded or ignored (cf. his reference to a lady in *Spiritual Letters of Edward Bouverie Pusey,* London, 1898, p. 77, and to the heads of houses in Oxford for their luxury [*Liddon*, ii. 110]). Students of 19th cent. manners would find a great deal of material in his sermons. In *Liddon’s Life*, i. 81, there is a charming account of Lady Emily Herbert, who was married to his brother Philip in 1822, and of her relations with Pusey, which helps to put this side of his life into true perspective.

2. His part in the Oxford Movement.—In the Church revival which began in 1833 the acknowledged leaders were Pusey, Keble, and Newman, and Pusey’s special part in the work may best be understood by comparing his mind with that of his contemporaries. Imagine, then, a young man, interested in religion, but inclined to scepticism, coming into contact with the three leaders of the Movement in its early days, and starting some controversial subject, which at first he was inclined to think only true for one Church. Keble, we can imagine, jealous for the truth of God, and looking at the matter from a high mystical plane, would make some shrill and unanswerable remark in very simple language, which would silence and perhaps convince the boy, even if it did not altogether convince him. Newman would instantly throw his mind sympathetically into the problem, and work out speculatively, as if trying to arrive at the truth about it for himself. Pusey, on the other hand, would concentrate his attention on the questioner, would study his character, and begin to try to convince him of the truth. He had, that is to say, pre-eminently the mind of a pastor, and had no taste or capacity for speculation. Thus in religious controversy his method would not be the mind that would originate the ideas, or even to give them striking expression. His work would be to translate them into action and to press them upon men’s attention. Pusey’s eminence lies in his immense strength of character and in his conviction that he had added very great learning, and the power of bringing it to bear upon the matter in hand in that cumulative and somewhat uncritical manner which was more controversially effective in those days than it would be in ours.

Pusey, ‘said R. W. Church, commenting on the significance of his adherence to the original Tract writers, ‘knew the meaning of real learning. In controversy it was his sledge-hammer and battle-axe, and he had the strong and sinewy hand to use it with effect’ (*Quoted in Liddon*, i. 358).

The most striking contemporary appreciation of his personality and influence is in an essay by J. B. Mozley about the sermons he preached on ‘The entire Absolution of the Penitent,’ at the close of his two years’ suspension (1st Feb. 1840).

The religious principles and ideas which it was Pusey’s work to press home in this way into the national consciousness, were in Victorian England not anything which he had acquired as the result of a sudden conversion; nor had they been adopted in any way as a working hypothesis to be tested by their success; they were part and parcel of his whole self, acquired by tradition in childhood, and confirmed by all the experiences and studies of early manhood. He never had any temptation to doubt, and was always in the mental position of a teacher. If the truth which he thus held so con-

fidently were attacked, his nature would rise up to defend it with all the ardour of a crusader, and he would be ready to face all reverses and difficulties with the uncompromising courage of an early Christian martyr. Church's judgment about him was that he was 'a man after all to rank with religious reformers. His mind was remark- able. While still an undergraduate, he had tried unsuccessfully to win an old school friend from atheism, and this experience left a deep and very important mark upon him (Liddon, i. 40). It is true, indeed, of all the early Tractarians that they felt themselves to be striving not for the triumph of one particular form of Christianity, but for the maintenance of genuine religion as a whole. In this they were far in advance of their time, and it is some reason perhaps for the strong prejudice which they had to overcome. Soldiers are not popular in countries which think themselves secure (cf. the striking speech made by Lord Salisbury after Pusey's death (Liddon, iv. 301 f.). This may have been also a cause of that simplicity in Pusey's outlook which made him to the Roman Catholic writer says, unable ever 'to calculate the effect of his arguments on any who differed from him.' With this directness and intensity of character he combined an equally strong capacity for affection. The controversies and work of the Tractarians must never be thought of apart from that estito dyary (1 P 4) which bound them to each other, and the refined family life which was the permanent background of all their activities. The Tractarian had indeed its centre in a university, but there was none of that easy tolerance or that cold-blooded aloofness from the real world in its leaders which make religious people rightly suspicious of the word 'academic.'

2. Theological position. The foregoing considerations are necessarily for a right understanding of Pusey's theology. The Tractarians were practical religious reformers, and the moral struggle against unbelief was always before them. They were the first to bring the whole study of the Bible into the centre of the Church as historians or critics or compilers of dogmatic systems. They were not, like the Scholastics, the products of a settled ecclesiastical world, nor, like the modern Biblical scholar, did they stand aside from the problems of practical religious endeavour. Their theological work was all called out by the needs of a religious revival and by the combat with teachers whom they felt to be hindering it.

Pusey's last contribution to the religious thought of his time is the conception of Christianity as being necessarily a single whole. This was the natural result of the apologetic preoccupation noticed above. God is one, and Jesus Christ is one, and the Word of God through Jesus Christ is one. So also must be the Life of the Church and the faith of the Church. In the previous chapters of this study, we have made no assumptions with Christians nowadays, but they are to a very great extent the legacy of the Tractarians and the result of the conflict of the Tractarians with the leading tendencies of their times. In the previous chapters of this study, we have made no assumptions with Christians nowadays, but they are to a very great extent the legacy of the Tractarians and the result of the conflict of the Tractarians with the leading tendencies of their times. In the previous chapters of this study, we have made no assumptions with Christians nowadays, but they are to a very great extent the legacy of the Tractarians and the result of the conflict of the Tractarians with the leading tendencies of their times.

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rate give him credit for having in this way cleared the ground for the intelligent modern study of theology.

Even one in that day looked on the Bible as the source of religious truth, and for the Bible must the part he did not need to go behind that. Pusey's contention merely was that the Bible must be studied in its proper historical context of the early church. It was written to him by Evangelicals that by this deference to the Fathers he was thereby setting up an authority other than that of Holy Scripture, he would answer:

'The contrast in point of authority is not between Holy Scripture and the Fathers, but between the Fathers and us; not between the book interpreted and the interpreters, but between one class of interpreters and another; between ancient Catholic truth and modern private opinions; not between the Word of God and the word of man, but between varying modes of understanding the Word of God' (Liddon, i, 419).

This appeal to antiquity was, with Pusey, it should be noticed, something that could be applied in a mechanical way. It was an appeal to the whole mind of an age 'which had deeper and truer thoughts, an altogether deeper way of viewing things than moderns' (ib. i, 410), and the early Chris-
tian and their interpretation, without raising an infallible authority in matters of either faith or practice, but as being a great reservoir of true Christianity, in which those who would understand Holy Scripture for themselves should find the best and most standard is, of course, very difficult to apply to individual questions at any particular moment, and is perhaps difficult to defend in the face of a hard unsympathetic logic, whether from Roman Catholics or from sceptics, but Pusey believed that it represents a combination of a spiritual and theologically satisfactory conception of the authority of the Church, within which all that is true both in Romanism and in Protestantism is seen to be embraced. The effect of this line of thought on young men who had been brought up as a Methodist may be seen in Gregory's autobiography, and a clear sketch of the practical conclusions to which it led is given in a letter of Pusey's in 1840 answering the question, 'What is Puseyism?' (Liddon, ii, 140). For an account of the 'Library of the Fathers' which Pusey and his friends, in order to make the chief Patristic writings available for English readers, see ib. i. ch. xviii.

Attitude towards science and criticism.—Within the limits of space available in a work like the present it has seemed better to draw out to these broader aspects of Pusey's teaching than to go into the detailed controversies which accompanied the application of his principles to the life of the Church of England. A list of the main controversies is given for reference below.

The Oxford Movement proper was previous to the theological difficulties connected with evolution and other scientific hypotheses, and Pusey was one only of its leaders who lived on into that new period. He describes the change that had taken place in thought in an interesting letter to his old pupil J. B. Mozley when he returned to Oxford in 1871 as regius professor of divinity (ib. iv. 292). Pusey was not only friendly to the teaching of natural science when he felt it was not being used to undermine religion, and he was much more alive to its importance than many of the 'liberal' theologians of his time. In 1835 the first public meeting of the construction of the museum at Oxford would have been a disaster to him if he had known his friends had not supported it (ib. iv. 328). One of his last sermons bore the characteristically numerous title Un-science, not Science, adverse to Faith (London, 1879), and is described by his biog-


2 Pusey's overwhelming sense of the failure of the Church to minister to the great cities showed itself also in relation to the ordinary parochial system. At the time when he was composing the tract on baptism in 1835 he wrote an article on the need for new churches in London which gave the stimulus to Bishop Blomfield's Metropolitan Churches Fund. He and his wife gave up their carriage, and started to live much more simply in order that he might subscribe to the fund. In 1845 he founded anonymously the Church of St. Saviour's, Leeds, as a parochial scheme on the model of a mission, as Newman succeeded, and the course of nineteen sermons which were preached during the octave of the consecration was the first of those 'parochial
missions" which have now become an ordinary feature of English Church and Commonwealth, with this abiding interest in the spiritual welfare of the great cities may be mentioned the personal help that Pusey gave in Bethnal Green during the outbreak of cholera in 1866.2

The personal reminiscences recorded by those who have been favoured there give a pleasant and vivid impression of his personality.

1 'served on the Committee of the hospital with Dr. Pusey,' wrote a clergyman, "and very often I met him at the bedside of patients. The tender-hearted sympathy and interest which he showed were always acceptable. If the word "sweet" had not become somewhat cajoling—"I should not have been able to hear in the smile and quiet laughter which so brightened his face when he was pleased and hopeful" (Liddon, iv. 143). This smile of Pusey is, I should note, noted, was far from being his admirer in other ways. "Jenny Lind," wrote Dean Stanley in 1845, "has been in Oxford for three days. When animated she is perfectly lovely, and her smile is, with the exception of Dr. Pusey's, the most heavenly I ever beheld." (Letters of J. B. Morley, London, 1855, p. 197; cf. also Liddon, li. 103).

Pusey's influence upon individuals was very great. 'From 1858 onwards he handed confessions from persons in every rank of life (Russell, p. 78), and through strongly opposed to any idea of making private confession compulsory, he wished frequently to urge its practical necessity in the case of certain sins.3 His adaptations of Roman Catholic books of devotion, such as Scapolliti's Spiritual Exercises (Oxford, 1845), though much criticized at the time, have greatly enriched the spiritual life of Anglicans, and helped to break down a great deal of the prejudice which is due to ignorance against the Roman Church. In 1856 he held a devotional conference of clergy for a retreat in his house, and was one of the chief promoters in beginning systematically 'retreats' (g.v.).4 In this connexion also should be mentioned his commentary on The Minor Prophets (Oxford, 1877), and his little volume of Private Prayers (London, 1853), which shows the simplicity and fervour of his own devotional life. No undertaking for which he was responsible was nearer to his heart than the 'Companions of the Love of Jesus, engaged in Perpetual Intercession for the Conversion of Sinners,' and the volume of Eleemosynary Addresses (Oxford, 1859) he wrote for them for this gild would suggest why a place has been sometimes claimed for him among the English saints.7

PYGMIES.—See DWARFS AND PYGMIES, NEGRILLOS AND NEGBITOS.

PYRRHONISM.—See SCPTICS.

PYTHAGORAS AND PYTHAGOREANISM.—I. Pythagoras.—Pythagoras was regarded as more than human by the members of the society which he founded, and all differences between them were supposed to be settled by the formula aoros ep, ipso dieita. On the other hand, he had left no written statement of his doctrine, and little more than a century after his death there were conflicting accounts of it were already current. We find some Pythagoreans denying that the practice of asceticism formed any part at all of the master's teaching, while others gave it the first place. This divergence seems to have arisen from the ambiguous character of the society, which was from the first at once a religious order and a scientific school. We shall see grounds for thinking that the two things were one in the mind of Pythagoras himself, and that the society of his time was at least partly attracted some, while others clung to his religious beliefs and practices. By the 4th B.C. the divergence had become so great that it is hard to find anything in common between the two sects except the name and the general belief that the order of the numbers is the key to the universe. He is natural, we have no direct testimony from the Pythagoreans of the strict observance, though the denials of the more enlightened members of the society would sufficiently prove their existence. Fortunately, however, they were a fairly subtile race, and we still have a considerable number of fragments in which they are made fun of for their squalid and penurious ways. It is perfectly plain that they did, as a matter of fact, abstain not only from meat but from wine, and they chanced to keep their costume and went barefooted. They also looked for a privileged position in the next world, and regarded their present life as a sojourn in a strange land (aroschylia). For the rest, they are said to have been louche and dirty, which is the impression that ascetics are apt to make on men of the world. This is a matter of such importance for the history of Greek religion that it may be of great assistance when other documents. We shall most be mainly found in A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, Select Fragments of the Greek Comic Poets (Oxford, 1881). The sources are, however, in his Pythagoras, says: 'In heaven's name, do you think the men of tommor that turned Pythagoreans were so squalid because they were pious? Do you think that they wore dirty clothes? Not a bit of it, in my opinion. It was from necessity, seeing they had nothing to eat, that they invented a fine pretext for economy, and established canons useful to the poor. Why serve up to them fish or meat, and if they don't eat it up toss and all, I'm ready to be hung ten times' (Pickard-Cambridge, p. 69). And again: 'He said he had descended to the dwelling-place of those below and had beheld each class of them, and that the Pythagoreans had a great advantage over all the rest. He said that Plato would eat with them alone because of their piety'—The god is not particular, then, if he likes to keep company with his disciples, and mentions: "... And they eat vegetables and wash them down with wine, and none of our young men would be content with life and the costs of the and absence of baths" (ib. p. 70). In the Tarentines of Alexia, the following dialogues occurred: 'The Pythagoreans, as we are told, neither ate flesh nor anything else with life in it (fowls), and they alone drink no wine.'—Epicurides eats dogs, though, and he is one of the Pythagoreans.—'Yes, but he kills them first; for then they no longer have life in them.'—'They live on Pythagorean and subtle words and chiselled thoughts (gossips), and are well from the table. Their doctrines are that this is the cup of life, that's all.'—Why, that is prison fare! ' (ib. p. 65). Other extracts will be found in Diels, Vorrabatrisci, Berlin, 1852, l. 13, Liddon, 431, 439, and others. 9 The sons of St. Jerome, who was the 1st. cent. speak of the Pythagoreans very much as Aristophanes speaks of Socrates. The reference of 'Socrates to the Descent into Hadec' (Hades) from Diels, Vorrabatrisci (A30) is of special importance in the reconstruction of the system. The passage the arsaclyia will be referred to \newblock{\textit{Altes Weltbild}}

On the other side, we have the statements of Aristozenos of Tarentum, who had been personally acquainted with the leading Pythagoreans of the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C., and who had been
PYTHAGORAS AND PYTHAGOREANISM

a disciple of the Pythagorean Xenophilus before he joined the school of Aristotle. He affirmed that Pythagoras only enjoined abstinence from the flesh of the ploughing ox and the ram; and, with respect to the mystical doctrines of the Pythagoreans, he said that, as a matter of fact, they were the favourite vegetable of the Pythagoreans, who valued their laxative properties.

He also said that Pythagoras had a weakness for the flesh of young porkers and tender kids. In a similar spirit, though without the characteristic exaggeration of Aristoxenus, Diocles of Messene, another disciple of Aristotle, who maintained even against his master the superiority of the active to the contemplative life, endeavoured to represent Pythagoras as a legislator and statesman.¹ No doubt it is this divergence that accounts for the almost total silence of our earliest authorities about Pythagoras himself. Plato was very deeply interested in Pythagorean doctrine, and it is a very remarkable fact that the name of Pythagoras occurs only once in his work, i.e. in the first passage, where Socrates is told to say that the Pythagoreans regard music and astronomy as sister sciences.² On the other hand, Plato has a great deal to say about the views of those whom we know from other sources to have been Pythagoreans; the strange thing is that, for all Plato tells us, we should only have been able to guess this even of such leading men as Philelaus and Echecrates. Generally he introduces Pythagorean philosophical views anonymously as those of 'ingenious persons' (καλομενοι αρχιτρετοι), or of the like, and he does not even say that Pythagoreans, whose mouth he has placed an unmistakably Pythagorean cosmology, was a member of the society. We are left to infer it from the fact that he comes from Italy. This reticence must surely be attributed to Aristotle himself, and not to mass destruction.

The name of Pythagoras occurs only twice in the genuine Aristotelian writings that have come down to us. In one passage³ we are told that Alcmeon was a young man in the old age of Pythagoras, which is a useful piece of information; the other⁴ is a mere quotation from Aleidamus to the effect that 'the men of Italy who call themselves Pythagoreans.' By great good fortune, however, he also wrote a special treatise on the Pythagoreans, which is lost, but is quoted by later writers. These quotations are invaluable; for they are evidence that the miraculous legend of Pythagoras was not, as might have been supposed, the invention of a far later age, but was known at Athens in the 4th century. It may be assumed that Aristotle heard it from some of the Pythagorists of whom the contemporary comic poets, like Aristocles, Pythias, and Indikos, not at all congenial to him, and he probably wished to represent Pythagoras as a charlatan.

The intention of Aristotle seems to be shown by his statement that Pythagoras placed himself with him as a pupil, and that, 'he did not break with the miraculous mongering of Pherecydes.' (τον Φηράκτυν γενομένων και αὐτοῦ έκατέρων.) At a later date Socrates told Apollonius of Tyana and Iamblichus were not able to quote Aristotle's authority for the miracles of Pythagoras, and in this way that philosopher unwittingly became one of the founders of Neo-Pythagoreanism—a thing which was enough to make him turn in his grave.

The earliest reference to Pythagoras is a practically contemporary one. Xenophanes, like Pythagoras, traveled to Egypt, took a home in the West 'when the Mede appeared'; and some verses from an elegy of his are quoted by Diogenes Laertius, in which we are told of Pythagoras that he once heard a dog howling and appealed to its master not to let it as recognized the voice of a departed friend. It is true that Pythagoras is not named in the verses themselves, but Diogenes, or rather the writer from whom he is excerpting, is more than usually precise in his method of citation; for he says that he was mistaken as the first line is a verse which he quotes. It is clear, then, that he had the whole elegy before him, and he can hardly have been mistaken when he said it referred to Pythagoras. If that is so, we have contemporary evidence that Pythagoras taught the doctrine of transmigration or rebirth (σαρκοτροπία). The verses are satirical, as we should expect from Xenophanes, and the next reference to Pythagoras is hostile too. Heraclitus says of Pythagoras that he conducted scientific inquiry (τεραπεύει) farther than any one, that he claimed its results as a wisdom of his own, and turned them into an art of mischief (χακτρεπία). Later still, though, within a century of the time of Pythagoras, Heraclitus, the master, perhaps, of his own 'philosopher' (i.e. scientific man) of the Helles, and says he had been told by the Greeks of the Hellespont that the legendary Scythian Salmoxis had been a slave of Pythagoras, son of Mnesearchus, at Samos, and had learnt from him the strange doctrine of immortality. Heraclitus does not believe this, for he is of opinion that Salmoxis lived many years before Pythagoras; but the story is evidence that Pythagoras was well known in the 5th cent. both as a man of science and as a preacher of immortality, and that is what we want to know.

The Life of Pythagoras by Diogenes Laertius is a Farrago of Alexandrian erudition and speculation, while those by Porphyry and Iamblichus are subsequent to the romantic reconstruction of the life of Pythagoras by Apollonius of Tyana. They all contain, however, a good deal of material derived from Aristoxenus and Diocles, which may embody genuine tradition in such statements as have no connexion with the particular views regarding Pythagoras which they were anxious to propagate. The historical setting came mainly from Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily, who was anything but a trustworthy historian, but who had special means of access to original sources for the history of the West. The result is that we can really be said to know may be very briefly stated. Pythagoras, son of Mnesearchus, was a Samian, and the period of his activity fell in the second half of the 6th century B.C. According to Aristoxenus, Pythagoras was contemporary with Hecataeus, because he is subsumed to the tyranny of Polycrates, which seems probable enough, though we do not require any special explanation for the emigration of Ionians to the west at this date. He found the Achaean colony in the Gulf of Tarantum, famous for its healthy climate and the number of Olympic victors it produced. Here he established his society, which was at once a religi-

1 Aristotle, frag. 191 (Rose).
2 Frag. 17 (Syrac.).
³ Aristotle, frag. 191 (Rose).
⁴ Aristotle, frag. 191 (Rose).
⁵ Aristotle, frag. 191 (Rose).
⁶ Aristotle, frag. 191 (Rose).
⁷ Aristotle, frag. 191 (Rose).

of Pythagoras as Alkalides and Euphorbos. 1 If we could be quite sure of the identity of Ephorus and Euphorbos, we could compare Pythagoras with the war between Sybaris and Croton (311 B.C.), that would have been foril,3 though it may have been at the time. The residence of the leading Pythagoreans at Thebes towards the end of the 5th cent. is also a fact, and it is an interesting point how far to say the political career of Epaminondas and the brief supremacy of Thebes in Greece may be traced to their inspiration. At any rate Aris-

totle's 4 quotes a dialogue between Pythagoras and the 'philosophers' that the leaders of the Thebans, the city was conquered. He also knew his countrymen had made use of Ionian writers, in his dialogue de Genio Socratis describes the conversation that took place among the con-

spirators of Olynth in 357 B.C.5 It was the 300 Pythagoreans at Thebes by seizing the Cadmea. He tells us that the conspira-

tors had met in the house of Simmias, the Pythagorean disciple of Socrates when we know from the Phaido, and that, while they were talking, Epaminondas, who disapproved of their project, introduced a Pythagorean from Italy, Theaer of Croton, who had come to pour libations on the tomb of Lysis, whose spirit had appeared to the brethren and told them of his writing that survived, after the massacre at Metapontum, from which only Lysis and Philolaus escaped, it was unknown where Lysis was, till Gorgias of Leontini reported having met him at Thebes. The Pythagoreans in Italy wished to send for Lysis or to recover his remains if he were dead, but were pre-

vented by the civil wars and tyrannies prevailing at the time. Theanor did not believe him to disturb his body now: for he had heard a voice while he watched the tomb bidding him leave it.6 Lysis was also mentioned in connection with the Pythagorean burial, to which some supposed that, given Lysis a proper Pythagorean burial down to the most secret details. No doubt this may be a romance, but it implies a very definite connexion, and background to the mind of Plato, and he knew what he was talking about.

Pythagoras was an Ionian, and it is absurd to make him the champion of the 'Dorian aristocratic ideal,' as most German writers,7 like Brugger and O. Muller have done. To begin with, what they mean by the 'Dorian ideal' is really a fancy picture of the Spartan and Cretan ideal invented by Athenian conservatives of the 5th cent. and popularized by Athenian writers about 430 B.C. Croton and Syracuse were as purely Dorian as Sparta, and probably more so, and they will not fit into this picture. The source of the impression that there is something Dorian about Pythagoras is simply that the few fragments of genuine Pythagorean writings that survive belong to the generation when the Dorian Tarentum was the chief seat of the school, and were naturally composed, not indeed in the local dialect of that city, but in the 'common Doric' which was the Homer dialect of the 5th cent. and S. It is the common Doric dialect. The very numerous for-

gethers of Pythagorean writings naturally followed this model, and so there has come to be a sort of Doric veneer on the surface of Pythagorism. But Croton, Metapontum, and the other chief seats of the school were not Dorian, and there was no love lost between Dorian and Achianians, especially in Italy. Herodotus tells us that the Sybarites accused the Crotonians of getting the better of them by Dorian help—a suggestion which the Crotonians repudiated with indignation. Besides, if a Crotoniate at this date had anything important to say, he would have written in Ionic (as Alcmeon of Croton, who was a young man in the old age of Pythagoras, appears to have done for Ionia) and the recognized dialect for serious works, and even the Dorian used it. The literary use of Doric, except for farces and satires, dates only from the reaction against Athens caused by the Peloponnesian War. Groote protested long ago against the annexation of Croton to Sicily by Boeckh, and his protest has at last been listened to in Germany by Eduard Meyer. 8

Nor is there any evidence that the Pythagoreans espoused the Dorian aristocracy. They were members of the religious association, and we are told a good deal about the severe tests applied by Pythagoreans to aspirants to the novitate, but there is no hint that birth or wealth was essential. The character-

1 De Fin. v. 2 (2).
2 De Genio Socr. 583 A (13).
3 v. 44.
5 In Ex. xix. (1907) 530 B.
6 De Pythag. v. 5. 18 ff.
7 As, for instance, in the case of the Pythagorean calendar (perpetual or flori) with the most important event of his middle life. This would be the only connection it may have with the statement of Aristoxenus referred to above, that was dated by the era of Polydamas (552 B.C.). It is also clear that some estimates were based on the dates of the previous incarnations

Ons order and a school of science. It soon acquired a

dominant position in Croton and the other

Achaian states of these parts, and this naturally culminated in the destruction of the school, which was led by

a Cylon, a wealthy noble. It seems certain that

Ephorus and Timaeus connected the outbreak of

opposition to Pythagoras with the war between

Croton and Sybaris, supposed to have taken place as early

as 510 B.C. In any case, Timaeus said that Pythagoras lived at Croton for twenty

years, and then emigrated to Metapontum, where

he died. He also said that the Metapontines con

separated his house as a temple; and, as Polybius tells us, when

he was invited to go to Metapontum, he refused to

go to the house where he was to stay till he had

seen the place where Pythagoras died. The opposi-
tion of the partisans of Cylon to the Pythagorists

was carried on after their founder's death, and

ended in a regular massacre, from which very few of them escaped. Polybius tells us 1 that the days

when they set fire to the lodges (ασκήτηρια) of the Pythagoreans were followed by a period of dis-
turbance in Magna Graecia, 2 as was natural, since so many of the principal states had so unexpectedly perished, and the Greek cities of S. Italy were filled with bloodshed, civil war, and confusion of every kind, till at last they got the assistance of the Achianians in the Peloponnese, which was the period when Pythagoras were, in restoring tranquility.

No date is given anywhere for this persecution,

but Aristoxenus said that only two of the Pythagoreans in Croton escaped, Lysis and Archipus—for whom Plutarch 3 substitutes Lysis and Philolaus, and says that Pythagoras was exceedingly anxious of Epaminondas at Thebes, and, as Epaminondas cannot have been born much before 420 B.C., Lysis must have been still living in 400 B.C. We must

assumne, then, that the great persecution took place somewhere about the middle of the 5th cent. On the other hand, it must have been before the establishment of a Panhellenic colony by Pericles near the deserted site of Sybaris (444 B.C.), or we should have heard of these troubles in that connexion. It is evident from Plutarch that the Pythagoreans played a very important part in the affairs of Thebes, and that it was now one of the chief seats of the society. We know from Plato's Phaido 4 that Philolaus was resident there some time during the last twenty years of the 5th cent., and also that Ephorus, who was not a Pythagorean, but was known by Aristoxenus to have been Pythagoreans, were settled at Phlius near Sicyon. Some time before the death of Socrates, however, it must have been safe for the Pythagoreans to show them-
nselves in S. Italy again, for we gather that Philo-

laus had already left Thebes by that time, and we

know that he settled at Tarentum, henceforth the chief seat of the society, where it is represented in the next generation by the distinguished mathe-

matician, statesman, and general, Archytas, friend of Plato. The Pythagoreans of Tarentum were the centre of the opposition to Dionysius I. of Syracuse, and it was at their request that Plato undertook the education of his successor, Dio-

nysius II. The story of Damon and Phintias, which Aristotle quotes, was told by Archytas himself when in exile, belongs to this period.

The uncertainty of the chronology is a great difficulty. The dates usually given for Pythagoras himself were obtained by the usual proportion of age at death to age at death, 22 and 570 B.C. is the most important event of his middle life. This was supposed to be his exile to Italy, and on the basis of this statement of Aristoxenus referred to above, that was dated by the era of Polydamas (552 B.C.). It is also clear that some estimates were based on the dates of the previous incarnations

1 De Fin. v. 2 (2).
2 De Genio Socr. 583 A (13).
3 6 D. Simmias and Cebes are young men in 399 B.C., and had

been disciples of Philolaus at Tarenta.
4 De A.
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istic of such associations in Greece and elsewhere is just that any one is admitted to membership who is able and willing to fulfil their requirements, whatever his condition may be. The prominent part he and his brother played in the various abstinences of the Pythagoreans first depends on this. It is probably true that Pythagoras dissuaded the Crotoliotes from giving up the refugees from Sybaris, but that was surely because they were suppliants, and not because they were aristocrites, as the tradition generally has it. Aristoëntes said expressly that Cylon, the leader of the opposition to Pythagoras, was a man distinguished by birth, position, and wealth, not a popular leader, as modern writers assert. Moreover, when the Pythagoreans did return to Italy, they settled at Tarentum, which was an extremely democratic state, and it is hard to see anything else that could have recommended a Doric city to them. It is true that Archytas was at the head of the Tarentine government for years, but he owed his position for the most part to the last, though, lastly, though Empedocles (q.v.) may not have been a member of the Pythagorean society, he was certainly an enthusiastic admirer of Pythagoras, and seems to have taken him as his model; and Empedocles was leader of the democratic party in another Doric state, Agrigentum.

It is no doubt possible that there is some truth in the statement of some authorities that the female Pythagoras was described by Empedocles as drawn after life. But it was not, certainly, to be submitted to the conquering Dorians. The exiles settled first at Lemnos, then they went to Aphrodisium and expelled the Athenians, when the family of Pythagoras settled at Samos. Pausanias says that he heard the matter at Phlius itself, and it is noteworthy thatboth Chalcidice and other Pythagoreans settled at Phlius in later days, and that the name Hippos was well known as that of a Pythagorean who revealed the secrets of nature to the Ionians, on which subject see notes, however, on the Ionian of Pythagoras; for the exiles from Phlius belonged to the first generation of Pythagorean exiles, after the Chalcidians and the Achaeans came, and whom we must identify with the Arcadians on the one hand and the Ionians on the other. If the family of Pythagoras possessed any notion of things, he would be less than ever inclined to sympathize with the "Dorian ideal." Nor were the Achaians Dorians. It may be that he spoke a very similar dialect, though we have not sufficient remains of it to be sure, but that can be sufficiently accounted for if we suppose that they both adopted the language of the original population before the not very remote date when the Ionians took to saying "Eides" instead of "Vasis," for instance. The reference of Pythagoreanism to a common language is not uncommon.

The whole question has been needlessly complicated by the unwarranted assumption that the Arundo-Cypriote dialect of Homer was the most closed and remote of all the dialects of Homer. It has actually been said that Pythagoras changed his name in order to make the Socrates of "Pythagoreanism" adherent to the "Dorian ideal!" Of course the form is due to the fact that we generally read of him in Attic writers who use the Attic form, and there is no reason to suppose that he ever called himself anything else but Πυθαγόρας, as he was still called by Democritus.

2. Pythagorean religion.—In the light of modern anthropology, the Pythagorean religion has become a good deal easier to understand than it was. We can see that, so far as the leading ideas on which it was based are concerned, it might have arisen anywhere; for those ideas are primitive and worldwide. The first of them is that the soul can leave the body temporarily or permanently and take up its abode in another body. The second is the kinship of men and beasts, which makes it possible for the same soul to inhabit the bodies of either. The third is the necessity of the observance of certain abstinences or tabus. To make a religion out of these ideas, it only requires a great teacher to give them an ethical character which they do not inherently possess, and that is why we find so many resemblances of Pythagorean religion which can have no historical connexion with it. Some of these had already struck people in the 5th century. Herodotus notes the agreement of the Pythagorean rule to bury the dead in linen with the Egyptian practice of excluding wood from temples, and he hints that not only this, but the belief in immortality and transmigration, came from Egypt. The rule about linen is simply, of course, that it should be of the best quality, as it would be of the best animal product, and may arise independently in many places; and Herodotus was wrong in supposing that the Egyptians believed in transmigration. It was probably an impression that he gathered from the semi-animal figures on the monuments. As the general horizon of Pythagoras was sent farther and farther afield for his religious instruction—to the Chaldceans and the Druids and other peoples. In modern times his system has been derived from China, and even now there are those who think it came from India. Now there are certainly some striking resemblances between Pythagoreanism and Buddhism, though the differences are more striking still. That can be explained quite naturally, however, when we remember that the Buddha, like the Greeks, has been bent for philosophy, and that the operation of philosophical speculation on the same basis of primitive belief would naturally yield somewhat similar results. The question of Egyptian influence is on rather a different footing; it is historically possible, and, if we remember the close connexion between Ptolemaic and Egyptian of Egypt, it will seem quite likely that Pythagoras visited Egypt. If we could find any real trace of Egyptian influence, it would be a more important fact in admitting it. It is strange, however, that Herodotus does not say that Pythagoras had ever been in Egypt, and that the first statement that he had occurs in a work which expressly disclaims any historical character, the Bulisiris of Ierocrates, and in a passage obviously based on the same that obscure remains of Herodotus. We must remember, too, that what Pythagoras might have learnt in Egypt at that date would have been the confused and artificial theology of the Saitic period, and we can find no trace of that. We shall see that the religion of Pythagoras, like everything else about him, has a definitely Ionian character, and that the doctrine of rebirth or transmigration was known in the Egyptian before his time.

The "Doric ideal," by which this doctrine is generally known, has only very late authority, and is based on confusion of ideas; for it would mean that the same body was inhabited by the soul after death in another world, which would have been μεταγενεσία, which is actually used by Plotinus and the Christian apologists. The proper expression is undoubtedly ἐναγγελεύσεια, or renewal. The first point to notice is the intimate association of Pythagoreanism with the cult of Apollo at Delos. We know from the Homer Ulysses that the Apollo (q.v.) at Delos had become a meeting-place for all Ionians long before the time of Pythagoras, though their official chief deity was the Minyan god Poseidon Helikions, who presided over the Panionion at Mycale. Now, as L. R. Farnell has rightly insisted, Apollo Lykeios, the wolf-god of Amorgos, nothing to do with the sun in classical (Greek literature) columns, and his connexion with Lycia, which may have been called after him, is secondary, and due to Achaian colonization in those parts. Everything points to his having been a god of the northemers who came to Euboea after the fall of the old 14th century B.C. There is nothing strange in his having been adopted by the Ionians. When great sanctuaries like that at Delos are established, the seats of the gods become fixed, even though the people from whom the original sects either appeared or disappeared, as the Achaian were by the Ionians of the Egyptian. In much the same way, those Achaians who were able to maintain their separate nationality after the Dorian conquest of

viii. 125.
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the Peloponnesse, when they expelled the Ionians from the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, took over the worship of Poseidon Helikonios which they had found there. The Peloponnesians kept the trace of the northern origin of Apollo is the bringing of the offerings of the Hyperbores to Delos every year by one or more ancient routes, and Apollo himself was supposed to revisit the Hyperbores after his departure. An Aristotelian work on the Pythagoreans tells us that the citizens of Croton gave the name of Apollo Hyperbores to Pythagoras.

For the Hyperbores and their offerings see Farnell, CGS iv. 205 ff. Purification (eubateia) came to be so closely associated with Apollo that Socrates, in Plato’s Cratylus, 358 b, proposes to derive his name from eubateia or eubates, both of which mean “to make holy.”

But we can go further than this; for we can show that Pythagoras had Ionian predecessors in his cosmogony as well as in his doctrine of the soul. There are traces of cosmogonical theory even in Homer, and it is perfectly possible that Pythagoras may have imported the cosmogonical figures at the beginning of his Theogony; for he introduces Chaos and Eros without a word of explanation, and there is no indication of the parts they played in the creation of the world. As Gomperz very justly observed, ‘Hesiod’s system is a mere hank of thought which must once have been filled with life.’ Moreover, his doctrine that the men of the Golden Age have become ‘holy spirits’ (sacred eyes) who watch over moral facts, and their estimate of the Orphics, and there is no doubt that they held cosmogonical doctrines and entertained beliefs about the soul of the very type that we are now considering.

Iv. 32.

1. Pythagorism was a literary expression. Pythagoras and his school were not a sect, but a small group of men who sought the secrets of nature and of the immortal soul. They were a sort of religious league of men who believed in the immortality of the soul and in the transmigration of souls. They believed in the doctrine of the Pythagorean, the idea of the transmigration of souls.

2. Pythagoras was a mathematician, a philosopher, a mystic, a religious reformer, and a religious leader. He was a man of strange and contradictory times who was influenced by the spirit of the times and by his own peculiar personality. He was a man of great and uncommon genius who was able to unite the materials of his time and of his own mind into a grand and unique system of thought. His work was a great contribution to the development of Greek thought and a great factor in the development of modern philosophy.
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far; for what we have to account for is the existence of cosmogonical speculation and an elaborate doctrine of the soul, which presents many common features in all the religious movements of the time, so that it is rather to be looked at as a later development of the Pythagorean doctrines, which was what we have in mind. The original affinities of Hittite and of Syriac are the same. But the original Pythagorean doctrine is not shown in the very close examination of the Thaegeton to be wrong. Hesiod is certainly repeating those things at secondhand. It is of great significance that he is not quoting any myth or legend for his material, but is for Homer. It is mentioned in passing that he is the son of Zeus and Semele, but there is no hint that he is an important god. That seems fatal to the view that there are Orphic elements in Hesiod.

Since the close of the 10th cent. it has been possible to look at these things in another light, though it is not easy to adjust our vision to the new information. It is now clear that there was a highly developed civilization in the Aegean dating from the Neolithic Age, and excavations at Minoïd and Miletus have shown that it passed by gradual transition into the early Iron civilization. This is the age in which the ancient barbarous invaders from the north as the main stock of the Greek people, i.e. the people to whom we owe Greek civilization and everything that makes Greece of value to us to-day. Every day brings fresh confirmation of the view that the Achaeans or Helenes, or whatever they called themselves, adopted the language and civilization of the conquered Aegean people and were ultimately absorbed by them. Now we can have no difficulty in supposing that the people who first used the Aegean civilization were incapable of theological speculation. Nor is there any need to suppose that they were dependent on Egypt or Babylon in any way for this. The Aegean civilization is as old as that of Babylon or Egypt, and in many ways superior to either of them. The Achaeans and Helenes did not bring civilization to the Aegean, but in some ways set it back. What they did bring was apparently the Olympian gods and the war-chariot and the chariolarious ideal as we find it in the poems of Homer. In that way, no doubt, the inspiration of the most obvious survivals in Armenia—an exception that proves the rule and gives us a hint of the route by which Indo-European speech must have reached the Aegean. It is the fact that the oldest datable traces of Indo-European speech are to be found in Asia Minor, and this is so whether the new view of the Hittites proves to be sound or not. Hittite, if it has been correctly interpreted, is a language of the Italo-Celtic type, and has no special affinities with any of the known IE languages. The Hittites possessed no proper language, though they seem to have known it. The Romance languages have become eaten languages in historical times. Now, if these views are correct, then all the evidence of a semantic character begins to confirm the view that there is no difficulty at all in supposing that an older form of Greek was spoken in the Aegean in the Bronze Age, and that we have a memory of this original pre-Hellenic or pre-Dorian from the north, who must originally have spoken a form of Celtic. Of course they would introduce a number of their own words, notably ede, which is inexplicable as a native Greek formation. The continuity of early Aegean and Ionian speculation, which is being assumed in this article, has, there-fore, nothing starting about it. In this respect, at least, Ridge-way says something good and lay when there was much less evidence than there is now.

If this view is correct, we can easily understand how there came to be 'theologians,' an Aristotelian call for an earlier logos long before the time of the Pythagoreans. We still have a priceless fragment of one of the latest of these, Pherecydes of Syros, now an island close to Delos (see art. COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY [Greek]). It is the oldest piece of Greek prose to have reached us, and was written by Pherecydes, a certain Kontaros, from the city of Clement of Alexandria, while the beginning and some of the continuation of it have been recovered from an Egyptian papyrus published by Grenfell and Hunt. This introduces us to speculations which are most easily understood if we suppose them to be old Aegean in character, such as that of the cloak (φαρός), embroidered with 'Land and Ogenos and the homes of Ogenos,' which Zas (Zeus) gave to Cithonie (Earth) at their 'holym marriage,' and which was spread over a 'winged oak' for a few weeks (τοῦ ἄνθρου λειά ποδος). The important point is that our earliest authorities, including Aristoxenus, who was not anxious to emphasize the mystical side of Pythagoreans, agree in representing him as the disciple of Pherecydes. Aristotle too, to the extent that we can see, spoke of the miracle-working (τεταρτευσία) of Pherecydes. This means at least that Pherecydes was acquainted with a speculative cosmogony, and probably with a doctrine of the soul's immortality rather than that of the body, though in character he can contribute to Aristaeus or Abaris. At any rate the discovery of an actual fragment of Pherecydes in Egypt makes it much more likely than it seemed before that later ages had some real knowledge of his doctrine, and that Cicero may have had some authority to make a statement that he taught the immortality of the soul.

The fragments of Pherecydes will be found in Diels, Poetik, 6. 108, and also in the same way as that of the Pythagoreans, as Diels supposes. The 'winged oak' points to Arcadia or Dodona rather than Miletus. Nor can it have any connexion with Babylon, where there never were any oaks. The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 645, quotes Pherecydes for the statement that Al室友ides, the son of the ArgoNauts, received the boon that his soul should be at one time in Hades and at another on earth, and from Apollonius himself we learn that he had also the gift of remembering his former lives. If we can trust this, it is very important; for Hermes is an Arcadian (and therefore, as is well known, that god, and those to whom he is most acceptable). Now Al室友ides was regarded as a previous incarnation of Pythagoreans, Euclides being the next. The statement of Cicero (De Officiis i. 74) is not as strong as that of the followers of Pythagoras, or the true doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which only means that he was the first extant writer to do so. The immediate source of the statement is probably Posidonius.

There is no reason, then, for supposing that the doctrine of rebirth or transmigration was the original contribution of Pythagoras to religion, and the same may be said of his detailed prescriptions as to the avoidance of certain acts and the observance of certain abstinences. There can, in fact, be no doubt that most of the Pythagorean precepts are tabus of a thoroughly primitive type, and mark them as survivals of practices passed down to people to-day. Later writers, of course, interpreted these ἀκομομηματα, as they are called, as symbols or allegories of moral truth; but that view will not easily be accepted now, in view of our increased knowledge of such things. It is possible, however, that, as followers of Pythagoras, these precepts were the most important of his teachings, and that there was a rift between the higher and the lower Pythagorism from the first. That is only human nature, and is one of the explanations that are told about the hierarchical organization of the society. It is very significant that one of the names given to the lower grade is ἄκομομηματος, which can hardly mean

1 Met. A. 6. 2071 b 26, the first occurrence of this false word.
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anything else than those who made the precepts, or ἀδικεῖα, the principal thing. The distinction between Pythagoreans and Pythagorists had no doubt been exaggerated in the early centuries, and modern scholars are right in holding these distinctions to be of late date, but the difference between those who were capable of assimilating only the external side of the religion and those who could reach its inner meaning, was indeed acute. As much, however, had been first, and, as we have seen, it soon became so accentuated that it split the society in two. The same consideration throws light upon what we are told of the obligation of secrecy imposed on the members of the society. As much has probably been over-stated. It is clearly an attempt to explain how certain doctrines were apparently unknown to the mass of the members, and so far it is unhistorical. Pythagorean doctrines were apparently quite well known, and influenced outsiders from an early date. At the same time, it is quite credible that novices were bound to silence for a period. That is too common everywhere to excite surprise, and the words which are used to describe this obligation, ἐγκυρία and ἐκκυρία, suggest this rather than the disciplina arcana. Now these words are distinctly ironic in character, and that is a good reason for believing that they have come down from the early days of the society.

The following extracts of the ἀδικεῖα τῆς ἐγκυρίας: 'Not to pick up what has fallen,' 'Not to break bread,' 'Not to stir the fire with an (iron) sword,' 'Not to eat from a whole loaf.' 'Not to let anybody share one's bread, not to look in a mirror beside a light.' There can be no doubt how precepts of this kind are to be classified, and we cannot take seriously the later explanations such as that 'Not to stir the fire with a sword' only means that we should not further provoke an angry man.

But this all, however largely it bulked in his teaching, was only a part, and not the most important part, of the contribution of Pythagoras to religion. There must have been something to account for the striking difference between the development of the Orphics and the Pythagoreans sects. The former seems to have become utterly corrupt in a very few generations; and in a conversation supposed to take place well before the close of the 5th century, Plato makes an Orphic teacher at Athens, a shade of Orphic religion as a mere traffic in pardons and indulgences. We know that there were Pythagorists at Athens in the 4th century, but nothing of the kind is suggested of them; they are only lauded in an Orphic form of the Psalms. And there is another difference in the simple life. On the other hand, there were at the same date a number of eminent scientific men, calling themselves Pythagoreans, who paid no respect to these external observances, and even tried to explain them away. Now the one great difference that we can discern between the Orphics and the Pythagoreans is just this—that the Pythagoreans all agreed in tracing everything to the inspiration of a great individual, while we do not hear of any great Orphic teacher at all. Those whose names have come down to us, like Onomacritus, are known chiefly because they were suspected of literary frauds. We may reasonably infer from this that the higher side of Pythagorean religion came from his founder himself. There is no reason to be conclusive as to what this higher doctrine was, but an examination of our earliest evidence will afford us some positive indications. In the Phaedo Plato makes Socrates express surprise that the, Celts and Simmias have not become Pythagoreans. In the Phaedrus we are told that it is unlawful for a man to take his own life. The first reason, which he says he is a 'high doctrine' and not easy to understand, is that our souls are bound in the prison-house (ἐγκυρία) of the body, and we have no right to try to escape till God gives the signal. There is a further doctrine, which Socrates accepts, that we are the chattels (τρήματα) of the gods, and they watch over us. There can be no doubt that the Pythagoreans were divided in their doctrine; for Philolaus was the most distinguished Pythagorean teacher at the time of which he is speaking. We are also told that he did not give any clear account of this doctrine, which was therefore presumably one of which he had inherited from his predecessors. Now it will be seen that it has a distinctly ethical tendency, such as we do not find in anything that we know of Orphism. The imprisonment of the soul in the body has a disciplinary character, and the gods or God (the two forms of expression are used) (see indiscriminately) have imprisoned it on us for the good of our souls, so that it is our duty to submit. So much we may fairly infer from this passage, which is really our oldest and best authority.

If we may also regard the famous description of the true philosopher in the Theaetetus as inspired by Pythagorean teaching, we may go a step further and attribute to Pythagoras the doctrine that the end of man is to become like God (διάδοχος τοῦ θεοῦ). We are not able to prove this indeed, but it is so far confirmed by the fact that Aristothenes makes the 'following of God' (τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ θεῷ) the keynote of the Pythagorean system as expounded by him; and an unknown writer excerpted by Collobus follows the doctrine that Pythagoras precept, and calls attention to the agreement of Plato with it. It is obvious that this is on a different level from 'Do not stir the fire with iron' and the rest of the ἀδικεῖα, and it appears almost as close to the best meaning of Pythagoras. It gives Pythagorism something more than the mainly negative attitude to life of Buddhism, and distinguishes it from Orphism, which emphasizes 'release' (ἐλευθερία) above everything else. To the Orphic the body was the tomb of the soul (σῶμα ψυχῆς), and what we call life was death; and that is a very different thing from regarding the body as a house of correction. There is, in fact, no evidence that the idea of a final release from the 'wheel of birth' played any part in Pythagoreanism; and whatever that might mean it attributes it to the defectiveness of our information. Pythagorism without a final release, says, would be like Buddhism without a nirvanā. The present writer would suggest that, imperfect as our information may be, it would be extraordinary that it should afford no evidence of this doctrine, if it had ever existed. We have the excellent authority of Aristotle for saying that the Pythagoreans divided rational living things into gods and men and 'such as Pythagoras,' and so it would seem that the fully purified soul becomes incarnate in a philosopher and religious teacher who seeks to raise others to his level. So far as we can judge from the Phaedo, its final destiny is not any sort of nirvanā, but 'to dwell with the gods.' It is an interesting point that the purified soul remains its previous incarnations. It is said that Pythagoras remembered that his last incarnation had been as Enorphus the Dardanian, who, by Apollo's help, wounded Patroclus Υ. Υ. xvi. 17, and is not uncommonly useful to believe this or to attribute it to imposition. Men were very excited in those days, and it is perfectly possible that Pythagoras was in deadly earnest when he saw the shield of Enorphus dedicated by Memorians at Athens. It is therefore not necessary to believe in him, or to take this to mean anything. We may gather from this the further information

1 176 B. D.
2 Ed. ii. 399. 8 (Wachsmuth); cf. Aristoxenus, ap. Iamb. Vita Pyth. 137.
3 Psychos, Tübingen, 1910, ii. 165, note 2.
4 Frag. 132 (Rosc): τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ τὰ τοῦ Μεθυστὶ τοῖς τέκνων τοῦ Μεθυστί, τοῦ δὲ ἰδώρων, τοῦ δὲ οἰκείων Φιλοποιόρον.
that there was an interval of several generations between each rebirth, which, if we regard the name of the Milesian philosophers as indicative of the doctrine of reincarnation, as Pythagorean, were spent in purgatory, the very name of which has a definitely Pythagorean sound.

For the doctrine of the body as the tomb of the soul see Plato, Phaedrus, 246 C, where we are told that the Pythagoreans used to call the ἀνατολήναμον (ἀνατολήναμον, because the soul is now paying the penalty for those things for which it pays the penalty), and that it has a covering (ἐπιτειχίαν, with the theory of a prison of a penal nature) that it may be kept safe (τόπος τον ἀφαίρεσιν) till it has paid in full all that it owes. The word ἀνατολήναμον is derived from αὔνατολήναμον, and so very like an attempt to explain the Orphic doctrine in terms of the Pythagorean.

3. Pythagorean science.—This is not the place for a full discussion of Pythagorean science, but it is necessary for our purpose to establish its Ionian character—which will prove that it goes back to Pythagoras himself—and it is desirable that it should be shown, if possible, in what, if any, relation it stood to Pythagorean religion. The subject is difficult because, while the religion of Pythagoras underwent no important changes from the time of Socrates to the present day, the science not only in its general lines but in its minor details is not as far as we know, Pythagorean science was extremely progressive. That, again, is because, while the leading Pythagoreans took their religion for granted or neglected it altogether, they were obliged to defend this scientific teaching against the criticism of all kinds, and of course it became greatly modified in the process. In particular, we see that it was necessary to account for the 'four elements' of Empedocles, which had become the foundation of medical science, and above all to take up a definite attitude towards Zeno's very serious criticism of the Pythagorean view of space and the unit. We are safe in referring theories which show a preoccupation with problems of this kind to a later generation of the school. On the other hand, Parmenides, who describes himself as a youth in his poems, must have written not very long after the death of Pythagoras, and there is clear evidence that he had been a Pythagorean. The cosmology which he expounds in the second part of his poem, and which he tells us has no truth in it, cannot well be anything else than Pythagorean, and, considering the time at which he wrote, it must be practically the doctrine of Pythagoras itself. It is true that we have only some fragments, though they are instructive enough, and show pretty clearly which parts of the Pythagorean cosmology may be regarded as original. In view of the relation of Pythagoras to Pherecydes, it is not surprising that his expositions should have taken the form of a cosmogony, and we even gather from a chance remark of Plato that it contained stories about the gods such as were usual in cosmogonies. The cosmogonic Eros is mentioned in a fragment that survives. It is clear, however, that the leading ideas of the doctrine are essentially Ionian and another source than Pherecydes. In the first half of the 6th cent. B.C. science, as we understand the word, had arisen for the first time in the world's history at Milesian on the mainland not far from Samos, and thence the idea that the universe was one extended and infinite world spread beyond the sea, and influenced ancient and modern Thought. Water and earth and other solid substances were explained as condensed air, while fire was air still further rarefied. In this limitless mass there were immemorial worlds, each with its own heaven and stars and earth which passed away like bubbles in the limitless mass of vapour. Moreover, Anaximander, the second of

1 Symp. 105 C.
instead of with zero, as it should be, and this is where Zeno's criticism proved fatal. The definition of the point as 'unity having position' enabled Pythagoras to treat geometry as a form of arithmetic up to a certain point; but Zeno showed the difficulties of this, as the following lines have shown. There are on the doctrine that things are numbers and to substitute the statement that things are like numbers. Nevertheless it was a magnificently daring conception of reality and, but for the necessary imperfections of its first statement, it is substantially the same as that of Descartes.

For all this the reader is referred to Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy*, chs. i., ii., and iv., with the modifications contained in his *Greek Philosophy*, v., vi., vii., viii. to Plato (London, 1914), chs. ii. and v. As a proof of the remarkable scientific insight of the Pythagoreans, it should be mentioned here that the successors of Pythagoras (though not so far as we can judge, Pythagoras himself) held that the earth and the other planets were not, indeed, identified with the sun, which was supposed to be a planet like the earth, but it was a very great step to regard the earth as a spherical body. Pythagoras carried his theory a step further by his great discovery that the intervals of the scale recognized in his day—the fourth, the fifth, and the octave—could be expressed by simple numerical ratios. This discovery was not, indeed, based on measurements of the length of the string which corresponded to these intervals, and it suggested a solution of another Milesean problem. The Milesean system had been dominated by the idea of the 'four elements': earth, air, fire, and water; and a clear conception of the cold, wet, and dry, which appeared to be at war with one another, and Anaximander had spoken of the observance of a due measure between these as 'justice' (δικαιοσύνη). If we imagine high and low pitch could be brought together in a perfect attunement (ἀποφθέγμα), it was natural to suppose that all other opposites could be similarly treated and that all stable reality would prove to be a 'blend' (ἐπίστασις) of opposites in proportions which could be mathematically expressed. There were certain 'means' (μέσους) between each pair of them, of which the arithmetical mean (corresponding to the octave) is only one. It is the same idea of combination in fixed proportions that Dalton in his *New System of Chemical Philosophy* (1787) presented as the key of the world, and perhaps it is. He applied it among other things to the problem of the relative distances of sun, moon, and stars, which he expressed in terms of the intervals of the scale. That ideas of this kind need not be altogether futile is shown by the fact that Bode's law of the planetary distances, which is based on a similar conception, has been of use in giving a direction to astronomical research, though it has not been empirically verified, and that Mendeleef's periodic law has actually led to the discovery of new elements. The meaning of the statement of Socrates in Plato's *Republlic*, that the Pythagoreans made music and astronomy sister sciences, will not remain.

It was in medicine that the other great application of this principle was made, chiefly, it would appear, by Alcmeon of Croton. Health was regarded as the proper tuning (ἀποφθέγμα) of the body, so that the right proportions between hot and cold, moisture and dryness, and the disproportionate action of one of them. Alcmeon expressed this further by comparing health to the reign of equal laws (λαόνος), and disease to monarchy. This is the original sense of the phrase 'temperament', though the term is now applied in ways so great a part in the history of medicine; for *temperamentum* or *temperatura* is but a translation of the Pythagorean term *εὔμεση*. So far we have been dealing with those 'anticipations of nature' to which after all science owes its most striking advances, but at this point the religions teacher and mystic comes into contact with the man of science. If the sun, moon, and stars really corresponded to the development of the octave, they must give forth sounds like the tuned strings of the lyre. If we do not hear these notes, that is because our souls are out of tune and do not vibrate in unison with them. This is the theory generally known by the misleading name of the 'harmony of the spheres'—an expression which is meaningless as applied to astronomy before Eudoxus. It has had a great history and inspired not only Shakespeare and Milton, but everyone else; and it seems to have definite meaning to the precept 'Follow God.' It explains at once the remark of Aristoxenus that the Pythagoreans used medicine to purge the body and music to purge the soul. Alcmeon of Croton said the soul was immortal, because it was 'like to the celestial sphere' and it had this likeness in virtue of its being always in motion; for all divine things, the moon, the sun, the stars and the whole heavens are in continuous motion. He also said that the reason men die is that 'they are not in the path of that which moves us towards the heavenly bodies do in their revolutions.

We find the same doctrine of the circles of the heavens and the circles of the soul in Plato's *Timaeus*, which is in the main a statement of the later Pythagorean doctrine, and we may infer that the saying quoted by Socrates in the *Phaedo*, that 'philosophy is the highest music,' is Pythagorean too. If that is so, we have found the connecting link between Pythagorean religion and Pythagorean science. The highest purification (ἐξορθώσεως) of all was just science, and especially mathematical science.

In the *Ode on the Nativity* Milton course introduces the *crystal spheres*, and in other respects gives us a later form of the doctrine. Shakespeare's statement of it is put into the mouth of Lorenzo in the fifth act of the *Merchant of Venice*. In the *Book of Homage to Shakespeare* (London, 1916) the present writer has tried to throw some light on the channels through which the wisdom of the Pythagorean doctrine may have reached the England of Shakespeare's youth.

The doctrine was capable, however, of being applied in a way that Pythagoras could never have foreseen, and that was to the downfall of Pythagorism as a religion. It was only a step to say that the soul was itself an attunement (ἀποφθέγμα) of the body, and that was fatal to the doctrine of its immortality. We are told distinctly in the *Phaedo* that this tenet was maintained both by the Pythagoreans of Thebes and by those of Phlius at the end of the 5th cent., and Aristoxenus continued to maintain it even after he had become a member of the school of Aristotle. This may account for the vagueness of Philolaus on such subjects as reported by Cicero and luminous, and it is noteworthy that Plato represents Socrates as relating the theory on his dying day. It seems clear that the preoccupation of the Pythagoreans with medicine had led them to regard the soul more and more as a part of the body, which was already been asserted that Philolaus wrote on medicine and played a considerable part in the development of that science. That was the end of the Pythagorist religion among the more enlightened members of the order. The doctrines which were continued underground, as it were, by other followers of Pythagoras, who handed them on to the Neo-Pythagorean and the Neo-Platonists (p.66), who revivified them by bringing them into contact with the Middle Ages, but the man who was the true successor of Pythagoras, whose doctrine was represented in a one-sided way by

1 Aristotele, de Anim. A. 2. 406a 29.
2 Arist. Probl. 401a 20.
both sects of his nominal followers. In this way scientific Pythagoreanism became merged in the Academy (q.v.), while religious Pythagorism had a good deal to do with the rise of Cynicism (q.v.).

4. Pythagorean ethics.—It is necessary to speak of a Pythagorean system of ethics. The constitution of such a system was the work of the schools of Athens and, with the exception of some indications of ethical theory in the fragments of Democritus (q.v.), of them alone. On the other hand, it is necessary to insist that the ethics of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were based on a Pythagorean foundation, and are not fully intelligible unless we bear this in mind. It may be added that Democritus too was a pupil of the Pythagoreans and wrote a book entitled Pythagoras.

Being a religious community, the Pythagoreans had of course a rule of life, and it has recently been urged with great plausibility that certain hexameter verses, which are quoted as much too early a date, and which may have been derived from the work of Timæus of Tauromenium, are actual fragments of this rule. The Golden Verses are spurious, of course, but they may well have been made in this way in later times. It seems certain that the members of the society had to make an examination of conscience morning and evening. They had to go over the events of the day that was past and ask themselves, 'In what have I transgressed, what have I done that I ought not to have done, and what have I left undone that I ought to have done?' It is obvious that a rule of this kind would be favourable to the rise of speculation on ethical subjects.

For the probability that there was a rule such as that described by Aristotle, cf. Diogenes Laërtius, Σωκρατικά, in Συνεχεία, xxxiv. [1910] 175 ff. Delatte has been misled by some of his German authorities when he says that the original form of Pythagoreanism was Doric and that the original form of the doctrine was that things are like numbers, but he makes out a good case for the thesis that verses like πέντε στροφές; τί ξέρειν; τί έστιν άνθρωπος; are really as old as the 5th cent., and formed part of a 'rule' in hexameter verse. Five verses (including the above) are quoted in Porphry's Life of Pythagoras (47 Nauck) and give a description of the Pythagorean examination of conscience.

Now, we find that the ethical theories of Plato and Aristotle everywhere take for granted a classification of human lives into wisdom-loving, honour-loving, and gain-loving; and this is closely bound up with what is usually called the doctrine of the three persons of the one immortal soul—μανθανομενον, ἀλληλον κακομενον, κανναι νομομενον. It seems very difficult to doubt that it is Pythagorean, and, as a matter of fact, Posidonius¹ said that he had found the doctrine of the tripartite soul in the writings of the successors of Pythagoras. The story was that Pythagoras himself had used the word φίλοσοφος for the first time in a conversation with Leon, tyrant of Phlius or Sicyon, and it is everywhere implied in Plato that it was perfectly familiar to Socrates and his circle.² 'Is not Euenus a philosopher?' asks Socrates in the Phædo,³ and the answer comes at once, 'I think so.' It seems to mean a man who holds a certain doctrine about the soul, and to have a much more specialized sense than the corresponding verb, as it is used in Herodotus. Life, Pythagoras is said to have told Leon, is like a gathering of philosophers who get together for the Olympic Games. There are three classes of visitors. The lowest are those who come to buy or sell, and next above them are those who come to compete; the best class, however, are those who use the time to look on. To this day, a knowledge of the life, the work, and the theory and the teaching of Pythagoras himself, we can see at once that it is the foundation of all subsequent Greek ethics, and in particular of the doctrine of the privacy of the theoretic life (lit. the life of the spectator), which was held by Plato, with important reservations as to the duty of philosophers to take their turn in descending into the cave from which they had escaped (περνάμενοι τε ἐπειδή), and by Aristotle with no reservations at all.

The importance of Pythagoreanism in connection with the rise of Greek ethical theory has been too much neglected, as is well shown by J. L. Stocks in his paper, 'Plato and the Tripartite Soul,' published in Mem. Acad. 1910, n.s., vol. iv. [1910] 179 ff. Important evidence of the Pythagorean origin of these ideas is given by the last chapter of the Tripartite Soul, where some one, presumably one of the Pythagoreans who are the subject of the comedy, says: 'No man of some kind can bear a judgment against himself, otherwise we shall not be able to come near our neighbours. Do tell not what that is called living is but a name, a euphemism for our human lot? For myself I cannot tell whether any one will say that I judge rightly or wrongly, but the view I take on reflection is this, that all human life is wholly ephemeral, and that we that are living have as our portion merely a sojourn in a strange land (συνοικία), like men released for a gathering (συσυγκέντρωσις) from death and that goodness is an attainment (δικαίωμα) of the soul. The moral drawn from these considerations is that we should eat, drink, and be merry, which is not exactly Pythagorean, but the point may well have been the inconsistency between the doctrine and the practical inferences from it. That has always been a favourite subject of comedy. The verses are quoted [only to show that the idea of the μακρύντες (Vanity Fair) and the αἰσχροὶ are Pythagorean].

This, then, seems to be the source of the view of life which is in common with Plato's Phædo and bk. x. of Aristotle's Ethics, but there is a further side of their ethical doctrine which is derived from Pythagorean science rather than Pythagorean religion—the doctrine that goodness is the health of the soul, and vice versa, is also derived by Plato, though it is one of Plato's latest dialogues and he had for a long time given up his early custom of making Socrates the central figure. Already in the Phædo he makes Socrates use the doctrine of the soul, and says, it is one. This is a great step forward in that just the meaning of the doctrine of the mean as we find it in Aristotle's Ethics. There is a fragment of Archytas in which he speaks of μεσοτετράγωνον and λοίπα very much as Socrates is now and which has been made to do in the Gorgias,² but that breaks off before it comes to the point, if it ever did. But, after all, it is not a far cry from what Aelian says about the health of the body to the doctrine of the mean as determining the health of the soul, and it may be that this step was already taken in the Pythagorean society. In any case it is based on Pythagorean ideas, and was implicit in the teaching of Pythagoras from the first.

It is certain that Pythagoras is entitled to be called the father of religion in this sense. As a religion and more clear that all European religion and ethics, so far as they do not originate in Palestine, can also be traced back to him. There is still a great deal of work to be done, however, before we can grasp his historical character firmly. It is one of the most recent and least known of all the ancient religions that have left a mark upon our knowledge. Undoubtedly they are forgeries, and there is no chance of their being rehabilitated as genuine documents. At the same time, it is clear that

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QADIANI.—Qadiani was the name originally given to the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, Gurdaspur District, Panjab, in order to distinguish them from orthodox Muslims. In 1890 they were, at their own request, entered in the Government census lists as Ahmadiyya Muslims, and they have since been called by that name. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1839–1908) was a man of some learning and unusual powers of leadership. In 1889 he announced that he possessed the right to receive bai'at (‘homage’) from his followers. Two years later he declared himself to be the ‘promised Messiah’ of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and the Mahdi expected by Muslims at the last day. In asserting that he fulfilled in himself the prophecies relating to both the Messiah and the Mahdi, he controverted the usual Muhammadan belief that the two will be distinct personalities with different missions. He said that he had come ‘in the spirit and power’ of Jesus and of Muhammad, and he later declared that he was greater than Jesus, since he was the Messiah of Muhammad, as Jesus was of Moses. Shortly before his death he announced that he was likely to be the final incarnation (avatāra) of Vigna, whom Hindus had been expecting; and since his death his followers have added the further claim that he was ‘the latter-day reformer of Parsis and ‘the Budhha of the East.’

The proofs by which he sought to establish his claims were declared to lie in revelations and miracles, the latter chiefly taking the form of prophecies of the death or disembowelment of his enemies among orthodox Muslims, Christians, and members of the Arya Samaj. After the sinister fulfilment of one of these prophecies, in the death under suspicious circumstances of a prominent leader in the Arya Samaj, the Mirza was compelled before the District Court of Commissioner District, dated 24th Feb. 1890, to refrain from further predictions involving the death or disgrace of another. One of the so-called miracles, which served to prepare the way for the announcement of the Mirza’s Messianic office, was the alleged discovery, through a divine revelation, of the existence of the tomb of Jesus Christ in Srinagar, Kashmir. Jesus was said to have been taken down from the cross in a swoon and healed by the miraculous ‘effusion of Jesus’ (marḥem-i-faw). He then set out on a mission to ‘the last sheep of the house of Israel’ in Central Asia and Kashmir, finally dying, at the age of 120, in Kashmir, where his tomb in time became confused with that of a local saint named Yus Asaf. No serious evidence has been brought forward in proof of this novel theory, or of the miracles said to have been worked by the supposed Messiah, or of the claims of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers admittedly rests.

Regarding his claim to be the expected Mahdi, the Mirzā was constrained perhaps by political considerations to make known a revelation alleging that the Mahdi would not be ‘a man of blood,’ as had been universally supposed, but was rather to lead Islam to triumph by means of a peaceful holy war (jihād). In this connexion he made much of his loyalty to the British Government. In further substantiation of his manifest claims he pointed to the corrupt condition of modern society and of the character of the accepted priests and teachers in every religion, which called for a great reformer and prophet, like himself, to bring to all hearts a new and quickening certainty in things religious. He drew a sharp line of demarcation between his followers and orthodox Muslims by enjoining all true Ahmādis to refrain from following orthodox imānos in their prayers, attending non-Ahmadi funeral services, and giving the hands of their daughters in marriage to Ahmadi girls; whereas their sons might marry non-Ahmadi girls. He also turned his face resolutely against all political controversy, and denounced as mischievous the activities of the All-India Moslem League and the Muhammadan Educational Conference.

The movement has grown steadily since its inception in 1889. In 1896 it claimed 313 members. In the 1901 Government census 1113 males were returned for the Panjab, 931 for the United Provinces, and 11,087 for the Bombay Presidency (obviously an inaccuracy). In 1904 the Mirzā claimed ‘more than 200,000 followers,’ and before his death he estimated the total number of his followers at 500,000. Against this manifest exaggeration the Census must be placed the returns of the census for the Panjab in 1911, viz. 18,695 Ahmādis. Probably 60,000 would be a liberal estimate of the total strength of the movement throughout India to-day. There are also a few scattered followers in other countries. Before his death in 1908 Mirza Ghulam Ahmad appointed his close friend and early disciple, Ḥākim Nūr al-Dīn, as his successor, the ‘first khilīfah’ of the movement. Under the direction of the khilīfah the work was to be carried on by a board called the Sadr-Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya. During the ensuing six years, before Nūr al-Dīn’s death in 1914, a schism developed within the sect. One party, led by Khwājā Kamāl al-Dīn, a

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they are the work of men who knew a good deal more about Pythagoreanism than we do, and they would have had no chance of passing off their productions as genuine if they had not been careful to give them an air of verisimilitude. It is not enough to condemn them because they contain ideas and use terminology which we are accustomed to regard as Platonic or Aristotelian, for nothing is more certain than that Pythagoreanism is the basis of Athenian philosophy, and some even of Aristotle’s terminology is demonstrably of Pythagorean origin. That, so far as can be seen, is the direction which research may most profitably take at present.

LITERATURE.—The older works on Pythagoras and his school are antiquated, and the time has not yet come for a new synthesis. A. E. Chaingnet, Pythagore et la philosophie pyth.

porticène, 2 vols., Paris, 1873, was an attempt to apply reasonable principles of criticism to the subject, but it was premature. An intelligible historical view of the subject was first made possible by Erwin Rohde’s Die Quellen des Platonismus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras,‘ Rheinisches Museum, xxxvi. [1871] 554 ff., xxvii. [1873] 22 ff. These made clear for the first time that some of the Pythagorean and Eleatic writers’ theories were recommended to those who desired a lucid exposition of the mathematical side of the doctrine. The histories of philosophy (E. Zeller, T. Gumpertz, etc.) generally give a fair view of the state of the question at the time of their publication, though it must be said that German writers, to whom a great loss, have done scant justice to the admirable work produced in France.

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prominent barrister, began to take part in political controversy, and in its religious literature showed a leaning towards the rationalism of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The other positions of leaders in the empire, the unique position of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, and continued to emphasize the evils of present-day Islam and its priests. In short, the former wing sought to bridge the chasm separating the sect from Islam generally, whereas the latter stressed the points of difference as fundamental. When Nur al-Din died, the split widened. The son of the Mirza, Hazrat Mahmud Ahmad, now hailed as ‘the promised son of the promised Messiah,’ was hastily elected the second Khalifat ul-Masih by a group of his adherents at Qadian. The rationalistic party forthwith seceded, and founded a new society in Lahore called the Anjuman-i-Islah-i-Islam, whose interests were vested in a group of men rather than primarily in a single individual. Two of the members of this group, Khwaja Kamal al-Din and Maulvi Sadr al-Din, are the founders of a Muslim mission at Woking, England, through the instrumentality of which some scores of English people, including one year, Lord H. H.se, were led to Islam. 

The Qadian party continues to publish The Review of Religions in English, and several vernacular papers, conducts a successful high school, and carries on considerable missionary work. It can claim to have a better organized party and tradition of the founder and his original followers. J. N. Farquhar thus succinctly sums up the position and importance of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad’s teachings in relation to similar movements in India to-day:

A part from these personal claims, his teaching is an attempt to find, amidst the irresistible inrush of Western education and Christian thought, a middle path between impossibility and orthodoxy and the extreme rationalism of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 140).

Recent events indicate that the middle path was destined to fail early in its course. 


H. A. WALTER.

QARO.—Joseph ben Ephraim Qaro, a famous codifier of Rabbinical Judaism, was born in Spain in 1488, and died at Safed, Palestine, in 1575. On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, which paved the way for the diffusion of the Spanish-Hebrew dialect, his parents went with him to European Turkey, settling first in Nicopolis. Here he received thorough instruction in the Talmud from his father, who had been a Hassidic Talmudic teacher. Later he lived in Adrianople, Salonica, and Constanti nople—successive steps in his long-cherished journey to Palestine, which he reached about 1535, Safed becoming his place of residence.

In the age of mystical tendencies in Judaism, which is so inerently opposed to such influences from the earliest times. Owing undoubtedly to long periods of persecution, which reached its climax in Spain, an added stimulus was given to Kabballistic dreamers, whose fantasies took firm hold on many susceptible minds which had lost judgment and balance under the burden of exile and wretchedness. Turky, which opened its dominions to the oppressed, and where large and fairly prosperous communities could be found, provided an outlet for the untoward spiritual excitement and curiosity which is usually expressed in some outlandish way. Safed in particular proved a seat of mystics, and Qaro’s early fantasies were revived and strengthened by the new environment.

He had met some years before Solomon Molcho, who strove of the Messianic ideas, and accepted death at the stake in 1532, and he gave full vent to his mystical ideas which, long cherished, were clamouring for expression. He was so far overwrought as to invoke a familiar— even in his Nicopolis days—and for fifty years he kept a diary which recorded his discussions with this imaginary genius. The book of visions, called Muyjid Mosharim, whether actually written by him or merely ascribed to him by a zealous disciple, as occurs not rarely in literary history, makes him a double personality—a mystic as well as a codifier. Happily, and as one evidence that the diary or collection of desultory notes is not entirely genuine, the comprehensive works upon which his fame is really based show no mystical influences.

Qaro’s early prophecies were for the Kabbalistic dreamer of dreams, he gave undisputed first place to the Talmud, with his logical mind, and was impelled by the needs of the times to popularize and strengthen this hold on the life and thought of Judaism. He was not the first intellectual whose imagination was to prove an incentive, not an opiate.

Qaro’s fame depends chiefly on his two digests of Rabbinical law. He wrote these in an age of dispersion when in the Jews were scattered among countries which were never wholly secular, the fundamental law and authority of Judaism were imperilled as much by the violent and arbitrary changes in environment as by the half-knowledge of leaders and the almost total ignorance of the people. Considering these conditions, one can understand how his passion for saving from destruction the traditional creed and customs worked upon a susceptible nature and fostered fantastic reveries as well as fantastic assertions. They were not the Messiah in the popular sense, he could save his people none the less by inculcating the authority and permanence of the law.

As early as 1522 in Adrianople, he began the first of his great works, Beth Yosef; ‘House of Joseph,’ which, completed in 1542 at Safed and published in 1550-59, raised him to the front rank of Talmudists of his own age or earlier. This work, while a commentary on Jacob ben Asher’s Arba’ah Turim, ‘Four Orders,’ whose method he closely followed, is more than a digest of the authorities cited therein. It gives a careful critical view of many Rabbinical opinions not quoted by his predecessor. Hence it furnishes an unsurpassed wealth of material. The range of his understanding of the Talmud literature, together with the critical sagacity in the study and comparison of authorities, leaving little uninvestigated, gives a monumental character to the work. A sturdy independent mind, untrammelled by the standard authorities, al-Fasi, Malmondies, and Asher ben Jehiel, are accepted. Qaro’s aim throughout was partly to familiarize the Rabbi with the duties that devolved upon his high office less as a professional scholar, but as a religious leader his student clearly and methodically how laws are developed from the Talmud through later Rabbinical literature. It was not merely to answer the Epicurean, but to stimulate to study and research, and to gain for practical life an intelligible,
harmonious system which would maintain the old faith for all time.

Not wholly satisfied with both, Yosef, in later years, prepared his second great code, Shulhan Arakh, ‘Prepared Table’ (1565; according to Steinschneider,1 1555). It is possible that he underestimated its value and character, for in the introduction he speaks of having prepared it for young people as an7“expounding document for understanding the halakhah.” He preferred the other digest in his decisions—it was for experts, for Rabbits deep in the law. Yet the Shulhan Arakh has rapidly outdistanced the earlier code as authority. Despite continuous controversy—indeed largely by reason of the attacks made upon it—it has become the Rabbinical code which defines Judaism to our own day in the lives and opinions of the great majority of Jews throughout the world. For almost a hundred years the contest waged—it was a bloodless battle of the books, however—the chief opposition being on the part of Talmudists who were Ashkenazim, of German stock, as contrasted with the Sephardim, or Spanish, to whom Qarō was naturally acceptable. It is the opinion of L. Ginzberg2 that the Ashkenazim of Germany were the mostitional authority only after Isserles, who addsuces still later views, had subjected it to criticism and extensive supplements. After the period of censure came the age of admiration, with a host of commentators that made it a household word in the 17th century and to our age. Its authority was firmly established, with here and there an eminent Rabbi, with a bent to individualism, who refused to recognize its guidance as binding.

Since the development of Reform Judaism and the rise of modernism in various lands there have been countless attacks on Qarō and his code. On the whole, most of these have been rather unjust: for he is not responsible for laws, opinions, and customs that have existed in Israel from grey antiquity. His function was to photograph Jewish tradition, to record and interpret it according to the authorities, so as to weld still more firmly past, present, and future. His office was not that of an apostolic, but that of a codifier. Great claims that Qarō erred in citing all opinions, however transient and trifling, and made his work a store-house of views which do not always reflect credit on Judaism and have really furnished bits of evidence, for the anti-Semitic. Therefore, that Qarō erred himself with food and preparation, and the slaughtering of animals for food, Jew and non-Jew in their relations to each other, duties to parents and charity, religious customs connected with agriculture, and the like, is a contradiction.

The third part treats of marriage and divorce from the civil and religious points of view. The fourth and concluding section discusses legal proceedings, laws as to business, and the relation of man to man in an everyday working world. All life in its variety and complexity is considered as a part of the life of religion. In the dark ages that were upon the Jew as the 17th and 18th centuries arrived the work preserved him from disintegration. Whether its influence was to be as salutary, with the spreading of civil and religious liberty among other nations, as the gradual passing away of the Ghetto and its necessarily narrowed life, if not vision, cannot be so summarily answered. All depends upon the point of view.

Qarō’s life in Safed was much influenced for a time by R. Jacob Berah, one of his most learned associates in that place. The recognized head of its Jewish community about 1535, he was the centre of a number of disciples and was called ‘teacher’ by Qarō. In 1535 he attempted to restore the Rite of ordinance, with no less an object in view than the re-establishment of the Sanhedrin in Palestine as seat of the highest authority in Israel. Qarō was startled by the idea and became one of the four disciples to be ordained as the first. Without any instructions two years later and the grandiose scheme failed to be realized. Qarō, with all his ardent leanings towards the Messianic rôle, sensibly preferred his work as teacher and author. He lived until 1575, and had restored his fame and authority more and more generally acknowledged, while hundreds of students, some of high distinction, thronged his lecture-hall to hear his opinions and interpretations.

In addition to his two codes Qarō published in his life-time Kezef Mishnah, ‘Double Money’ (Venice, 1574-75). For his death appeared Beci'k ha Bayith, ‘Repairing of the House,’ supplementary and corrections to his Bet Yosef (Salonica, 1625); Ketole ha Ta'mud, ‘Principles of the Ta'mud’ (1659); Abbat Roked, ‘Powder of the Merchant, Decisons’ (1701); Maggid Rokel, ‘Who preaches Righteousnesses’ (Lublin, 1646, with supplements, Venice, 1654). Some fragments in the Bodleian, a few sermons in the collection Oz Gedolim, ‘The Strength of the Righteous’ (Salonica, 1719), and a number of commentaries on the Mishnah and on Rashi’s and Nahmanides’ commentaries, which seem to have disappeared, complete the list.


A. S. ISAACS.

QUAKERISM.—See FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN. This expression occurs in the AV of Jeremiah (716•• 44••89••) and seems to be the natural rendering of the Hebrew when vocalized malkat hokitaymin, and is strongly supported by the versions. But the view that the expression should imply the same idea as the often mentioned ‘host of heaven’ apparently suggests different derivation, from nelek, the sense of ‘work’ or ‘cult,’ and led to a different vocalization which influenced other versions.

The ritual as ascribed to the worshippers of the Queen of Heaven by the prophet Jeremiah lays emphasis on the consumption of food prepared especially for the female deities. The women made these cakes with much ceremony: the boys of the family gathered firewood, the adult males kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough. The offering was made ‘by fire’ accompanied by libations. Jeremiah alleges that it has been a common cult in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem. It may not be wise to insist too strongly on the details, as the prophet’s indignation may have led him to caricature to some extent, but this and the name are all that we have by which to identify the cult.

1 Catalogua librorum Hebraorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, Berlin, 1852-60, col. 1480.
2 U Biblioth. 850.
3 Hist. of the Jews, iv. 665.
THE QUETIES.

The cakes, knekrumin, which the LXX translators and the Vulgate renders placenta, are not without parallel in Greek cookery. It is precarious to argue from such parallels. The name is literally the same as the Babylonian karsatu, denoting the cakes or biscuits used in the cult of Ishtar, and is a reference to the fact that the demands burning of the cakes in the act of offering or refers to the process of their manufacture is not easily decided; but it can hardly mean to burn incense as an accompaniment of the offering.

The difficulty felt in identifying this expression as a name of Ishtar is largely due to the fact that, while Ishtar is commonly called belit šarratu or bârīt šarratu, 'lady or queen of heaven,' melket šarratu has not yet been found as her epithet. That melket šarratu is an equivalent of 아עד cannot be denied, but the question remains open whether we have in this worship a mere transfer of a Babylonian cult of Venus in a local variation of the same. The Tannin worship which Ezekiel mentions (48) makes it likely that we have to do with a Venus cult here. On the other hand, a connexion of melket with the configuration of the sky would agree with the astral theory. The form is difficult to account for as a Hebrew word, but would be correct as a transliteration of the Babylonian; only this supposed Babylonian prototype has not been authenticated. Still the cakes are very suggestive.

There is nothing to suggest an identification of the Queen of Heaven with the moon, which is a male deity in the Semitic world.


QUESTIONS OF KING MILINDA.—See MILINDA.

QUICHES.—See MAYANS, POPOL VUHI.

QUETIES.—Quietism may be defined as the exaggeuation and perversion of the mystical doctrine of interior quiet. Viewed as a tendency, it is co-extensive with the history of mysticism (g.v.), and it might successfully be argued that some early and medieval mystics were more definitely 'Quietist' than most of the members of the post-Reformation group known as Quietist. Viewed as a specific movement, Quietism swept over the religious life of Europe in the latter part of the 17th and the early part of the 18th cent., gaining sway in many countries and taking deep root within both Catholicism and Protestantism.

I. DOCTRINES.—I. PASSIVITY.—On the surface it is not easy to distinguish between the Quietist doctrine of passivity and the 'orthodox' mystical doctrine of quiet, and we find so competent an authority as Hebbe asserting that the teaching of Molinos was substantially identical with that of St. Teresa; 1 but it might with more justice be asserted that the characteristic doctrines of Molinos are traceable, not to his appropriation of St. Teresa's doctrine of the orison of quiet, but to his deviations from it.

(a) St. Teresa.—For St. Teresa, as for the medieval mystics, the state of quiet is that 'busy rest' in which the soul abandons all superficial activity and communes with God in the deepest activity of opening itself to God. It contains of necessity a passive element, for the soul that would hold the Divine Word as a shell holds the ocean must be self-emptyed and set a watch upon its unanalysed impulses even when they urge it towards the divine. But such 'wise passiveness' does not exclude the active aspect of 'stretching' towards God. Its stillness—to use the fine simile of D. A. Baker, 2 the Benedictine mystery—is the stillness of the soaring eagle, which cleaves its way through the blue with motionless wings. It is 'the rest (that) springs ... from an unusually large margin of voluntary self-control': 'Very often,' says Lewis, 3 'is produced by Action 'unperceived because so fleet,' so near, so all fulfilling.' Moreover, such mystic quiet is not an end, but a means—not a goal, but 'like the repose of a traveller who, with a child, is passing a night in a hut by the road. He then continues with new strength upon his way.' 4

(b) Molinos.—When we turn from St. Teresa to Molinos, we find that, while the latter, in his Guida Spiritualis, says much about interior quiet that is in complete accord with the conceptions of classic mysticism, the main trend and ultimate teaching of the book is Quietistic; i.e., the quiet for which he contends is in the last resort the negative, impassive, sterile state which Ruybrooke 5 castigated so severely in its earlier manifestations. In communion with most mystical writers, Molinos distinguishes between meditation, in which the reason is active and the mind occupied with definite aspects of Christian faith and life, and contemplation, which may be defined as an absorbed, loving contemplation of those truths and mysteries, a spiritual apprehension of God and adhesion to Him.

To quote St. Thomas Aquinas, 6 as epitomized by Luis de la Puente, contemplation is 'a simple view of eternal truth without a variety of contemplation, assimilating the mind to the most great affections of admiration and love at which ordinarily no man arrives but by much exercise of meditation and discourse (i.e., reasoning, or analysis and synthesis).'

But, while the great mystics insist that pure contemplation is of necessity incomplete and intermittent and that, while discursive reasoning is suspended, the intellect (higher reason) is present and active, 7 Molinos demands a State of which intellect as well as feeling is uncompromisingly renounced:

'Miner Solitude consists ... in a perfect abnegation of all purpose, desire, thought and will ... For if the Soul does not detach herself from her own appetite and desire, from her own will, from spiritual gifts and from repose, even in spiritual things, she never can attain to this high end. Undeceive thyself, and believe that if thy Soul be to wholly united to God, she must lose her self and renounce life, feeling, knowledge and power; whether living or not living, dying or not dying, suffering or not suffering; without thought, or reflection. ... Their lives [i.e. the lives of true contemplatives] are so described, that though they have no supernatural Graces, yet they are not changed nor affected thereby; because they have no other desire than that they may always be in the highest of their Hearts a great lowliness and self-contempt dwelling humbly in the abyss of their own unworthiness and vileness. They are always of a secret and even-minded in Graces and in extraordinary favours as also in the most rigorous and bitter torments. No news comes them as a joy, no event saddens them. ... Consider nothing, desire nothing, will nothing, endeavour after nothing, and then in everything thy Soul will live reposed in quiet and enjoyment.' 8

(c) Madame Guyon.—In the writings of Madame Guyon the same tendency is traceable, though in a logically undeveloped form. The highly emotional character of her work and its loose and inconsistent style of expression make it difficult to determine the precise extent of her Quietistic convictions.

While emphasizing the active element in the orison of quiet, 9 her writings abound in passages which can be construed only in an explicitly Quietistic sense.

1 See in particular the following:
2 The Mystical Element of Isolation, II, 132.
4 St. Teresa's Element of Perfection, 11, 134 f., and passim.
5 Adoison of the Spiritual Marriage, bk. ii. ch. lvii. f.
6 Summa Theol. ii. ii. qu. cxxxix.
7 For the treatment of this question see the references to the quotation of what she calls 'the eliciting from one subject many thoughts or reflections' (Life of St. Teresa, tr. David Lewis, London, 1867, ch. xii. p. 39).
8 Summa Spiritualis, it. xii. 119, 123, 125.
9 La Moyennecour, ch. xxi.
10 St. Teresa's Element of Perfection, 11, 132.
11 See the references to the quotation of what she calls 'the eliciting from one subject many thoughts or reflections' (Life of St. Teresa, tr. David Lewis, London, 1867, ch. xii. p. 39).
12 Guida Spiritualis, it. xii. 119, 123, 125.
13 Le Moyenecour, ch. xxi.
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"My prayer from this moment was without form, with images. [i.e. of any definite thought]. . . All of me was out to exhaustion, my heart was too much moved with motives or reasons for loving. That soven of the powers—the will—swallowed up in the spirit, the soul is too much sunk in the object to unite them better in it.\(^1\) The killing pain which one feels when one loses the definite consciousness of the Divine Presence shows that one has not yet become perfectly indifferent and that one is still tied to gifts of God.\(^2\) I had no more a will to submit; it had, as it were, disappeared in another. It seemed to me that this powerful and strong One did all that pleased Him, and I no more found that soul which was attached to the object determined to die of a extreme love. He appeared to me alone and as if the soul had given place to Him or rather had passed into Him, henceforth to be no more than a part of Him.\(^3\)

This losing of the soul in transcending the state in which it is shepherded by the divine love marks the extreme of Quietistic theory, and, while Madame Guyon's language cannot be pressed too far, its general tendency is unmistakable.

(d) Fénélon.—In Fénélon Quietism found its apostle. His Maxims of the Saints was written with the express purpose of defending Quietism against the popular charges of 'idle basking in the Divine Presence' and of immoral apathy.\(^4\) It is all the more significant that, in the very act of seeking to distinguish between true mysticism and Quietism, he moves in that atmosphere of negation and abstraction which is the logical presupposition of Quietism in its most extreme and exaggerated form.

*Pure contemplation,* he says, *is negative, being occupied with no sensible image, no distinct and nameable idea; it stops only at the purely intellectual and abstract state of knowing.*\(^5\)

That he makes this idea include as distinct objects all the attributes of God, the Trinity, the humanity of Christ, and all His mysteries is only one instance of the contradictions which make his work of comparatively little value as an authoritative contribution to the literature of Quietism.

2. The one act.—In close logical connexion with the Quietistic conception of passivity as a negative and abstract state is the doctrine that the soul's surrender to God is made once for all in an act not to be repeated. Madame is emphatic in his assertion that there exists an absolute surrender to God *by means of the act of pure Faith* remains in an indestructible state of union with God.

He contends that the soul *may persever in prayer thought the whole of her days; she may be occupied with various and involuntary thoughts.*\(^6\) For, according to Quietistic doctrine, *Faith and Intention alone* move man to God; he contends, in contrast, *that the more simple is that remembrance, without words or thoughts, the more it is pure, spiritual, internal and worthy of God.* While thus long as thou retractest not that Faith and Intention of being resigned, thou walkest always in Faith and Resignation, and consequently in Prayer, and in virtual and acquired Contemplation, although thou perceivest it not and remember it not, neither makest new acts and reflections.\(^7\)

3. Pure or disinterested love.—The doctrine of a continuous and *habitual* state (as distinct from occasional aspirations, which Roman Catholic theology has always counted among the highest exercises of the soul) of loving God purely (i.e. *secundum Se*), without hope of reward or dread of punishment or any regard to even His most sacred object has received special prominence through the famous controversy upon the subject between Bossuet and Fénélon. Bossuet's point of view is summed up in his extraordinary assertion:

*Pure love is opposed to the essence of love, which always desires a reward. It is an object, and as such to the nature of man, who necessarily desires happiness.*\(^8\)

Against this view Fénélon urges that a selfish or mercenary love is obviously a contradiction in terms. This is, of course, the normal Christian view, but Fénélon passes beyond it to an explicitly Quietistic interpretation.

He declares that *a man's self is his own greatest cross ... Uncompromising separation of this wretched self—that is the true crucifying of the flesh.*\(^9\) He goes so far as to say that *all concupiscence is despicable, delusive . . . and diabolical quality. One must wholly die to all friendship.*\(^10\)

Love, he contends, loves no particular thing or object and never returns, even in kind. His definition of sanctification, as a state of holy indifference and utter non-desire, applies equally to his conception of disinterested love. And, while he seeks to guard against the Quietist error by insisting with Paul that His love, must abide, his whole teaching implies an indifference to salvation which robs the term *hope* of every true meaning. Conceived with greater mental stability and expressed with more caution, his position is ultimately very much the same as that of Madame Guyon when she declares that the soul must become dead to all desire, even to its desires for spiritual gifts and graces and for salvation itself, and that it must learn to love God and prove its love by the utmost self-sacrifice and devotion that has been conceivable, whether it cares or responds.\(^11\) The whole trend of his teaching is towards a Stoic or Buddhist conception of self-renunciation and non-desire which logically excludes love of any kind, whether *pure* or interested.

4. Summary.—The Quietistic doctrine of passive contemplation, of which the doctrines of the one act and of disinterested love are corollaries, is based upon the Neo-Platonic *via negativa,* which from Dionysius to moderns took an Asiatic rather than a Greek form, representing *a sense of the divine transcendency run riot.*

Molinos appeals to Dionysius in teaching that *we know God more perfectly by negation*; he says: *We must love more than know God,* by knowing that *He is incomprehensible than by conceiving Him under any image.*\(^12\)

But, while the roots of 17th century Quietism are struck deep in metaphysical soil, it must be borne in mind that the form the Reformation mysticism takes on in particular is not metaphysical, but theological. Seventeenth century Quietism is the mystical expression of the doctrine of the total depravity of man, the necessity of all absolute submission in Protestant theology and the counter-Reformation had sharpened to a despairing conviction of *the utter miseralism of the creature.* Fénélon expresses this conviction in characteristic fashion:

*As the ascetic at the end of the stage stuffs out the altar candle one after another, so must grace put out our natural life; and as his extinguisher, ill applied, leaves behind it a guttering spark that melts the wax, so will it be with us if one single spark of natural life remains.*\(^13\)

It is abundantly clear that such a sentiment is derived from Augustine rather than from Dionysius, to whom any counsel to abhor the self that is God's temple was entirely foreign. Moreover, while the 'nothingness' of Dionysius refers to that 'divine darkness' in which the soul perceives and apprehends the ineffable, the nothingness of Molinos is a nothingness of the soul itself, and amounts to annulling of all that natural gift of union with God in any real sense. None the less we may see in Quietism the negative method, stimulated to its 'drying spasm' by Reformation influences. Its exaltation of an empty consciousness— this void without the limits in which distinction of actions vanishes—and the soul can neither will nor not—paralyzes morality.

\(^1\) Letter to Madame de Maintenon (Correspondence, 1827-29, v. 460).
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Les Torrents spirituels, ch. v. sect. 19.
\(^4\) Autobiography, pt. i. ch. xxvii.
\(^5\) Maxims of the Saints, ch. xxvii.
\(^6\) Guide Spirituelle, xiv. 49.
\(^7\) ib. 1. 105.
\(^8\) Inge, p. 239.
\(^9\) Madame Guyon, Les Torrents spirituels, ch. ix. sect. 7.
It resolves religion at its highest into an experience in which the soul is translated to a region 'beyond good and evil,' and so cuts the nerve of morality, which always implies a clear vision of the distinction between good and evil and a definite choice in which the whole personality is active. In its consistently logical form Quietism makes communion between man and God an impossibility by annihilating the distinction between them, ultimately reducing God to a vague and empty abstraction, and dehumanizing man. Its radical acosmism 'conceives the Good outside of humanity and removes conduct to a sphere of fictitious interests where it will cannot act.' Although Christian Quietists have always to a greater or less extent formulated their doctrines in terms of Jesus Christ and His gospel, Quietism per se is fundamentally opposed to incarnational religion. On the practical and devotional side, it resolves itself into pure fanaticism, i.e. 'the fanaticism of expecting from God a grace which He never gives.' Its determining motive—the desire to cleanse religion from selfishness and to emphasize an inwardness which seeks the Giver altogether more than the gifts—is a valid one. While the antithesis between gift and giver as applied to God is largely false, and rests upon a conception of 'grace' which externalizes it into something 'given' by God and separable from His self-giving, Quietism represents a genuine and still much-needed protest against a theology which debase grace to a form of magic and imports the crassest self-interest into the soul's commerce with God.

It is necessary to note that term 'Quietist' was first used in the 14th cent., when its Greek form, Ἰσχωποσταϊ, was applied to a certain community of monks on Mount Athos who, inter alia, indulged in trance-experiences not unlike those of the Indian Yogi. Quietistic teaching was first popularized by the Beghards and the Brethren of the Free Spirit (q.v.). Condemned by the Council of Vienna in 1311 and sorely persecuted, these mystical groups persisted for more than a century and familiarized the common people with Quietistic conceptions of religion. Eckhart was included in the ecclesiastical disapproval of Quietism, Pope John XXII. condemning his views on interior quiet in 1329; and the castigations of Quietism in the writings of Ruysbroeck and Tauler show how wide-spread was its influence and how disastrous it was in its extreme and debased forms. It must be borne in mind, however, that the primary motive of the official opposition to Quietism was ecclesiastical rather than religious. The Church authorities recognized its anti-institutional character, and no expedition was deemed too cruel or too mean, provided it bade fair to secure the extinction of Quietism.

But, while large tracts of pre-Reformation and counter-Reformation mysticism admit of a Quietistic interpretation, there never was any organized mystic movement to develop the implications of what were, after all, only latent or sporadic tendencies. Such an impulse was provided by the new religious spirit, the new demand for personal experience, and a clear vision of the Counter-Reformation (q.v.). The 17th cent. Quietists were, for the most part, devoted Roman Catholics and derived their immediate inspiration and authority from the great mystics of the counter-Reformation, one of whom, Jeremias a Simeon, was more radically anti-institutional than Molinos himself. Yet they were essentially a fruit of the Protestant spirit—a fact which Rome was swift to discern.

While by common consent Quietism in the strict sense of the term is taken to begin with Molinos, the first half of the 17th cent. already exhibits individuals and groups representing strongly Quietistic convictions. Prominent among such were the Spanish mystic, Juan Falconi (1596-1638), who attracted a following, and whose Alfabeto et Lettera prepared the way for the Guida Spirituale; Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672), an Ursuline of Tours, afterwards of Quebec, whom Bossuet called 'the St. Teresa of our times and of the New World'; and Jean de Bernières Lovigny (1662-99), Treasurer of France and greatly admired by Fénelon, the influential writer, Desmaret de Saint-Sorlin, first Chancellor of the Académie Francaise (1635-1676); the profound but often fanciful secular priest, Henri Marie Boudon (1624-1709); the gifted ascetical writer, Jean-Joseph Surin (1600-65), formally approved by Bossuet; and many others. The Pelagini (a society called after its founder, Giacomo Filippo di Santa Pelagia, a layman of Milan) and the 17th cent. group of the Alombrados or Illuminati, which had been crushed out by the Inquisition for holding that one could dispense with the ordinances and ignore the requirements of the Church. But there were many Quietistic movements in France at least twenty years before the term 'Quietist' was first applied to the followers of Molinos in 1681 is shown by Nicole's rare book, Les Imaginaires et les visionnaires—an attack on the 'new cult of the angels.'

In 1675, Miguel de Molinos published his Guida Spirituale, Juan Falconi's Alfabeto et Lettera had prepared thousands of earnest souls in Spain, Italy, and France to welcome the new doctrine. Born in Saragossa in 1640, Molinos took the degree of Doctor of Theology at Coimbra and migrated to Rome in 1669 or 1670. His pietistic, learning, and sympathetic personality soon made him one of the most sought-after spiritual directors and a noted figure in Roman society. Among his friends were many of the cardinals, including Cardinal Benedict Odeschalchi, afterwards Pope Innocent XI., who sanctioned his position as the most esteemed confessor in Rome by giving him lodgings in the Vatican. Cardinal D'Estaix, the representative of the Church, was in some degree hostile in those days, and, when his Guida Spirituale appeared, it bore the approbation of various distinguished ecclesiastics, among them four inquisitors. Priests advised their penitents to discard formal prayers and devotions for the simple method of Molinos; societies for the study of this method were formed everywhere, and within six years the Guida Spirituale had passed through twenty editions in Italian, Spanish, French, and Latin. But soon the Jesuits realized that the method of prayer and devotion of Mason and formal devotions was contrary to the interests of the Church. Father Paul Segneri, one of their ablest and most popular preachers, was selected to confute Molinos. He did so in a small book entitled Le Contemplaition mystique acquise par la grâce de Dieu in the form of a dialogue (The Harmony between Effort and Quiet in Prayer), which was published five years after the Guida Spirituale. But so firmly was Molinos entrenched in popular favour that Segneri, lashed to the stake, was canonized as St. Joseph of Cupertino, after posthumous denunciation, and there is reason to believe that even his life was in danger. A commission was convened in 1682 to inquire into the writings of Segneri and Molinos, and a book entitled La Contemplation Mystique Acquise,
QUIETISM

written by the saintly Cardinal Petrucci, a loyal friend of Molinos. After the Seigneur, a book was consecrated, Petrucci was made Bishop of Jesi, and the teaching of Molinos was triumphantly vindicated. The Jesuits, however, were determined to gain the victory, and, seeing that the Vatican protected Molinos, they appealed to Cesar in the shape of King Louis XIV. The French King, Père La Chaise, they roused the apprehensions of the king, and induced him to bring pressure to bear upon the pope. Innocent XI. was induced to refer the matter once more to the Inquisition, and this directed the fate of Quietism within the Roman Church. Molinos and Petrucci were summoned before the Inquisition in 1685, and the former was cast into prison; but it was not until two years after, when the popular indignation against his imprisonment had spent itself, that the Jesuits determined to strike. In 1687 about 200 persons, including many members of the aristocracy and some priests, were arrested and imprisoned. A commission inquiring regarding Quietism in monastic houses resulted in the discovery that many monks and nuns had exchanged the prescribed devotions of the Church for the 'Prayer of Quiet.' A panic was created among the orthodox. Molinos was formally charged, on the ground of 68 specific propositions, partly derived partly from the declarations of his followers, with grave errors in doctrine and serious offences against decency and morality. He was also stated to have himself confessed having committed improper acts, and the populace that had once idolized him now clamoured for his execution. In the end it was announced that he had confessed his sins and was willing to absolve his heresies, in consideration of which he had been sentenced to life-long imprisonment. The recantation took place with all the obsequiousness respecting canonical procedure. Nothing more is known of the fate of Molinos except that he died in prison in 1697. His books and papers were burnt; persons known to have been attached to him or in sympathy with his teaching were hunted down throughout Spain and Italy; and all writings of a Quietistic character were rigorously suppressed. Among those who fell victims to this relentless persecution was the blind mystic of Marseilles, François Malaval, whose La Pratique de la doctrine théol. mystique was first published in 1670.

In France the drama of Quietism played itself out in an atmosphere of political intrigue and personal animosity. Its central figure was Madame Guyon. Born at Montargis in 1648, Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte Guyon showed an early bent towards mysticism and asceticism, and as a child desired to enter the Order of the Visitations. Her parents had other plans for her, however, and in 1662 she was married to Jacques Guyon, Seigneur de Chesne, a wealthy man, twenty-two years her senior. It was, as might have been expected, an exceedingly unhappy marriage, sorely aggravated by the petty tyranny of a malignant mother-in-law, and the highly-strung girl turned more passionate in the eyes of the public. She had no difficulty in finding guides and helpers in her search for the inward way to God, since the France of her day abounded in souls of a genuinely mystical type; and, at the age of twenty, the world opened itself to her. When she was twenty, she turned in her need and who bade her seek God within her own heart finally started her on her spiritual pilgrimage. Her mystical experience was exceptionally sharply defined, falling into three component phases: the two former, subjective, spiritual, and the latter, objective, spiritual, intellectual, and objective. The latter was an almost overwhelming influx of the Divine Presence, 'without word, thought or image,' which awoke in her soul a fierce joy of possession. This was succeeded by a period of dryness and desecration, during which outward troubles as well as inward trials increased. Her father, husband, and daughter died in quick succession; her son turned against her; small-pox destroyed her beauty, and she was followed by one disease after another. But suddenly, a few grinding hours gave place to a 'unitive' state, in which she recovered all the joy that she had lost, and experienced in addition a sense of infinite freedom—a new 'God-me' taking the place of the old 'self-me.' This state was entered upon under the influence of the Barnabite monk, Avere of Segneri, who was the Barnabite Order at Thonom, who proved to be her evil genius. A man of quite mediocre mentality, deficient in moral sense, and of an unstable, neurotic temperament, he yet succeeded in exercising a hypnotic influence upon her. It was during the La Combe period that her two most original books were written—Les Torr. spirit. comp. Les Moyen cour. and très facile de faire avouer—books which are characterized by profound spiritual insight, but which none of the less exhibit some of the fatal weaknesses and extravagances of Quietistic piety. Her consciousness of an apostolic mission to found an 'interior' Church and inaugurate a world-wide spiritual reformation also dates from the period. It was of spiritual fecundity or 'maternity' involving much suffering ('I can bring forth children only on the cross'), it was accompanied by certain unpleasant hysterical and neurotic symptoms which brought constant ridicule and persecution upon her. It was in 1681 it seemed as if she had found her vocation as the head of the newly-founded community of Les Nouvelles Catholiques at Gex—an institution for the training of the daughters of Protestants and other converts to the Catholic faith. But the work proved uncongenial, and it was not long before she abandoned it, taking refuge with the Ursulines of Thonon. From 1681 to 1688 her fortunes were closely intertwined with those of La Combe, who, in the autumn of 1687, accompanied her to Paris, only to be arrested on his arrival by order of the archbishop as an alleged follower of the ill-starred Molinos. Madame Guyon herself was arrested in the following January, but was released after eight months, thanks to the influence of Madame de Maintenon, who was deeply impressed by her piety. As the protégée of Madame de Maintenon, she soon became a prominent figure in the inner spiritual circle of the court of Louis XIV. It was at this time that she first met Fenelon.

François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon was at that time a rising young ecclesiast with a growing reputation as a director of consciences whose spiritual genius, religious fervour, and magnetic personality attracted the belle époque of Paris. He was superior of the community of Les Nouvelles Catholiques, in which capacity he wrote his manual De l'éducation des filles (Paris, 1687), and had been on a six months' mission to the Protestants in Switzerland during which outward troubles, and a spiritual virtue. In Madame Guyon he saw not merely a woman of commanding gifts, but also a saint, and his championship of her cause was whole-hearted and generous. She, on her part, recognized him as her spiritual father, and the extraordinary correspondence which passed between them bears witness to what Rufus M. Jones describes as 'a subtle conquest,' designated by Madame Guyon herself as 'spiritual filiation,' and as the 'inward way,' and to the strange friendship which sprang up between the two. By the side of Madame de Maintenon, Fénelon was the cool and cautious partner in this intense relationship. His pastoral instinct and

1 Harvard Theological Review, x. 41.
sound sense warned him against a spiritual condition which took its own impulses for divine movements, and he would not allow himself to forgo reason in his enthusiasm for Madame Guyon's spiritual genius.

In 1659 Fenelon was appointed tutor to the young duke of Burgundy, for whom he subsequently wrote Les Aventures de Télémaque (Paris, 1669). His success as an educator of princes brought him into high favour at court, and in 1695 he was made archbishop of Cambrai. Meanwhile, in 1638-94, the storm which had been gathering round Madame Guyon broke, and involved Fenelon in bitter controversy which ultimately drove him into exile. Madame Guyon's doctrines had penetrated to Madame de Maintenon's school at Saint Cyr, and this roused the suspicions of Bossuet. He subjected her to a stringent examination, extending over six months and ending in her imprisonment as a heretic. Fenelon never saw her again, and he might easily have extricated himself from a very difficult and perilous position had he consented to join in signing her condemnation. This he refused to do, and his refusal which lost him his many influential friends, including Madame de Maintenon.

There ensued the stormy controversy between Bossuet and Fenelon which stirred all France. In his History of the Reformation he denounced 'pure' faith (i.e. faith without content), disinterested love, and the prayer ofquiet. Fenelon replied by publishing his famous Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie interieure, in which he restated Madame Guyon's doctrine in the form of a more sober and cautious way. The book, which, in spite of its dry, guarded, and not always lucid manner, teaches Quietistic mysticism in an extreme and extravagant form, created intense excitement, and divided France into two opposing camps. Bossuet attacked its author with a personal animosity which amounted to persecution, and the court ranged itself on his side. Although Fenelon had the support of the Jesuits and the secret approval of the king's confessor, the clergy sided with Bossuet, and in the end Fenelon was ordered to leave Versailles and banished to Cambrai. He appealed to Rome and, after long hesitation, the mild and cautious Pope Innocent VIII, impelled by urgent pressure on the part of the Jesuits and by the conflict, condemned certain propositions extracted from the Maximes. Fenelon spent the remaining eighteen years of his life quietly in his diocese, devoting himself to the welfare of priests and people alike, and dying at the age of sixty-three, greatly beloved and lamented.

Madame Guyon suffered successive terms of imprisonment, and, after being liberted from her last prison in the Bastille in 1703, passed her remaining years in quiet seclusion at Blois, where she died in 1717.

Among the minor prophets of Quietism Antoinette Bourignon (1610-90) occupies a distinctive place. Born at Lille, she was, like Madame Guyon, a precocious child with an abnormally developed religious instinct. As a girl she wished to become a Carmelite, but her father, who disapproved of cloistered religion and set her to find a better way of retirement from the world. When, in 1630, her father tried to force her into marriage, she escaped from home in male disguise. After some years she married and moved to Paris, where she was thought to have fled to an monastery, but finally fled to Mons, where she placed herself under the protection of the archbishop, and under his patronage made a short-lived attempt to establish an ascetic community on primitive lines. On the death of her father she brought a successful law against those who had sold his entire property for herself. About this time she came into contact with a decidedly questioner admiral of mystical religion, Jean de Saint Saulien, who induced her to an orphan home for girls, which she subsequently placed under Augustinian rule. The experiment came to an abrupt end in 1652, when she was accused of gross cruelty to her young charges and had to take flight. Her enforced wanderings took her to Mechin, where she found her first 'spiritual child,' Christian de Cort, superior of the Lazarists, and the woman who had once been her confessor, excelled her system (if such it can be called), which embodied the characteristic features of extreme Quietism in a fantastically exaggerated form. As in the case of Madame Guyon, 'spiritual maternity' occupied a central place in her consciousness. She was 'the woman clothed with the sun,' 'the bride of the Holy Ghost,' God's chosen vessel who would restore 'the Gospel spirit' to the world, 'the virgin who would bear many sons' and found a communist, priestly brotherhood.

In 1662 she went with de Cort to Amsterdam, where she spent a period of happy intercourse with the many heretics who had made that city their Cave of Adullam. An attempt, inspired by de Cort, to establish her rule among girls on a small island in the North Frisian Sea, failed. Her attempts to introduce the Maximes into a convent, and her idea of a female order of nuns, met with only partial success. In 1670 she took up a position of retirement in her convent at Mechin, where she died in 1717.

Among those who represented the practical and devotional aspect of Quietism as it appealed to the unlearned, Nicolas Herman of Lorraine (Brother Lawrence) is the classic example. Born about 1610, he was the bastard son of a Carmelite, a poor labourer, and finally lay brother in a Carmelite monastery, where he was charged with the humble duties of the kitchen. His Practice of the Presence of God, as set forth in his letters, which is to-day probably the best known of all books, was based on the central doctrines of Quietism with a winsome simplicity and a rare degree of practical wisdom. His Maximes give further instruction to those who would realize the presence of God in the same homely and wise vein. He died in 1691.

LITETATUR.A.—1. GENERAL.—The standard work is H. Huppe, Gesch. der quietistischen Mystik in der katholischen Kirche, 1873.
QUR'AN

—Names.—The names of this, the sacred book of the Muslims, are reckoned at fifty-five, of which the most familiar and the most frequently used in the book itself, al-Qur'an, seems to mean 'The Lesson,' being the abstract noun of the verb alquran, 'to read,' 'to teach,' occasionally employed in the original sense.

E.g., lxxv. 17: 'Verily upon you is the collecting and the reading (qur'anan) thereof; and when we read it, thou (O Muhammad) dost read, 'in the hearing, in the mouth, (qur'anan al-'asr), and it is not read to thee the reading'; x. 62: 'Thou dost not recite any reading (qur'anan); what thou dost recite is the written (qur'anan) of the synonymous verb bii'd, 'told.'

The word is normal in formation (cf. kufuran, ghufran, muqarrab), and is not borrowed from any other language, though it may be an imitation of the Hebrew miqraq, applied by the Jews to the Bible, of which the Arabic analogue maqra' is occasionally used for 'reading.' Other etymologies are collected by Sayyuti (see below), but they are fanciful, though it is worthy of note that a grammatical etymology pronounced the word quran as though the root were grn, 'to associate'; and his interpretation 'collection' is at least suggested by lxxv. 17 (cited above). The word is not used by Muslims except of their sacred book, but Jews and Christians commonly used it to designate a Hebrew Bible. Almost as familiar is the name Mushaf, which is said to have been invented by the Khalifah Abu Bakr, and is evidently the Ethiopic for 'book.' The word kitab (Arabic for 'book') is often used in association with the Qur'an in the work itself and in the principles of jurisprudence, but ordinarily requires some eulogistic epithet (e.g., 'the precious book').

Both this word and Qur'an can be used of separate texts as well as of the whole. The name Mufasal is applied to the last seventh of the Qur'an, but, as it repeatedly described itself as a book 'whose texts are distinct' (quadstial), there seems no reason why it should not be applied to the whole work; and indeed there are various opinions as to the portion of which this name may be used.

The etymology of the name Dergen in xvi. 107, 'A Qur'an, which we have divided up (farsagha) that thou mightest recite it unto the people leisurely,' is probably correct, this name being a plural of a root qur, 'to divide' (see x. 158). It has not been revealed to Moses and Aaron, Hebrew prafqin, i.e., 'sections'; but this particular form is Syrian and means 'deliverance'—a sense which it sometimes has in the Qur'an. The Hebrew Mishnah (Arab. Mathanih) seems to underline the name of the book, Mathanah, said to be the plural of mathan, which appears to be used of the whole Qur'an in xxxix. 24, whereas in xv. 87 the Deity states that He has given the Prophet seven matha'at and the mighty Qur'an. The interpretations of this passage are very numerous and divergent, as may be seen from Lane, p. 300. Other names are descriptive or eulogistic—e.g., 'The Guidance,' 'The Wise Record,' 'The Revelation.'

The chapters of the Qur'an are called by the enigmatical names of surah, plural suras, of which no satisfactory account has as yet been given. It is sometimes explained from the Hebrew sôrah (Is 26:9), 'row,' 'order,' used in the Jewish oral tradition for a row or rank of men, but this sense is not applicable to a row of bricks in a wall, in which case it is clearly derived from sîr (11b, shîr), 'wall,' and its transference to the region of literature may be analogous to that of column. In the Qur'an it evi—

—E.g., by Sahâki, Tûr Musâbî, Cairo, 1886, p. 217.

—Quoted a number of times in the Qur'an.


—See J. Levy, Neubiblische ... Wörterbuche, Leipzig, 1876-80.
ently means 'homily,' 'discourse,' and is usually construed with the verb 'to send down.' Thus xxiv. styles itself 'a sûrah which we have sent down and ratified and wherein we have sent down clear signs.' Probably both sense and form are adequately accounted for by identification with the Syriac šbūtā, 'preaching,' 'gospel,' 'message,' as in the title of Mark, 'the Holy Gospel, preaching (šbūtā) of Mark.' The several texts are called āyāt (plural of āyat), often used for 'sign' or 'miracle,' and clearly identical with the Hebrew ēth, 'sign,' 'letter,' 'miracle.' Its sense 'letter' is perhaps retained in the opening verses of certain sûrah, where after a sur, a series or a passage, there is at times an attempt at maintaining chronological order, but at other times it is neglected.

The narratives most frequently recounted are those connected with Noah, Abraham, Lot, Moses, and the otherwise unknown prophets Hūd, Sālih, and Shu'aib. The story of Adam is told in ii., vii., and xx., that of the nativity of Christ in iii. and xix.; numerous stories are told only once—e.g., the story of Tubba (a contemporary of Jethro in xiv. 1), the story of the Queen of Sheba (xxvii.), that of the Seven Sleepers in xviii., which also contains a fresh story about Moses and one about Dhu'l-Qarnayn, thought to be Alexander the Great. Of the OI prophets the Qur'an knows to have been those of Noah and Enoch; it also contains some information about David and Job. Of Arabian history it knows the name Tubba (xiv., l.), the ruin of the Sabean empire (xxiv.); the persecutions of the Christians in the Jewish state of S. Arabia (lxxv.), if the last passage is correctly interpreted; and the Abyssinian attack on Meccah (cv.), if the interpretation be correct and the attack historical. Of contemporary history outside Arabia, it notices the Persian invasion of the Near East.

Where the same story is repeated, the various versions at times contain fresh details; thus sûrah xli. ('the Believer,' is called after a believing subject of Pharaoh who delivers a monothestic appeal to the Pharaoh), contains an episode not mentioned elsewhere in connexion with the story of Noah, which is told in xv. 1-9; or in xvi. 1-23 in xvii. 1-27 there is an account of a disobedient son of Noah who perishes in the Flood, and who also is not mentioned elsewhere in connexion with the story of Noah. Though the story of Moses is often repeated, especially in the latter part of the book, and though a few details are omitted, or added, in sûrah xxviii., these repeated versions, then, to some extent supplement one another, though they cannot always be harmonized.

The content of the author is to prefer the apocryphal accounts to the earlier narratives in the canonical Scriptures, whereas Solomon is represented as understanding the language of the lower animals and having at his disposal the forces of the jinn; the mountain is said to have been raised over the heads of the Israelites, and Jesus to have made lards of clay and animated them. Descriptions of the phenomena of nature are not uncommon, though usually exceedingly brief; their purpose is of course not scientific, but the demonstration of monotheism. A literary feature of the writing is the parallelism, a kind of meter is interspersed, taking (as usual) the form of personal addresses by the Deity to the Prophet. The consolatory sûrah (xiv. and xlviii.) striking specimen of this class; lxxvii., and lxxviii., which contain exhortations to the Prophet, are similar; lxxiv. describes a personal experience which the Prophet is told to repeat; it is how certain of the jinn, hearing the Qur'an recited, were converted. Three sûrah deal with his domestic affairs, which of course were of importance to the whole community, and in which the author has made a few alterations or additions.

The only names of contemporaries mentioned in the book are those of his adopted son, Zaid, and his unbelieving uncle, Abū Lahab. Allusions to others occur, but reliance has to be placed on the traditions connected with the identification.

Owing to the intensity of the Prophet's loves and hates and other emotions, and the frequency with which the expression of these takes the form of a revelation, the Qur'an might in many parts prove a hard book to read; it records doubts felt by himself as to the reality of his mission and its likelihood of success, critical situations at different times in his career, what he said when they occurred, and hard blows which he received and gave. It thus constitutes the most important set of materials for

1 See Ghazali, Mustaghfa, Cairo, 1924, ii. 256.
his biograpy, its utility being somewhat impaiired by the absolute want of chronological arrangement. Its contents are preserved chiefly on the basis of the later official biography, which is itself largely based on the Qur'an.

3. Sources.—That the material of the Qur'an is in the main identical with that of the Former Leaves, i.e., the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, is admitted in the work itself; these 'Leaves,' more accurately described as the 'Leaves of Moses and Abraham who was faithful,' are quoted in iii. 37-55 for a variety of matters.

The narratives of the destruction of the tribes 'Ad and Thamúd, also quoted from these 'Leaves,' are certainly not to be found in the Christian Scriptures. It is not a matter of dispute.

'The Law' (Taurát) is quoted in verse 49 for the rule, 'soul for soul, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear and tooth for tooth'; the reference is to Ex 21:24, where, however, 'hand' and 'foot' are added in text, 'mouth for mouth.' The Psalms (Zubár) are quoted in xxi. 105:

'We have written in the Psalms after the Record: My plou servants shall inherit the earth.'

The reference is to Ps 37:9, but the phrase, 'after the Order,' is not a quotation of the Mishnah of Sanhedrin, iv. 5, is cited in v. 35:

'On account of this we have written for the Children of Israel that whosoever slays a soul save for a soul or for mischief in the land, God hath said, though he had slain an angel; and whosoever saves one, it is as though he had saved all mankind.'

The exceptions are not found in the text of the Mishnah, but otherwise the citation is accurate. A somewhat vague allusion to reference to the Law and the Gospel is in xlviii. 29:

'That is their likeness in the Law and their likeness in the Gospel: Like the seed which putteth forth its stalk, then strengtheneth it and it groweth stout, and riseth upon its stem, rejoicing the husbandman.'

The reference to the Gospel appears to be to Mk 8:35, where the Law is again quoted. Thus, it is likely the precise wording of the text:

'These are probably the only actual quotations; reproduction of matter or of phrases occurring in the OT, the NT, the Talmud, or the NT Apocrypha is found throughout the Qur'an, and this is at times sufficiently close to render the term 'quotation' not inappropriate.

Noticeable cases are vii. 39: 'Nor shall they enter Paradise until the camel passeth through the eye of the needle' (34 109); xxvi. 104: 'The day whereof we shall roll up the heaven as the scribe (i) rolleth up the book' (Is 24:1; xxvii. 70: 'We gave him [Cain] treasures of which the keys would weigh down a company of strong men' (B. Pamshineh, 119:4: The keys of the treasures of Corah were a burden for three hundred white mules); xxvii. 26: 'If all the trees that are upon the earth were burned, and the wood became pens, and if God should after that swallow the sea into seven seas of (ink), his works would not be exhausted' (midrash Rabba, Genesis, xxxvii. 26). In other cases were he read the earth, and the heavens and the earthroll, and all mankind scribes, they would not suffice to write the Law.'

Borrowings and wordings it would not be permissible to infer that the author of the Qur'an had direct access to the Bible, Apocrypha, and Talmud; still less would it be permissible to infer from their inaccurecies that he had no such access for the information of which they were incapable of being said. When numerous appliances make the verification of quotations exceedingly easy, we find experts in Homer confusing Andromache with Penelope, etc., and Biblical exegesis in the Zend Avesta, etc. When verification was a cumbersome process, the standard of accuracy was far lower. Now, the Qur'an exhibits intimate acquaintance with the books of Genesis and Exodus, out of which it reproduces various chapters—sometimes, fastened on, mixed up with Midrashic matter; and this reproduction is often accompanied with serious inaccuracy, as when Moses is said to be sent to Pharaoh, Haman, and Qur'an (Corah). In both matters it is nothing more than a garland, and a literal confusion Abraham with Jacob (Acts 7:2), and Paul uses Midrash as though it were Scripture (1 Co 10:9), though doubtless it differs in degree. The latter practice seems to come from the constant association of certain comments with the text, and has its parallel in the practice of the science of archeology.

That the work of ours own time, where, e.g., the statements of the Homeric poems are mixed up with inferences drawn from it by later authors. The most natural conclusion would be that the Prophet had at some time studied those two books (Genesis and Exodus) with the aids current among the Jews, and had afterwards reproduced his information without verifying his references. His acquaintance with other parts of the OT is much slighther, yet he displays some knowledge of the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. In these cases, too, Midrash is mixed up with Biblical matter, and the attempt to reproduce the story of the scene between David and Nathan (xxviii. 20-23) suggests that he had known the story at one time, but had afterwards forgoten its context and many important details.

Of the NT he clearly knows far less, the only personages belonging to it whose names he mentions being Zacharias, Yaluyi (John the Baptist), Maryam (the Virgin), 'Isa (Jesus), and the angel Gabriel. Maryam is the daughter of 'Imran (Amram), and the sister of Hårûn (Aaron). His 'Gospel of the Nativity' (in sūras iii. and ix.) is similar to what is found in the Protevangelium Jacobi Minoris, but contains certain details drawn from other sources; one of these, that the Virgin supported herself on a palm-tree during her threes, is clearly traceable to the Greek myth of Leto. The employment of the title 'Word' (rûmân) for Christ must go back to the Fourth Gospel.

The difficulty of assuming that the Biblical matter of the Qur'an was got at first hand from books lies in the fact that there is no evidence of any parts of the Bible having been translated into Arabic before the Alter Period. Khadijah's relative Waraqah translated a Gospel is obscure, and may mean merely that he copied it—and none of the Prophet having studied any language but his own, coupled with the circumstance that both the proper names and the names of religious technicalities in the Qur'an belong to some four different languages. Thus Jákwnam (Gehenna) is Hebrew, Nāth (Noah) Syriac, Alyûs (Maryam) the Virgin, 'Isa (Jesus), and the angel Gabriel. Maryam is the daughter of 'Imran (Amram), and the sister of Hårûn (Aaron). His 'Gospel of the Nativity' (in sūras iii. and ix.) is similar to what is found in the Protevangelium Jacobi Minoris, but contains certain details drawn from other sources; one of these, that the Virgin supported herself on a palm-tree during her threes, is clearly traceable to the Greek myth of Leto. The employment of the title 'Word' (rûmân) for Christ must go back to the Fourth Gospel.

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the Syriac Mazmûrê. Names which seem to be Biblical but cannot be identified with certainty are those of the prophets Ishir, Dhû'l-Khânî, Dhû'l-Nun, and others. The subject from which surah v., said to be the latest, derives its name, 'The Table,' appears to exhibit a strange conflation of different matters; the apostles (v. 112) ask 'Isa to pray that a table be sent down to them from heaven, and he, after other ways that may be sent down 'to be a festival to the first and to the last of us'; and the prayer is answered. The basis of this appears to be the phrase 'the table of the Lord,' in 1 Co 10:31; but there seems also to be an allusion to Christ's feeding of the multitude and to the vision of Peter (Ac 10:10). The extent to which the Prophet's memory and imagination, or the peculiarities of his informants, gave rise to these and similar statements will never be accurately determined. Hence we not the Protovangelium, we might have attributed to him the confusion between Samuel and the Virgin Mary which appears in surah iii. Certain lost works appear to have contained matter which resembles what is found in the Qur'an e.g., the Ḥisâb al-rovḥâ 'Arov- crâal,$ which mentions that Muhammad had the statement that not Christ but another had been crucified, which is near the Qur'ânic doctrine (iv. 150), in which the Jews are charged with falsely asserting that they had killed Christ, whereas this had happened only in simulacra. Of matter that is not Biblical but is obtained from Christians, the story of the Seven Sleepers (q.v.) and probably that of Dhû'l-Khânî are examples; that of the adventures of Moses with a personal essay about some of whose details, the Muslim al-Khidâr is said to have a similar origin. Of acquaintance with any foreign literature other than that belonging to these communities there appears to be no certain trace, though there are references to the Magians, whose literature is known, and the Sabæans, who are still a puzzle. When we read, 'The whole doctrine of the Qur'an concerning Ibîs and the genie, or Satans of the Qur'ân, has been borrowed for the most part from the Magi of Persia,' it is hard to see how this can be proved. For the data of the Qur'ân story are Biblical; that Adam was created from earth is known from Gn 2, and that the 'ministers' are of flaming fire is known from Is 104; 'that the words, 'Let all the angels of God worship him ('14:32)' are all taken, on Abûl-Fadl's account, from Genesis, the world is known to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (11). The doctrine that fire is more honourable than earth, whence Satan's refusal to carry out this order is intelligible, and made the ground of it, is an Aristotelian commonplace. What we have then is a Midrash worked up in Qur'ânic style, precisely as the story of Abraham and his father's idols (xxi. 52-71) is worked up from the material preserved in Genesis Rabbah, 38. That there was no native literature in the possession of the Arabs to whom the Qur'ân addresses itself is stated so frequently and emphatically that we are compelled to believe it. Passages of this type are xvi. 3: 'Bring me a book before this or a monument of knowledge, if ye speak true'; xvii. 37: 'Have ye a book wherein ye study?'; xcvii. 43: 'We have not given any book to stand nor remain to them before thee'; xxvii. 36: 'Have ye given them [i.e., the pagan deities] a book, wherein they have proofs?'; xxvii. 2: 'Are they then the only people that have lost the sayings that surpassed their former ones before'; xxvii. 156: 'Have ye any clear authority? Then bring your book, if ye speak true'; li. 41: 'Are they in possession of the Book that they are the near of Allah? And ye have sent among the infidels a messenger of themselves to receive their signs.' Clearly, then, the Prophet had not, like the Christian missionaries among the pagan Greeks, to overthrow the authority of books which served to maintain an older system; nothing could be cited against his assertions but immemorial practice. Although the language of the Qur'ân must represent in itself that which was current in Mecca when it was composed, and to the creation of that idiom many persons have contributed, it is improbable that the Prophet had in the language of his country any literary model to which he was indebted for either form or content. Indeed, know of the existence of poets, who 'roam in every valley and say what they do not do' (xxvi. 225), and was himself charged with being a jinn-ridden poet, though he asserts that God had not taught him poetry; but it is evident, both consequent and as it could not be the subject of these persons and from what it puts into the mouth of the Prophet's adversaries, that they were not writers of authority who aspired to become national classes.

According to Tabari, certain Arabs in the Prophet's time possessed the book of Luqman, some of whose sayings are reported in surah xxxi. In the later literature he figures as a writer of fables and is often quoted for maxims; yet it is not clear whether any saying was known apart from the passage in the Qur'an. The story of Thâmûd and their prophet Šâlîh is located in N. Arabia, and the name of the tribe is attested by classical geography; the rock tombs were mistaken for houses of the tribe. The story is unknown, as is that of 'Ad and their prophet Hûd. Tabari derives this tribe from the son of the Biblical Uz, also located in Arabia, and the name seems to be the Biblical word for 'eternity,' and to be about as historical as Cudamus. The phraseology and to some extent the statements of the Qur'an are often illustrated from 'pre-Islamic poetry'; and some of this came to be recognized as classical at any rate in the early Abûbad period. These poets, unlike those of other communities, seem to be entirely ignorant of their national or tribal religions, whence it has been suggested that they were all Christians! There appears, however, to be no possible method of reconciling their existence with the statements of the Qur'ân cited above or, more plausibly, the false and shameless falsehoods, the work should have produced some argument or reason for ignoring the poets' words, which (e.g., the Mal'âlaqah of Zahâr) contained moral precepts and at times allusions to the Prophet and the Qur'ân (e.g., the poems of Umâyah b. Ali Šâl.). The source of every statement or expression in the Qur'an cannot of course be traced, and there is no reason for denying its author considerable originality. The requirements of the rhyme must of themselves have led to the invention of new phrases, and even of historical details—e.g., the location of the call of Moses in 'the holy vale Tuwâ' (xxix. 16), and of the meeting between Moses and the magicians 'at midday' (xx. 61). The same consideration perhaps dictated the specification of the 'tree Zaqqûm' as the food of the damned, which seems to have provoked criticism at Mecca (xvii. 62), and the description of Pharaoh as 'the man of the stakes' (dhûl-auôtâd) (xxviii. 11). But though this may conceivably be a misunderstanding of the Greek word ἀνθρόπος. Originality is doubtless displayed in the descriptions of hell and paradise, though in these some details are traceable to the Johannean Apocalypse. The same collection of stories is not as the result of study in itself different from that urged by other poets, who professedly obtain their information from the Muse, etc. It may have been taken too literally by the Prophet's opponents; consequently, as it could not be withdrawn, it had to be maintained as a fact.
4. Original theory of revelation.—The Qur'an is, on the one hand, something written, on the other, something read or recited. The written document, however, is in heaven.

It is an honourable Qur'an in a hidden book which shall not be unrolled except by God's permission (xvii. 94). This point is, however, somewhat elucidated by another passage: ‘It is a record on honourable, cleansed, exalted leaves in the hands of honourable, pure scribes’ (xxxvii. 11-14).

This, however, ‘contains the permanent writings’, which ‘are recited by an Angel from God’ (xviii. 2), are thus thought of as in heaven; and in v. 7 the ‘book’ is clearly distinguished from such as are on ordinary materials.

Had we sent down unto thee a book written on parchment, and they had touched it with their hands, the infidels had surely said: ‘This is sought but plain sorcery.’

Since in vii. 142 it is stated that the Deity wrote for Moses on the Tables a homiletic and encyclopedic work similar in character to the Qur'an; which is itself said to be on ‘a guarded table’ (lxxviii. 22), it would seem that revelation means the mental perusal by the Prophet of the divine book, which is in heaven, whose contents he communicates to his countrymen. And indeed the Jews are spoken of as ‘those who read the Book before thee,’ whom the Prophet is to consult, if he has any doubt about his revelations (x. 94). It is supported by the language that the dawning light and grace is heavenly (xiii. 2-7), which is then translated into Arabic so as to be intelligible. Of the divine language it is probable that the letters prefixed to some of the sûras are specimens. This theory accounts in part for the fact that so many of the sûras are repetitions of the same matter; the reproduction by the Prophet of the portions of the divine book which he was privileged to peruse would not necessarily be verbally coincident. The book would be ascribed to the Prophet, as is the case with the Psalms in the Old Testament (xxvi. 193), called Gabriel (ii. 91), to the Prophet's heart, while it is also in the books of the ancients (xvii. 97), and in the breasts of those to whom knowledge has been given (xxiv. 48), i.e. learned Ismaelites (xxvi. 197). For even the reduction of the Law of Moses to parchment is supposed to be an innovation (vi. 91), its proper seat being the memory of the rabbis (v. 48). It might have been revealed in a foreign tongue (xxvi. 198, xlii. 44), but this would have involved various objections. According to this theory, the Prophet’s own people only (xvi. 4); hence the notion of reproducing the contents of a concealed book has a tendency to give way to that of bearing a message, which the messenger would naturally express in his own words.

There does not appear to be any reference in the Qur'an to any but oral communication of its contents. The passage cited above from vi. 7 plainly indicates that it was not produced on parchment, and similarly in xvi. 95 the Meccans ask for a book to be brought down from heaven ‘which they can read themselves.’ The texts are recited either by the Prophet or by his followers (xxii. 71); there is little suggestion that the one or the other had a written copy, though perhaps vi. 146, ‘I find not in what has been revealed to me save . . . ’ might be interpreted of a search through MSS. Hence, when the Qur'an quotes itself, it quotes rather the general sense than the exact words, with the exception of passages which were obviously meant to be remembered.

E.g., iv. 139: ‘He hath sent down unto you in the Book that when ye hear the Signs of God denied and mocked, ye shall sit with them in the fire . . . ’ The passage cited is vi. 67: ‘When ye hear the Signs of God, then deliver them to them; and if they disbelieve, let them be among the evildoers.’

Where obliteration of texts is mentioned, the reference is to alterations made by the Deity in the divine original (xiii. 30, xlii. 23); to erase in this case has for its equivalent ‘to cause to be forgotten’ (ii. 100).

The tradition at times agrees with the Qur'an in this matter, as where the Prophet is made to confess that he has forgotten a text which is attributed to him, the genuineness of which he acknowledges, or to explain differences between the forms in which the same text is current by the theory that the Qur'an had been revealed in seven different forms. At other times it assumes that some one who had written down the texts as soon as they were delivered and kept at hands which h. Thabit was summoned by the Prophet to write down a text which had been revealed (iv. 97), and brought a shoulder-blade for the purpose; presently some one complained that the verse was hard upon him, and some additional words were revealed meeting the case. Certain verses were lost because 'Aishah kept the scroll which contained them under the Prophet's bed, and let it be worm-eaten during his illness. Long lists were given of people who 'copied down the revelations.'

On the whole, the phenomena displayed by the Qur'an itself render it difficult to suppose that it was committed to writing in the Prophet's time, though its character was greatly changed by the translation from Islam from Meccah to Medina. The clumsiness of the language, the repetition of sentences, the resemblance of this body of literature to the compositions of the rabbis or others, and the absence of a sequel, if it is a sequel to other books, to the beginning of the Qur'an, appears to our minds to make the whole more intelligible if it is thought of as a lecturer's treatment of a subject than if it is regarded as a permanent document; the repetitions of the same narratives with insignificant variations are natural in the former case, almost unthinking to the extent to which they are found in the Qur'an in the latter. But, if any revelation became fixed in writing, the need for having the whole so fixed would speedily make itself felt. The assemblage of materials from which the statement of the Qur'an were absolutely consistent with one another and with the earlier Scriptures, which were reasonable enough when men were concerned with the general sense of what had been uttered, assumed a very different character when, by being committed to some writing material, they became definitely fixed.

When an official copy had been circulated to the exclusion of others, a theory of verbal and literal identity was not to be attained, and ultimately became dominant, though barely. The history is sometimes found where we should least expect it; thus Buhârî says that the text, 'except that ye knit a relationship between me and you,' was revealed, but the commentators acknowledge that they cannot find it, and suppose the words to be a paraphrase of xlii. 22: 'save love of my kin.' Ib. Mas'hûd (t. 32), when ordered to alter his copy in accordance with the official text, declared that he had heard seventy sûras from the lips of the Prophet, and could not adopt these alterations; readings of his were employed as late as 322 A.H., when their use was forbidden on pain of execution, and the books which contained them were burned. These variants consisted mainly in the substitution of synonyms, but were also by grammarians to cite God who is exalted for grammatical forms and rhetorical ornaments. A Masarah arose which counted not only chapters and verses but words and letters (the various computations are given in the Muhâdhîb, 193, vi. 321).
In the early days of Islam inaccurate citation was common for a time at least; a Khărijite woman declared that the ignorance of God's book displayed by Umayyad governors had led her to revolt. Some fragments which, whether by the Prophet or not, were not included in the official Qur'an were here and there preserved as having once belonged to it; and, when a reader made a spurious addition to a sûrah, it was not always easy to detect its inferiority to the genuine matter. Stories are told of lengthy interpolations by ministers in public assemblies, which were tendered to them for their own ends, and of others which were harmless supplements to the texts. See, further, art. INSPIRATION (Muslim).

5. Chronology and arrangement. The order of the sûrah (114 in number) is evidently according to length, but this is far from strict, and early traditions suggest that certain sûrah were grouped together owing to their reaching a certain length, but that their order within those groups was haphazard.

In the Masnad we read: 'Said Ibn 'Abbas: I said to 'Utham: What induced you to take the Surah Anfâl (viii.) which is one of the Mathahî (sûrah of less than 100 verses) and one of the six sûrah (ix.) which form the hunding sûrah (sûrah of between 100 and 200 verses), and write them, not without the words of 'Umar, 'I announced to God, and to place them among the seven long sûrah? He said: As time passed numerous Sûrah were revealed to the Prophet; what was revealed to him, he was used to summon one of his scribes and bid him place it in the Surah wherein such and such matters are mentioned; when a group of two or more Sûrah were revealed, he used to say, Place these texts in the Surah wherein such and such matters are mentioned; and he would say the same when a single text was revealed. Now the Surah Anfâl was one of the first of the Medîne Sûrah, whereas the Surah Bara'â was one of the last Surahs of the Qur'an. And if we examine the order in which they are supposed to have been explained, we shall see that it belonged to it, and the Prophet died without distinctly ascertaining that it belonged thereto. This was the reason for our present order.

In the same work we are told that al-Jâhid b. Khazmânah brought 'Umar the last two verses of sûrah ix.; 'Umar recognized them as having been uttered by the Prophet; had there been three, he added, he would have made of them a separate sûrah; as there were only two, he made al-Jâhid find a suitable place for their insertion; he accordingly placed them at the end of sûrah ix.

These traditions indicate that both the second and the third Khalîfsah had a hand in the arrangement of the Sûra, and that the final arrangement was the Prophet's; and it is noticeable that 'Uthamân, who, according to the most familiar tradition, is responsible for the circulation of a uniform copy and the destruction of all others, in a saying put by Tabari into the mouth of one of his murderers, was the first whose hand wrote the Mufasal, implying that his edition was the first written edition. Usually the collecting of the Qur'an is placed in the reign of the first Khalîfsah, whose scruples were overcome by the fear that the book might be lost if the readers should perish in the wars; and indeed it was asserted that parts actually perished with some of the martyrs of Yemamâh; but admirers of 'Ali declare that he, not the Khalîfsah, was the author of the Sûra. After the death of the Prophet, immediately a copy of the Qur'an from memory in three days; and this, wanting some leaves, was said to be still in existence in the 4th century. If there were any truth in this story, it seems that the people had wanted those verses which the person—Zaid the Thamâni—said to have edited the ordinary text found with difficulty; so, according to Bukhârî, he copied the leaves into his edition, he missed a verse (xxxiii. 23) which he had heard the Prophet recite; finally he found it in the possession of Khuza'imah, the Ansârî, whose evidence was worth that of two men.

The persons who produced these stories had to accommodate a text which is generally acknowledged, viz. that the sûrah often contain matter which belongs to very different periods, coupled with the assumption that single texts or small groups of texts were often revealed. If, e.g., Surahs II 203-204 (consisting of the story of 'Umar, whereas ix. 1-10 was delivered on a different occasion to 'Ali, how came these various texts and groups of texts to form one unit called a sûrah? In the Masnad the location is said to have been dictated in most cases by the Prophet; and the tradition admits that the sûrah had at least, neither names nor numbers, so that they could only be distinguished as 'containing such and such matter.' Perhaps the only passage in the Qur'an which suggests that the Prophet arranged the texts is for. ' If this rich restricts the pronoun of verse 66, that 100 Muslims should overhear 100 unbelievers, to a promise that they should overcome 200, prefixing to the reduction the words, 'Now God has lightened your burden,' knowing that the superiority in numbers of the believers to the infidels 'now' indicates that an interval has passed between the two promises. But the suspicion lies near that this reducing verse is not from the Prophet himself, but from some later annotator. Ordinary, where one statement corrects another, they are widely apart. So in viii. 9 the fighters at Badr are promised a reinforcement of 1000 angels; but in ii. 120 f. the number is increased to 3000 or even 5000, though the occasion on which the promise was made is the same, but no further comment is added on both (viii. 10 and i. 129). It could scarcely have been the Prophet's intention to let both reports of his oracle remain.

Hence it is more usual to suppose that the sûrah, where they are evidently collections of matter belonging to different times, represent the results of private effort, and the process called 'collecting the Qur'an' probably refers to this preliminary putting together of revelations delivered by the Prophet. According to the tradition, as early as the time of Uthman, Surahs were assigned to those who had collected the Qur'an, and in proportion to the amount which they had collected; one Mujammâ', son of Hârîthâ, who figures in some incidents of the Prophet's biography, got his name from his carrying out this process; the name of the first person who 'collected the Qur'an' in Yemen is recorded; and we are told that 47 men of one tribe, who had collected the Qur'an, were killed on one morning. Four persons are mentioned in the tradition as having collected the Qur'an in the Prophet's time. Where, then, the same verses with slight differences are found in different sûrah, the Prophet may be repeating himself, or the repetition may be due to copying the matter in the collections of different persons.

Cf., e.g., xliv. 61: 'Say, O ye that have judged, if ye judge that ye are friends of God out of all mankind, then desire death if ye speak truly. But if ye speak not truly, then desire death if ye speak truly. But never will they desire it owing to their previous hard work, and God knoweth concerning the wrongdoers.' With li. 88: 'Say, if the last world be yours exclusively out of the grace of God, then desire death if ye speak truly. But never will they desire it owing to their previous hard work.'

It is hard to say whether this represents two reports of the same message to the Jews, put together by different collectors, or two messages delivered by the Prophet at different times, with a
very slight difference in the wording. And similar cases are frequent, notably the statements about the miracles in the wilderness, the entry into the Holy Land, and the transformation into apes of Israelites who broke the Sabbath, which occur in vv. 160, 161, 162, 166 and ii. 84–87, 61, though these surahs are supposed to have been delivered respectively in Meccah and Medinah.

To some extent, then, the surahs present phenomena analogous to those of the Gospels; i.e., the same matter is repeatedly produced with variation in form, and with apparently divergent authors. It is not to be wondered at, then, that it is difficult to think of these as reports of different matter; they are much more like reports of the same discourses with the variations inseparable from oral tradition.

An example may be taken from ii. 98: 'O ye that believe, say not, "rā'īnā" but say "unpurakā" and "hear,"' and in iv. 48 there is the following: 'Among those that Judea are such as corrupt the phrase from its location and say: "We hear and disobey," and "hear, not made to hear," and "rā'īnā," twisting their tongues and attacking the religion. Had they said: "We hear and obey," and "hear, not made to hear," it would have been better for them and more correct.' In ii. 87 it is said of the Israelites that they took their book away from them and put to them, 'Take what we have given you with power, and hear,' they said, 'We hear and obey.'

Now, the Arabic words quoted, of which one is apparently corrupt, and another appears to be synonymous, and in the later literature are both in common use; the phrases 'we hear and obey' and 'we hear and disobey' are contradictory; the phrase 'hear, not made to hear,' for which 'hear' is often substituted, is unintelligible. In surah iv. all three are offered as examples of improper expressions used by the Jews with malevolent intent; in surah ii. the phrase 'we hear and disobey' is recorded as the defiant reply of the Israelites when commanded by their oppressors to return to Sinai, whereas unpurakā is stated to be the proper substitute for the improper rā'īnā, while the improper substitute for 'hear' is not recorded. In v. 45 we have another version of the commence-
ment of iv. 48:

"Among those that Judea are hearers of falsehood, hearers of other people who have not come to thee, who corrupt the phrase from its location.

The account which seems to agree best with the facts is that we have the inaccurate records in these various places of the same sayings put together by different persons long after they were delivered, when the circumstances of the original delivery were very largely forgotten. By the phrase of 'corrupting the phrase from its location' in one surah is thought to refer to the conduct of the ancient Israelites, in another to the Prophet's Israelitish contemporaries, in a third to incorrect reporters of the Prophet's sayings, to whose testi-
mony the Israelites of his time attached value.

Thus the questions of chronology, arrangement, and genuineness are inextricably connected, and any attempt at arranging the surahs in chronological order is impeded by the fact that the surahs are themselves largely agglomerations, while the probability that much was not committed to writing till long after the texts to be reproduced had been uttered necessarily affects the genuineness of a surah; and doubts about the genuine-
ness of texts are not altogether wanting in the Muhammadan chronicles.

According to Tabari,1 when Abū Bakr after the Prophet's death, during the period when the Prophet's death is mentioned, 'the people did not seem to know that this text had been revealed to the Prophet until Abū Bakr recited it to them;' whereas when the Prophet's death is distinctly foretold (xxxix. 33) were repeated on this occasion, according to another account,2 certain persons swore that they heard the Prophet say that the recitation before the Prophet's death would be preserved.

The authenticity of the two final surahs was denied by some persons. European critics have naturally fewer scruples than Muslims about

1 1816
2 Tabari, i. 1819.

obelizing verses, but, since these interpolations, if there be any, must belong to a period which is very imperfectly known, not many verses have been condemned. Certain passages very clearly belong to definite epochs in the Prophet's biography, and in the order of the surahs the second, of which Ithāq is generally trusted, though its authority was clearly not established in the 2nd century. Thus the authoritative Shāfi'i places the Raid of Dhiḥ al-Riqā', which was the occasion of iv. 103 f., after the Battle of the Trench, whereas in the narrative of Ibn Iṣaḥ the raid was in the year 4, and the battle in the year 5. The number of texts that can be dated by these considerations is comparatively small; for a great many com-

1 Rādīlah, Cairo, 1323, p. 27.
2 I. 2963.
explained to you what food he had made unlawful for you, and though this may be a reference to vi. 146, yet, since the list there begins with the words, 'Say: I find in that which has been revealed unto me nothing forbidden save,' etc., the reference to xvi. 116 seems the more natural; for, if the reference be to xvi. 116, it is explained are no unclean meats. There is no difficulty in the verse, since there will be a reference to a Medinean surah in two Meeccan surahs! Dating by the supposed development of the Prophet's psychology is naturally an unscientific proceeding; nor does it seem possible to draw any help from the development of his knowledge. We are told that about the year 617 the Prophet learned that the stories about Hûd and Saiwib were apocryphal, and in consequence was careful to make no further allusion to them. In fact he alludes to them in sârah x. (71)—according to the tradition, the last sârah but one, or the last, in the Qur'ân.

6. The miracle of the Qur'ân.—The meaning of the miraculous nature ascribed to the book has been the subject of much discussion, and the treatise to which its explanation is referred to in the text has been too long to be here reproduced. It is evident that the circumstantial evidence to which the Prophet referred may have been insufficient to satisfy the inquiring mind of a Bâzâl, but it was his desire, as related above, to demonstrate that revelation had come from God, even in the Meeccan period. The stories of the sârah of the Prophethood were either not narrated, or were narrated in surprising form. We find indications of this in the genealogy of Muhammad (xiii. 1, 2), and in the story of the Angel Gabriel (xxvii. 13, 14). But there have been instances of the accuration of stories which could rival it, and is assured that the united efforts of mankind and jinn would fail in such an enterprise (xxvii. 90). This doubtless limits the effectiveness of the miracle in the first place to the Arabs and in the second to experts in style; but it is pointed out that in most matters the majority are liable to be deceived, and that even the most critical sects and networks are composed by rhetorical experts who show how everything in the book is expressed in the best possible way; the recently published Târîb, by the Zâidi Khalifâh Yâhi'â b. 'Abdallah (â 749 Â.). Of these objections Ibn Wazir, Cairo, 1914, pp. 152, 153, and discusses the famous allusions, e.g., in the phrase 'and thou wilt do which thou didst' (xxvi. 18).

Possibly these expressions of self-approbation in the Qur'ân do not differ much from those employed by other Oriental authors and at times by Europeans. What we learn from its statements is that the Meeccans in general found it intolerable, and demanded a 'reading' of another kind (x. 16); and even in the late Medineh period (ix. 66, 125) of the Prophet his own claim to be guided was found to cause annoyance, ridiculed the revelations. A curious method of dealing with the miracle is that ascribed to a Mu'tazil doctor, who supposed it to lie in the failure of the Arab poets and orators to take up the challenge of the Prophet's 'moral' performances; or if in spite of their number and ability they abstained, they must have been supernaturally prevented. It is urged against this view that, were it correct, the miracle would not be the Qur'ân, but God's; but it is asserted that innumerable passages of revealed prophecy and miracles of very doubtful validity—one, that there were at the time numerous poets and orators, and a second, that the challenge was not taken up. Indeed, it seems certain that a rival Qur'ân was produced by the pretender Maslamah or Muzzainah; and Palgrave suggests that much of it was preserved in Yemamah as late as the 19th century. The claims of this work as against the Qur'ân were settled by the sword. The challenge has probably been taken up at various times—and indeed the Qur'ân comes near admitting this for its own time (vi. 93)—notably by the famous Abûl-'Ala of Ma'arrâh (+ 449), of whose Fâsul wa-Ghâyat some fragments are preserved; the work itself was destroyed from pious motives, though the person who destroyed it has been allowed to exist as a monument of failure. The eminent vizier Ibn 'Abâd was not displeased when told that his own compositions were equal to the Qur'ân; and we casually hear of books written by professing Muslims in which the defects of the Qur'ân were pointed out; one Ibn Abîl-Baghl, who aspired to the viceroyalty in the 4th cent., is credited with a work of the kind.

The magical use of the Qur'ân appears to have begun at an early time; the practice of opening it for sârâf is mentioned in the year 38, and has been common ever since; and rules for this employment of the work are found in some MSS. Certain passages are written on amulets, and the water in which some have been washed is thought to be a cure for all ills.

7. Literary form.—The style of the Qur'ân is twice described in the work itself by the word tartîl, the purpose of this artifice being to fix it in the Prophet's memory (xxx. 34); the sense of the word is not exactly known, but it is likely to refer to the rhyme, the existence of which cannot be denied, being indeed demonstrated by the variation in the order of the names Musa and Harun, of which the former as the more eminent should...

1 Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad, Berlin, 1861-65, ii. xxiii.
2 Journey through Arabia, London, 1855-6, i. 332.
3 Centenario di M. Amori, Palermo, 1910, i. 239.
4 Yaqut, vi. 235.
5 Ekzeli, B. H. 277, 278.
6 Henry S. F. Amedroz, Leyden, 1900, p. 270.
7 Tabari, f. 2923.
properly have the first place. But it is said to be improper to apply to this style the ordinary name for rhymed prose, *saj*, which, according to a tradition, was said by the Prophet to be characteristic of paganism. Orates that are intended to have been delivered by pagan wizards (*kithos*), are, indeed, in a style that differs from that of the Qur'an by the regularity of the rhyme; these are most probably all spurious, as are other monuments of pre-Islamic Arabic prose; in the later literature of this style was popular especially for orations and official letters, the unit of the rhyme being usually a couplet, sometimes extended to a triple, whereas in the sermon style the rhyme has a tendency to be maintained in a line, or perhaps in imitation of the Qur'an. Judged by these performances, the rhyme of the Qur'an is iliterate, but such a view is naturally regarded as impious, and it is thought better to regard it as inimitable.

In the Meccan period the Prophet was regarded as a poet by his countrymen, and this title might well be earned by the early ejaculatory *sura*s; it is, however, repudiated with vehemence in the Qur'an, partly perhaps because the poets were thought to go against the *sura*s, therefore, the poets, texts of the Qur'an admit of scansion according to one or other of the recognized metres, this is not supposed to be intentional; and there is nowhere sufficient of a series to make the word *metre* applicable, though *sura* is often fulfills the conditions.

Certain *sura*s contain besides special artifices; thus in lv. the texts are followed for the most part by the refrain, 'Which then of the bounties of your Lord wilt ye deny?'; this refrain may be compared with the refrain in the Song of the Three Holy Children and that in Ps 136. In xxxvii. after the story of each prophet the words 'Peace upon Ibrahim,' etc., follow, either the sentence or the name of the Prophet being accommodated to the rhyme.

The tendency of the earlier *sura*s is to employ short sentences, whereas rhythms more accommodated to prose prevail in the later parts of the work. It is noticeable that neither the anthologic method is characteristic of Hebrew poetry nor the counting of syllables which is usual in Syriac forms an element in the style of the Qur'an. The language claims to be perspicuous Arabic, and attention is often called to the clearness of the teaching. One characteristic phrase, *a* *kata*' of the employment of phrases which require explanation: about a dozen times some phrase is employed followed by the formula, 'What is there to tell thee what it is?' Though extreme orthodoxy denies the existence of foreign words in the Qur'an, it is generally recognized that its style admits not only foreign proper names, but a considerable number of words borrowed from other languages; a meritorious collection of these is to be found in the work of Sayyid Khayr Awad, which, however, contains many inadmissible statements. Many words have evidently of Persian, Ethiopic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin origin; but it is impossible for us to discover whether they were introduced by the Prophet or were already familiar. Some of the foreign usages can more easily be distinguished and located by European than by native critics—e.g., the employment of *fath* in the sense 'judgment' (Ethiopic), *futara* for 'create' (the same), *jabbar*, 'mighty' (Hebrew as applied to God), etc., where the Arabic language is usually parallel or identical.

8. Place in Islam.—No sooner was the Qur'an published than it became the basis of education, being studied immediately after the acquisition of the alphabet; so the first Umayyad Khalifah, Mu'awiyah, became he appointed a man governor of Taif, said, 'He is in his ABC'; when made governor of Meccah, 'He is in the Qur'an.'1 Men were chastised by the Khalifah Walid I. for not having read it. The peculiarities and characteristics of the style consist largely in the repetition of portions of it; verses employed by the Prophet himself for this purpose are specified in traditions collected in the *Musnad.*2 After the Prophet's death it became the primary source of law, for in his own time it was liable to be adduced for regulations and, in v. 48–55 Jews and Christians who require their causes judged are referred to the Law and the Gospel. The difficulties of using the work compiled by 'Uthman for this purpose were very great, though not too great for the ingenuity of the jurists, who began to arise in Medinah shortly after the Prophet's death. The difficulty of teaching the Qur'an to foreign converts is said to have given rise to the study of Arabic grammar, for which of course it supplies an absolutely firm foundation. Orthodox theologians, arguing from certain statements in it, declare that it contains all possible knowledge. If Fakhri al-Din al-Razi († 906) could find 10,000 problems suggested by the *Musnad,* the very fact of such an attempt, it is said, makes it possible to discover a 'detailed account of everything' in it by the use of suitable methods.

Citation of and reference to the Qur'an are exceedingly common in Muslim works, whether grave or light. Copies of the sacred texts fall into the hands of non-Muslim secretaries, these persons were compelled by the needs of their profession to acquire a competent knowledge of the book, though the strict interpretation was not required. By the Emperor 'Uthman the cleansed shall touch it,' is thought to render such study highly improper; and anecdotes are recorded of divine favours shown to grammarians who had refused to teach Jews or Christians their subject because of the necessary reference to Qur'anic usage. It is not easy, however, to reconcile with this theory the doctrine that the unbeliever should be converted by the miracle of the Qur'an; the doctrine has to give way to the theory, so that those who read the books of unbelievers are forbidden to carry the Qur'an with them into infidel hands. Translation of the book was certainly not contemplated by the Prophet; the rhyme obviously constitutes a great difficulty, and the initial letters of some *sura*s an even greater one; Muslim sentiment has ordinarily been against attempts at translation even where the language of the version is one of those habitually and mainly used by Muslims; still such attempts have been made, though nothing resembling an 'authorized version' appears to exist in any Muslim language.

The Muslim notion of the sacred book as the main authority on law, the chief source of grammar, and the unapproachable model of eloquence not infrequently causes Muhammadan writers to misunderstand the place assigned to the Bible in the other hand, there seems little doubt that this theory has influenced the Jews and Christians who are resident in Muslim countries.

9. Interpretation.—The sacred book gave rise to a great and edifying of studies, partly grammatical, partly exegetical; and the names of the authors who distinguished themselves in those lines with their works occupy some eleven pages of the *Fihrist* (28–39), though that work was composed near two centuries after the 4th century. Although Muhammadan learning attaches the very greatest importance to what is orally handed down, there is reason for thinking that the students had little to utilize besides the consonantal text fixed by

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1 *Tabari*, b. 107, anno 54.
2 *Ib. b. 1271*, anno 96.
"Uthman at a time when the Arabic script left such much ambiguity; certain peculiarities may therefore be due to misreading of this text—e.g., the form Yahyah for Yuhannah (John), Taghib for Ta‘ith, and even Shu‘ab for Hobab. Where either the text or the digression offers difficult readings, it does not appear that there was any trustworthy tradition which the interpreters could employ; e.g., in vii. 174, when the Prophet is bidden tell the history of a man to whom we vouchsafed our signs, and who demanded details as to the city of the Khalifas. In general this chapter is given to the Prophet's contemporary Umayyah b. Abi Salt; a third suggestion is that he was 'the Monk,' i.e. a resident in Medina who was unable to accept the mission of the Prophet. In xvi. 49 there occurs a phrase of which the meaning is said to have been known to Umar, and very unconvincing explanations of it are given. On the whole it may be said that the tradition furnished no help that is of value for the explanation of hard passages, though the Prophet's biography, where it is independent of the Qur'an, furnishes some.

As Islâm developed sects, the dogma of the infallibility of the sacred book was common to all; hence the champions of those sects were compelled to argue on the grounds of the text; sectarian commentaries arose, of which not many specimens survived the establishment of Ashârite orthodoxy. The popularity of the Kashaf of Zamakhshari (538), in which Mu‘tazilite opinions are boiled down into moral truisms, and must be due to the author's fame as a grammarian and lexicographer. That orthodoxy does not always easily to reconcile with the text may be illustrated by his comment on iv. 51:

"Verily did forgiveth not association with Himself, but He forgiveth what is less than that to whom He will," which he says means:

"God forgiveth not to whom He will association with Himself, but He forgiveth what is less than that, if He do repent." Yet perhaps the ortho dox exegeses have at times to resort to equally drastic expedients. The most popular of the latter, the Mu‘alla al-tanzil of Baihash (691), is largely copied from Zamakhshari's work, and, though its author's object was to refute the unorthodox views of Yaqiq (v. 101), it does not reflect the appearance of some critical work. For European scholars neither of these works has the interest of the much earlier commentary of the historian Tabari (310), which is swollen to gigantic proportions by the chains of authorities quoted for each gloss; even so, it is said, it is an abridgment of a work three times the size, but it appears to give a complete record of the Qur'anic interpretation current in its author's time. Hence it is of great value for tracing the sources of statements found in later works, from which the chains of authorities are omitted. Great praise is bestowed by Sprenger on the commentary of Thalâbi (427), which is as yet unpublished; and even greater is bestowed on that by his pupil Wāhidî (457) in the latter of these works, especially as it assigns to the author a cable reports which are not unfavourable and which is universally acknowledged. Mystical and devotional commentaries were produced by Sûfîs, whose interpretations naturally wander far from the obvious sense of the passages; but to a very considerable extent this is ascribed to Ibn 'Arabî.

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10. Editions and various readings.—We have seen that the inspired oracles delivered by the Prophet under human circumstances of his life were not generally committed to writing. The Prophet himself given orders not to hasten with the Qur'ân before its inspiration was decided (xx. 113), and intimated that its collection, reading, and interpretation were lawful only to him (lxv. 16). Our knowledge of how it was collected and put into the form in which we read it is commonly derived from writers belonging to the 'Abbasid period, or approximately to the 9th Christian century. The necessity for a reasoned history of the Qur'ân does not seem to have been felt very acutely under the Umayyah and the Pious Khalifas; what occasioned the appearance of some critical works on this subject was the era of religious controversies which animated the learned circles in the city of the Khalifas. At the end of the 8th cent. Timothy, Nestorian patriarch residing in Baghdad, had a public discussion before the Khalifah Mahdi and the Muslim theologians of his time; Abu Nab, secretary to the governor of Mosul, was writing about the same time a refutation of the Qur'ân in his native town (c. A.D. 820). Al-Kindi was completing his famous Apology of Christianity at the court of Ma'mân. These public discussions and apologies, which contain severe criticisms of the Qur'ân, had the salutary effect of inducing the Muslim theologians to define their positions with regard to their scriptures. The method of reasoning from data furnished by authors living more than two hundred years after the event would be less well suited to a people. At the same time there are scholars who would give but little credence to their stories. In view of this sceptical attitude of outsiders, great care is taken by the Muslim authors to authenticate their statements, by a chain of uninterrupted links, of which the latest was given by the Hijrah; frequently also there is reference to some accounts of men living at the end of the 1st Islamic cent., who in their turn had heard them from companions of the Prophet; but, as these intermediary traditions of written nothing which is derived down to us, it is practically with men of the 9th cent. and even of a later date that we generally work. These oral traditions afford for our investigations a field extending from the lifetime of the Prophet to A.D. 705, or roughly from A.D. 1 to 86. According to their attribution of the Collection (Jum') of the Qur'ân (1) to the lifetime of the Prophet, (2) to the time of the Pious Khalifas, (3) to the time of the Umayyah Khalifas, (4) to the time of the Abbasid Khalifas, (5) to the time of the last Abbasid Khalifas, these oral traditions will be classed in three groups.

If any Qur'anic verses were written in the Prophet's lifetime, they must have been written by secretaries and amanuenses. From different sources we have the number of these amendments in the text, or rather, the number of words which have been corrected, but it is very doubtful whether many of them did really help the Prophet in his literary task. The longest list is given by Ibn al-Athîr, 1 Davarkâh, 2 Nâwâwi, 3 and Tabârî. Ibn 'Sâd's enumerates ten different persons who had collected the Qur'ân in the time of the Prophet. Bukhârî reduces this number to four; the Fihrist gives seven. Tabârî counts also four persons as having accomplished this task, but, as their names differ sometimes considerably in the various lists, it is not certain that the preceding list, which was given by a servant of the Caliphs, has received much consideration, and it is probable that the text was corrected by 'Umar himself. Suyuti has gathered a considerable number of such traditions, two of which have appealed to the critics of last century; 1 Ibn Kathir, 8, 198, 199, 1 4. 2 Tâhirî, Cairo, 1255, 1, 59. 3 Tâhirî, Cairo, 1255, B. 131. 4 Tabârî, ed. P. Wustenfeld, Göttlingen, 1812-17, p. 37. 5 Anâ the, ed. M. von L Running, 1780, ii. 523. 6 Tâhirî, Cairo, 1255, B. 131. 7 Tabârî, Leyden, 1812, ii. 112-114. 8 Talibî, Cairo, 1255, B. 131. 9 Tâhirî, Cairo, 1255, B. 131. 10 Ibn Sa'd, in Nisba'sches, des Chem, Göttlingen, 1812, ii. 113. 11 Ibn Idrîs, ed. Câlcutta, 1854, p. 138.
they are those first reported by Bukhārī and then reproduced by many subsequent writers. They state that Zaid ibn Thabit, one of the amanuenses of the Prophet, undertook the collection of the Qur'an in the time of the first and third Khalifahs, and that he made two recensions of it, his sources for the first recension under Abu Bakr being palm-branches, white stones, bones, and memory of men; the second recension, which took place under the Khalifate of 'Uthmān, would be an official revision of the previous one, its primary object having apparently been to put an end to the “discrepancies about the Book as the Jews and the Christians have.” His work finished, the Khalifah found himself powerful enough to destroy or burn “everything else from the Qur'an (found) in the form of qurriμah or muṣḥaf”; to circulate his version, he sent “to every country” a muṣḥaf of what Zaid had transcribed. Nothing is said about what happened to the direct witnesses of the revelation—the white stones, bones, and palm-branches; but in the absence of better data the story is generally accepted as true by all writers belonging to a period later than the 9th cent., and is quoted in our days almost in every collection of the sacred text for the sake of the hadīth. The plausibility of the account is brooded over by some subsequent writers, who put the following accusation into the mouth of the third Khalifah’s enemies:

“The Qur'an was in many books, and thou discredited them all but one,” and he “tore up the Book.” 3

It would be unsafe, however, to believe that this tradition can account for all the difficulties. For instance, there are numerous verses which refer to the Qur’an as kalāb not only in the sense of “written thing,” but also in the sense of a ‘real book’ (xlvii., Ixviii. 37, etc.). These verses, if not interpolated, can hardly be explained if the sources for the first edition of Zaid were only palm-leaves, white stones, memory of men, bones, and such things.

An attempt to produce an official edition of the Qur’an is also attributed to the Umayyad Khalifah Abdal-Malik and his lieutenant Ḥajjāj. They are said to have written copies of the Qur’an and sent them to different provinces, as the third Khalifah had done before them. 4 Some historians tell also that they proscribed various readings which were used in their time. 5 Others go even so far as to ascribe to them the final collection of the Qur’an. 6 In none of these cases put in the mouth of the Khalifah the important saying,“I fear death in the month of Ramadān—in it I was born, in it I was weaned, in it I have collected the Qur’an (Qana‘al Qur’ān), and in it I was elected Khalifah.” 7

It is a well-known fact that the Shi‘ah writers accuse them of the elimination of many verses.

After A.H. 86 the process of collecting the Qur’an came to an end, and, so far as we are aware, there are no historical data after this period for its further standardization; and therefore it is highly probable that the text with which we are familiar is the very text sanctioned by its qurānī (reciters and readers) of the end of the 1st Islamic cent., and officially recognized by the third Khalifah.

Besides the official copy of the State, traces are found of the recensions made by other collectors of the Qur’an, and the Muslim traditionists have preserved the names of some of them. Three deserve special mention: al-Bayyān b. Khalīf, “All b. Ali” Taḥlīb, and ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘īd. The two first are believed by all the best and earliest authorities quoted above to have even collected their Qur’āns in the time of the Prophet, but, as the Sufīs and their officials had proscribed their copies, sometimes under pain of death, the author of the Fihrist 4 was unable to find a single one for purposes of comparison, and he contents himself with reporting the saying of Ṣa‘d b. Ṣa‘dāh that some of his Friends had been, copies of ‘Alī’s recension, the order of which he gives; on p. 20 the order followed by Ibn Mas‘īd is also exhibited on the authority of the same man. As to the nature of our wording we are somewhat more fortunate, since the commentators have recorded it whenever it was known in their time. Zakamshari is in this respect the best source of information. Some words are so different that we are entitled to believe that at least a few of them come from a source completely foreign to that of the official text.

In xix. 67 the official text has, “I shall come forth”; but Mas‘īd reads, “And He will give thee.” Mostly, however, these variants consist of synonyms or of one or two added or eliminated words, such as “saying” for “order” (xix. 65), “they will become cloven” for “they will burst asunder” (xix. 92), “people were driven” for “it is driven” (lxvii. 3).

Some Shi‘ah books give examples of wonderful interpolations, and their authors state that the words that they have added had been purposely deleted from the official text, but there is reason to believe that most of them are the outcome of political intrigues which cannot seriously affect the early edition. One of the best works on this theme is the Kāf of Abu Ja‘far-al-Kulīnī († A.H. 228), which was lithographed in Persia in A.H. 1281. From a MS in the John Rylands Library we extract the following example (fol. 161):

‘And if ye are in doubt of what we have revealed unto our servant, concerning Allāh, then bring a Surah like it.” (Il. 21)

The same author says that some of these interpolations were found in the Qur’āns used in the time of Imām Rida († A.H. 259); his contention is set forth in such an emphatic manner that we are obliged to believe him. The end of v. 11 and the beginning of v. 12 of sūrāt xiii. were, according to him (ib.), as follows:

‘A group of lovers, as it were, to whom the Prophet said, “Who is that which thou call est them to, O Muhammad, concerning the authority of Allāh’.”

More serious is the attempt of contemporary scholars who have called attention to some interpolations, political or religious. P. Casanova has gathered several of them.

The variants of the official text itself are of two kinds. Some are due to the defective character of the Arabic script, which has many letters distinguishable from one another only by an extraneous dot put over or under them. Since the ancient Qur’ānic MSS were unaltered, qurrā of one country often read words with letters different from those adopted by qurrā of another country. A second series of variants consists mainly of the addition or omission of one or two consonants, such as the copulative particle so‘or and the feminine t. Many books have been written to collect these various readings, the handiest being the Muhknī of Dānī (A.D. 1052). Even in the 12th Christian cent. Zakamshari tells us that there were 150 of them. Occasionally added complete words to the standard text.

In xx. 39 some copies which he used added ‘he ordered me,’ and in xx. 18 some others added, ‘How can I show it to you (this hadīth)?’

Our knowledge of these variants is derived exclusively from the commentators and some works written ad hoc by Muslim theologians. There are

1 P. 37.

3 H. 150.
4 Ibn Jāmī‘, in the muṣḥaf, Cairo, A.H. 1600, lv. 110, 347-348;
6 Taḥlīb, i. 6, 2592.
7 J. 1, 510.
8 Abū Dā‘ūd, Jami‘, Cairo, A.H. 1300, lv. 72-74; "Al-Abdallāh, "Ibn Barhi, Chron. Arab., Beirut, 1898, iv. 158.
in public libraries of Europe many Qur’ânic MSS of high antiquity, the oldest dating probably from the 2nd Islamic cent., but, apart from some anomalies of spelling due to the rudimentary character of the early Arabic orthography, no real variant can be detected in them. This conclusion is borne out by Nöldeke, who examined some such MSS, and by the present writer, who for the purpose of this article consulted three of them particularly. By a process of collation and comparison, Toerring has shown that, knowledge, therefore, the only extant MS which offers slight variations is a palimpsest in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Lewis; its underscript contains scraps of Qur'âns written by different hands, and its variants consist of the addition or omission of a few consonants which, however, do not injure the general meaning, although in two cases it has words completely foreign to those of the official copy; there are sufficient grounds for stating that some of these scraps belonged to those early Qur'ânic copies of Medina, Kufah, and Damascus, which, according to Dâni and other writers, exhibited such variants.

11. External evidence for the existence of the Qur’ân.—If we mistake not, there is no mention of a written copy of the Muslims before the end of the 8th cent. The date of the Christian sources corresponds approximately with the first written records of the Muslim world. A curious fact is that the Christians of the beginning of Islam did not call the Muhammadans by the words ‘Muslims’ or ‘Hunafites,’ which refer to a religious belief, but simply applied to them the adjectives ‘Hagarians,’ ‘Ishmaelites,’ and ‘‘Mayâyé,’ which denote their ethnological origins rather than their religious beliefs. The pagans believed that these Hagarians had come not so much to spread a new religion as to conquer new towns. The Muslims were helped in their conquests by many Christian Arabs, such as the powerful tribes of Bann Taghlib, ‘Akal, Tanakh, and ‘Au, whose evangelization goes back to the 4th cent. John of Pheneke1 expressly states about A.D. 690 that among the first Arab conquerors there were many Christians, some Monophysites and Melchites, and some Nestorians.

The anonymous historian printed by Guidi2 gives Muhammad in the second half of the 7th cent. as a mere general professing the old Abrahamic faith preserved in the town of Medinah (Medinah), named after the fourth son of Abraham from Keturah. From the title of Pheneke the attributes to him certain practices deviating in some points from the customs of the Old Covenant, but the word bachalalainth which he uses suggests that in his time and to his knowledge there was nothing yet committed to writing among the Muslims. This view of a political rather than doctrinal character of the Prophet’s teaching is generally followed by all early Christians. Joannes Damascenus, writing at a later date, is more precise. Although not named in this book, he refers to some Qur’ânic doctrines and expresses his opinion about Muhammad as follows:

1 Down to the time of Heraclius (the Ishmaelites) worshipped Jesus; from this time to our days a pseudo-prophet has risen to them named Masâaff, who taught that the Arab monk had access to the Old and New Testaments, and founded a new sect.
2 From a discussion which took place in Syria on Sunday, 9th May, A.D. 639, between ‘Amir the ‘amir’ and John I. the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, it would seem that the teaching of the Qur’ân on the matter of the, heritance, the, denial of the, death of Christ and, the, death of, Christ, and, on the subject of the Tarâh, for which Muhammad’s oracles show a marked predilection, was familiar to the Arab conquerors present in the discussion; but, on the other hand, it is certain that no Islamic book was mentioned in the course of the colloquy. This much is certain: the Syriac text of which has been published by F. Nau in J.A vi. [1915] 218, is recorded by the historians Michel3 and Barhebræus.4 The Qur’ân dogma which, however, is from the 5th cent., or some hundred years after the death of the Prophet. It is told in a modified form so persistently by Eastern and Western writers, and by Muslim traditionists themselves, that it is Plausible that it may contain some vague elements of truth.

The legend tells that an excommunicated monk called Sergius helped Muhammad in his literary, political, and religious career, and that after his death in 578 A.D. his successor was taken to by a Jewish rabbi called Kalb. According to Joannes Damascenus,5 Sergius was an Arian monk. More probable is the opinion held by all the Eastern and many Western historians that he belonged to the Nestorians. The Nestorians claim that the Christian dogmas were all adapted to the Nestorians the Arianism are the Arabic Apology of al-Kindi (c. A.D. 820) and the Syriac text printed by W. Göttheil in Z.A. xliii. If. (1898 ff.), which here and there contains elements dating from the same period. Some scholars of our day have even gone so far as to assert that the story of Sergius is necessary for the right understanding of the Qur’ân.6

To Sergius are attributed, in their hypothesis, the very numerous passages worded in the following manner:

"If God bring thee back to a company of them, and ask thee to go forth, say, "You shall never go forth with me!""

In this sentence the subject of the imperative ‘say’ can hardly be ‘God’; otherwise instead of the word ‘God’ we should have had the pronoun ‘I.’ Until the story of Sergius is more surely established, nothing definite can be made of these passages. The Muslim traditionists have as usual modified proper names foreign to them; so instead of mar ‘Abbû they read the uncommon Murkhû; and instead of naming Sergius they generally adopted for his proper name the Syriac word Bhrûn. This means ‘the wise man,’ and which is applied by the Syrians to every monk as a title. The Muslim traditions bearing on the subject have been gathered by Spranger and Nöldeke,7 and the Byzantine sources have been analyzed by Nöldeke8 and Sauer9.

12. Translations.—The Qur’ân has been translated into many European languages, but, as its miracle lies in its art, it is doubtful whether any of these translations can satisfy all the exigencies of a Semitic language exhibiting the phonetic and rhyming peculiarities of the Orontian tongues, and coloured by the tints of local

4 Loc. cit.
6 ZDMG xlii. (1888) 538, 599.
7 Expansion nestorianae, p. 214 f.
8 Source syriques, ed. A. Michel, Leipzig, 1898, i. 146 ff.
10 Loc. cit.
topics are also to be counted among the many difficulties the translator has to meet, not to speak of the play on words, or intended catchwords of which only the original Arabic can give a true idea.

The first translations came into existence immediately after the period of the Crusades, when Western peoples became more acquainted with Islam. At the initiative of Petrus Venerabilis, abbot of Cluny, the Qur'an was rendered into Latin by Robert of Retina and Hermann of Dalmitia in 1143, and published in Basel in 1543 by T. Biblbiander. A better translation is that of L. Maracci (ca. 1698). An Arabic-Latin Qur'an was published (Leipzig, 1768) by J. F. Froriep.

The first French translation is apparently that of A. du Ryer (Paris, 1647). Better translations are those by M. Savary (do. 1753), M. Kusimirski (do. 1840), and G. Pantliger (do. 1852).

The first English translation is the extremely bad one made from du Ryer's version by A. Ross (1648–88). A much better, but somewhat paraphrastic, translation is that of G. Sale (London, 1734). J. M. Rodwell's version of 1861 marks the first attempt to arrange the Sūratās chronologically; the translation of E. H. Palmer (SBE vi., ix., Oxford, 1880–82) is more literal.

The earliest Italian version seems to be that made by the abbot of Cluny by A. Arriva

The first German translations were made from the Latin, the Italian, and the English. A better translation is that of G. Wahl (Halle, 1828), which is a revision of that by F. E. Boysen (do. 1773). A more recent version is that of L. Ullmann (Bielefeld, 1853).

There are also several Dutch versions, the best of which, it is said, is that by H. Keijzer (Haarlem, 1860). A Russian version appeared at Petrograd in 1776. J. Torberg undertook in 1876 a translation into Swedish.

All the above translations are by European Christians. Some Muslims have in the last few years translated their Scriptures into English; the translation by Muhammad Abdul-Hakim Khan (London, 1905) and that by Mirza Abdul-Fazl (Allahābād, 1913) deserve special mention. The editor of the Islamic Review has announced a new translation, but al-Mannārī is protesting against such an enterprise. Possibly it is of this translation, comprising, it is said, 30 volumes, that the first instalment appeared in 1916.

We cannot know the precise year in which the Qur'an began to be translated into Oriental languages. The public libraries of Europe contain many MSS showing translations of the Qur'an into Persian and Turkish. These versions do not seem to go back much before the era of the first Latin translations. There is reason to believe that a translation into Persian was in existence in the 13th century. The oldest MS to our knowledge which contains a translation into old Turki is found in the John Rylands Library—a beautiful MS of several volumes. The old Turki version which it contains may possibly date from the 14th century. The MS contains the Arabic text with an interlinear translation into Persian and Eastern Turkish, but the translation differs sometimes from the text (so the Arabic text of the MS in ii. 116 has 'and it befall them,' while both Persian and Turki translations have 'and if it befall you'). There are many modern translations into Persian; the edition of Calcutta (A.D. 1831) and that of Delhi (1815 H.) have the widest circulation. Apparently the Turkish Government did not encourage the translation of the Qur'an into Osmancı Turkish, and it was only after the proclamation of the so-called Constitution in 1908 that a certain Ibrahim Hilmi could in 1912 print his version at Constantinople. It is said that the most used translation into Urdu is that by Wāli Ullah (Delhi, 1799). We learn from the Modern World that a Christian missionary, W. Goldsack, had in 1898 undertaken a translation into Bengali.

LITERATURE.—A bibliography of works which had appeared in Europe bearing on the Qur'an was published by V. Chaminade, Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes, vol. xiv., 'Le Coran et la Tradition,' Liége, 1907. Of native works, Jalal al-Din Yuṣūfi (1191 A.D.), Ḥujjat al-'Umm al-Qur'an, first printed Calcutta, A.D. 1557, is the most complete.

A. MINGANA.

RABBINISM.—See JUDAISM.

RACE.—1. Race-feeling and ethnology.—The word 'race' is used in different senses by men of science and ordinary people. The scientific ethnologist is concerned to find some precise, objective classification of mankind, and he employs the word 'race' to denote the particular differentiation by which he classifies. As he classifies principally by physiological factors, such as shapes and proportions of skull, degrees of pigmentation, facial angles, cross-section of the hair, and so on, he groups the human species into corresponding 'races'—dolichocephalic and brachycephalic, brunette and blonde, prognathous and orthognathous, and so on. This physiological classification is dealt with in detail in the art. ETHNOLOGY, but there are other objective or apparently objective characteristics which can be, and generally are, taken into account. Men can be classified by their language, and in this sense we can talk of the Latin, Tentonic, or Slav race. It is equally admissible to classify them by their social organization (matriarchy or patriarchy, blood-feud or criminal law, primogeniture or division of inheritance, etc.), or by their material technique (stone age, iron age, nomadism, agriculturalism, industrial revolution, etc.). All these classifications are taken into account by the ethnologist. See art. ETHNOLOGY, MOTHER-RIGHT, BLOOD-FEUD, LAW, INHERITANCE, FIRST-BORN, AGRICULTURE, HUNTING AND FISHING, PASTORAL PEOPLES, etc.

It is worth noting here that the ethnologist frequently blunders in attempting to make different schemes of classification coincide with one another. He tends to identify the group with yellow skins, round hair, and slanting eyes with the group that speaks agglutinative languages, or even with the group that keeps their shamanic family. There are yellow populations which are Christian, Muhammadan, or Buddhist in religion. The groups based on these
different factors of classification cut across one another; and these cross-divisions increase with the increase of civilization, for the "islands" of the human world are more highly differentiated and more subject to modification than those of primitive man.

The tendency to ignore this fact is an instinctive approximation, on the part of the scientist, to the popular conception, and marks the distinction between ethnology and race-feeling. Race-feeling represents the divisions between races as clear-cut and absolute. The idea that men can belong to one race and another, that one is quite foreign to it, and this simple view is not contradicted by the data of its experience, for many of the scientific ethnologist's differentiae are unknown to it. No racial feeling, for instance, has ever been excited by difference in skull-form, on which particular stress is laid in ethnological classification. Only students are acutely aware of the cranial differentia, which demands the application of exact scientific measurements to hundreds of thousands of human beings, and an elaborate synthesis of the experimental data, before it can be used. Yet, though race-feeling is unscientific and uninformed, it is a very real factor in social psychology, and it is the purpose of this article to explain this factor.

Race-feeling generally asserts itself by contrast with other social principles.

The bonds and divisions which it creates, and actions which it excites, are remarkably different from those produced by the feeling of race. As members of a state, men are nearly always prepared to go to war for their state and to fight members of another state which is thought to menace their own state's existence. Community of race-feeling does not inhibit in any degree this willingness to fight, and some of the fiercest political wars have been inter-racial; e.g., the white populations in the Northern and Southern States of the United States felt themselves racially one, yet, because they were divided politically into Virginians and Pennsylvanians, and so on, the Virginians held by "State rights," while the Pennsylvanians held by the "Union," they went to war with one another and fought out their difference. Again, the English-speaking ("Anglo-Saxons") of the United States is divided into political groups—the British Empire and the United States—which have been more hostile to one another than friendly. Britain is the only State against which the United States of America have fought twice since their independent existence. It has been the same with Prussians and Austrians on the European continent. Both were Germans, yet they went to war with one another repeatedly for more than a century to decide whether the Prussian or Austrian State should have the hegemony of Germany.

When we study this political feeling, it seems the paramount principle that divides or unites mankind. Yet all the time there are other relations between Germans as such, or "Anglo-Saxons" as such, as strongly as, or stronger than, the political barriers that happen to arise among them. The Northerners made the political rights of the Negro race the chief principle for which they fought, but their race-feeling towards the Negro has remained as strong as, or stronger than, the sociopolitical barriers that happen to arise among them. The tabu against intermarriage between the black and white races is still as absolute in the North as in the South, while Northern and Southern Whites have intermarried as freely since the Civil War as before it. Again, the political secession between the United States and Britain has not affected their feeling of a common racial inherit-

ance. The American draws his culture from Milton, King James's Bible, and Shakespeare; he lives like the Frenchman and the Englishman the Commonwealth of his civil liberties; he makes pilgrimages to English castles and cathedrals as shrines in which the romance of his early history is preserved, while the Englishman, on his part, takes pride in the voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh and the Pilgrim Fathers, which were the foundation of the United States. It is the same with the Prussian and Austrian. Turn their minds from Sadowa and Frederick the Great to Goethe or the hero Siegfried, and they become simply Germans, of one 'race' with one another and with the German-speaking Swiss.

In most human societies there is, in fact, a sense of some 'objective' grouping more permanent, and in the last resort more strong, than the political organization created artificially by acts of will. You may make and unmake social contracts, draw up acts of union and declarations of independence, make slavery a legal status or abolish it by emancipation, but these underlying bonds and divisions remain eternal, and are not to be modified by human desire or human contrivance. This objectivity of race is proverbial. 'Blood is thicker than water,' we say, when we see the bond of race-feeling overcoming the divisions of interest and accident. Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or when race-feeling emerges as a disruptive force and checks some effort after fraternity or common citizenship by the conviction that 'Black is Black and White is White,' and that good intentions cannot make black white or white black.

This sense of an objective grouping has played an important part in history, of which we shall give a brief account. But it is essential to note, once again, that we are dealing with the sense, or mental representation, of objective grouping, and not with the really objective classification which the scientific ethnologist sets out to discover. The factors which race-feeling represents to itself as objective, and from which its stimulus is derived, are often far from being objective in fact. They vary in importance, and are not in accordance with scientific norms. But it is the representation, and not the external stimulus of it in any given case, that is the important element in the feeling of race.

2. Racial myths.—In a completely isolated, and also completely undifferentiated, human group the race-feeling of the members would be an accurate scientific analysis of the real objective factors constituting the character of the group. These factors would be handed down unimpaired and unaltered from one generation to another, and their aggregate would be as constant as the race-feeling that it stimulated represented it to be. But this is only an abstraction, and there are no actual human groups of this kind. There is no known group which does not mix and cross itself to some extent with other groups of mankind, and it is probable historically that all existing groups are differentiations from a single original stock. Even endogamous communities, which aim (of course unsuccessfully) to keep themselves pure, tend, on the other hand, to a specially sharp differentiation of marriage-classes internally. Whether by internal differentiation or by coalescence with other groups outside, the permanence and objectivity of the group-character is permanently destroyed, and the sense of permanence and objectivity, which we call race-feeling, can therefore only express itself intellectually by a myth.

1 Even a so-called isolated and undifferentiated group this would be true only in theory, for it appears that the factors in the character of any living organism are infinite, or, in other words, that there is a constant process of variation which makes immunity from differentiation impossible.
There are probably the rudiments of a racial myth wherever race-feeling exists, though they are often inarticulate and do not attract our attention. There are cases, however, in which myths have been deliberately invented to express existing race-feeling or to stimulate race-feeling where it did not exist.

The name 'Belgium' is a myth of this artificial kind. In 1530-31 certain populations which had been grouped together politically and administratively were separated into three by a law of the Archdukes of Austria, with the consent of the local community, and given distinctive names, afterwards without any change incorporated into the states of the Holy Roman Empire, those which were combined under the name of 'Belgium.' The real connexion between the former 'Belgium' and the present 'Belgium' and the new group and state of Belgium was infinitesimal. Caesar's Belgae included modern Belgium, Namur, Luxemburg, and even the Romance-speaking half of the group were only very sketchily descended from Latinized Belgic peoples. The real connexion of the former 'Celtic' Belgiumers and modern France was traced in previous articles. Both groups drew their cultural inspiration from medieval Flanders and the English-speaking countries from their central position and the current from consequently the same source. This group feeling may be illustrated from the history of Athens. About 513 B.C. the Athenian statesman Kleisthenes wished to abolish the traditional groupings within the Athenian State, which were booted up with the old tribes, and to establish new groupings in their place which would stimulate a more democratic feeling in the members of them. The new groups that he planned were highly artificial in character. They were to be territorial, but, to prevent them from becoming valuable, his plans were completed before they could be scattered in three different parts of Attica. The reason for these new artificial groups were to be woven by the lines of kinship and locality, which Kleisthenes knew to hold the ancient Greek community together. He had planned the existing body of Attic mythology, which traced back the ancestry of each of the Ægean family to some hero worshipped by the Athenian people.

Kleisthenes decided to canonize his artificial groups by inventing an even more artificial myth for each of them. He drew upon a hundred Attic heroes asked the god at Delphi to select the ten most suitable, and then proclaimed these ten as the dippers ('ancestor' or 'founder') of his ten new Ægeas. To a modern statesman this would have seemed the stupidest waste of time and money: but the new heroes knew just where the vein of race-feeling in their fellow-citizens lay. The statues of the ten Ægeas were solemnly set up before the government house at Athens; festivities were arranged; a great sacrifice was offered in Attilien, and the contingent of each Ægeas was placed under its own hero's protection. When the new myth was thus fully worked out the new Ægeas were the most living myth in Athens after the mythical myth of Athene. They had appeared to their tribe-men in battle; they had protected their tribe-men in peace; they had helped the Parisian Ægeas during the Persian invasion; and the contingent of each Ægeas was placed under its own hero's protection. The new myth was well received. It spread into every nook and corner of the Athenian territory, and the dippers of each Ægeas became the object of collective worship.

Race-feeling is one of the strongest conservative forces in any life. It tends to stabilize any human institution, an institution or division, to which it once becomes attached, no matter how recent, artificial, or transitory in its nature that institution may be. This effect of race-feeling was known to Plato, and in a famous passage of the Republic, he exploits its ill-luminously and half in earnest, to conserve the highly artificial constitution of his ideal State. Plato's State is to be differentiated into rigid castes, with the sharpest division of function and privilege; but the castes are not imaginary, nor arbitrary, nor set up by its individuals, but each caste is hereditary, and every individual, starting as a child on an equality with every other, is to be assigned to his caste by a process of selective education.

The psychological problem before Plato is to reconcile the feeling that the development of effective like-mindedness and difference implied in the system of caste with the feeling of change, development, and competition implied in the process by which the castes are to be recruited. Unless his citizens feel that they each and all belong inevitably to whatever caste they have been assigned to, the castes will be mere forms without moral influence on the life of the community. But the competition by which each caste of individual is to be determined is calculated to stimulate the very opposite feeling—that humanity is not divided into artificial human relations; and the change, at an arbitrary moment, from competition to fixedness stage is likely to aggravate this feeling rather than to make it give place to the other feeling of objective determination, one caste in the other. Plato's answer to this difficulty is on the other hand, if once the sense of fixedness is implanted in the adults, they will tend to extend it to their own children in turn, and will feel that they must derive their caste from their birth, and not from the process by which the parents have originally passed them, and which, like caste, is the law of the State.

The problem, in fact, is to make the citizens of the ideal State hold two opposite views of social life, as all men do. Plato proposes to solve it by making them—if not the ruling caste, at any rate the rest—believe 'a single noble lie.'

'I shall try,' he says, 'to make them believe that the upbringing and education we gave them was all a dream, and that, while they imagined they were being given it, they were really being moulded and brought up in the bosom of the Earth, and that their arms and their conduct were of the Earth, and that from its surface and from the processes through which the parents have originally passed them, and which, like caste, is the law of the State.'

All of you in the State are brethren,' we shall tell them in our myth. 'And when you grew up, you were given the substance of those among you fit to rule, and that is why they are the finest; in the warriors he put silver; and iron and bronze in the peasants to the thoroughness with which stock, so you will generally beget children like yourselves; but sometimes there will be silver offspring from gold, gold from silver, and all the other possible permutations. So this is God's first and chiefest commandment to the rulers: Show yourselves good guardians and keep vigilant; guard above all things over the children, to see which metal is blended in their souls; and if your own children are born with bronze in them or iron, have no pity on them, but dismiss them to the workers and peasants, where they belong by nature; and if workers or peasants have a gold or silver child, put him too where he belongs and promote him where he belongs, for we shall no longer be allowed, as we were, to make the common people in our State. Thus shall the Lord, on the day when he rules the State is of iron or of bronze, on that day the State shall be brought to destruction.'

The imaginary speaker then proceeds to ask his interlocutor in the dialogue, the dogmatic official of the state, how he will implement this myth believed. 'None,' he answers, 'of making your citizens themselves believe it; but one could make their children believe it, and their children's children, and everybody that followed after.'

The suggestion is a dogmatic State education, and there is nothing visionary in expecting it to produce the belief in the truth of what Plato demands. The national states of the modern world have all organized this kind of education for their children in different degrees, and the stimulation of being in each state has been remarkably proportionate to the time since that which this has been done. But the racial myth is capable
of striking root without an educational propaganda, as is shown by the example of Kleisthnes quoted above. It can do so because the race-feeling, which gives form to the list of the imaginative social needs of mankind. But there are other feelings and myths on which human societies may be founded, but they show a strong tendency to revert to the racial type in the last resort. The Jews, for example, are known historically as a chosen people; their foundation-myth is a ‘chosen people;’ their historical hallmark is a skin which they cannot change or a statute which they are likely to add or to abrogate, but the artificial and deliberate disposal of the blood of circumcision. The covenant between Jehovah and Abraham is essentially an act of will on both sides (see art. COVENANT, § 3). Jehovah chooses Abraham, and Abraham accepts the covenant; and logically every member of the chosen people from Abraham onwards is so only by receiving and answering the same call. Yet the idea of race has been imported into the Jewish foundation-myth. Abraham’s covenant is made ‘for his seed for ever,’ and the chief factor in the Jewish group-consciousness is the racial feeling towards Abraham the covenantor. The reversion of the whole of our history to Abraham’s covenant does not mean that the Jewish race can raise up children to Abraham’s covenant, but it means that a profound criticism on the idea of race itself is made. It implies that an objective or external principle of grouping, even if it exists, will be uttterly inconsequent, if you trace Judaism by descent, any one or any thing may be a Jew without partaking of any of the factors essential to Jewish group-character. To be a true heir to Abraham’s covenant depends on a subjective not an objective factor—not on race but on will.

Christianity was in its origin a reaction against this reversion to race-feeling in the Jews. It proclaimed that the covenant was made not with every descendant of Abraham, but with any individual in the world who was converted to it and accepted it. Christianity deposed race and set up faith instead of it, and it is the more remarkable that Christianity, in turn, should have reverted towards race-feeling in the doctrine of predestination.

This doctrine may be reconciled with free choice by theological dialectic, but its underlying motive is to go behind free choice and represent it as a mere expression of an objectively determined classification of mankind. God eliminates the covenant will of man, and leaves only the will of God, which, being external to man, is, from the standpoint of man’s personality, as mechanical as physical phenomena. Predestination divides mankind into two races saddened from one another by an unalterable difference of spiritual morphology, just as ethnology divides it into races by the different morphology of pigmentation or skull-form. It is a racial myth considerably hypostatized, but it is a racial myth none the less, the myth of descent from Abraham, or from the ten apperettai, or from the Belge in Caesar’s Gaul.

This persistent return of the social consciousness to the racial basis is doubtless the response to a psychological need. It is the psychological need which experience it into an atmosphere of eternity and certainty. It is like a treasure laid up in heaven, which cannot be impaired by the weaknesses and vagaries of the human will. It is an antidote to the craving after security, and we know that it infects the world in time and space. But, though it lightens the burden on the individual, it also diminishes his power and cramps his initiative, and there is therefore a counter-current in mankind of revolt against racial determinism towards free association. That the universal myth is challenged by the hypothesis of the social contract, the system of caste by citizenship. This tendency towards self-determination in social grouping may be classed as political, in contrast to the racial tendency (though possibly too narrow) perhaps as the psychological, included under them here.

The two tendencies can be seen at tension in the course of history.

3. Historical survey. (a) General tendencies. — At all times, it seems to imply a standard—a common idea of what is the normal, and a common impulse to approximate towards this type. The need for ‘normality’ is illustrated by the case of the African Negro when he has made himself a white negro without seeing any white man but himself, used to be turned sick by the sight of his own white skin, which now seems to be an exception from the normal black.

The abnormal man is in fact usually more conscious of the type, and carries more keenly towards it, than members of the group who are not conscious of any peculiarity in themselves. He is his own most effective chastiser (for example, the Indian Sweeper, who accepts his caste as religiously as the Brahman, and is as careful as he keeps his proper distance when they meet in the streets, the three Brahman who is in danger of being defiled). It is this homage to type on the part of the individual who varies from it that gives the group-spirit its crushing disciplinary power, and makes a group, once constituted, so inelastic towards the addition of any person without. There is an element of rigidity in every group, which is probably necessary for its preservation; but the degree of rigidity varies vastly from group to group, in proportion to the degree in which the group-feeling is based on race or on free association.

The less advanced people are in civilization, the less their life (both physical and spiritual) is under their control. Nearly all the forces of nature, and many of the workings of their mind, are data external to their will instead of material to be moulded by it, and social groups are as rigid for them as all other phenomena. The internal bonds seem indissolubly intimate, the external barriers insuperably wide. Each tribe, each sex, each age within each sex or tribe, is discrete from every other; and it is just as incomprehensible (and formidable) that a boy should turn himself into a man, or a seed into a tree, as that a man should turn the tree-stem into a boomerang. Yet these miracles are happening all the time. Nature possesses no laws; she is like her, through the changes of birth, maturity, and death, and the human will is increasingly (though still unconsciously) imposing on its environment a purpose of its own. There is a contradiction in primitive man’s experience, and he solves it by an elaborate development of initiation-ritual, to tide over the changes of changing things, which are an intolerable abnormality in a group founded upon race.

In primitive man’s race-feeling is thus strong, but it is an obstacle in his path which he is using all his ingenuity and imagination to surmount. The initiation-ritual is the germ of free association and conscious control, and these constitute civilization (see INITIATION [Introductory and Primitive]). In the initiation it is naturally directed to the group, but it grows strong again in civilizations that are in bad health or on the decline—no longer as an obstacle now, but as a preservative.

When a group is decadent, it has lost its power of growth, and is threatened with dissolution; it is even losing the accumulated capital of the past; and change, instead of being the essential expression of its vitality, seems to be the process by which its vitality is wasting away. Change must be arrested if the decadent group is to survive, and the members of the group attempt to arrest it, not merely by conscious archaism and reactionary legisla-
tion, but by concentrating their group-feeling upon the objective, unalterable aspects of the group-character. If a Chinaman is always a Chinaman, if every Chinaman born inherits the qualities of the eternal Chinese race, then the China of the Boxer rebellion is as good as the Celestial Empire of the Han ancestors. Yet every Chinese, like the foreigner in a never-failing reservoir, is always bound to find the level of its highest altitude in the past. The ‘foreign devils’ may superficially be more clever and successful than the Chinaman of to-day, but that need not concern us. The Chinese is first and foremost a Chinese. They are children of to-day and will perish to-morrow, while he is of the race of the Han, who were at the zenith of human achievement when the foreigners lived like the brutes.

This characteristic of race-feeling is characteristic of all civilizations that have passed their prime—the Chinese, the ancient Egyptians (whose priests told Solon that ‘the Greeks were always children,’ and showed Hekataios the statues of 345 high-priests descending from father to son since the days of Osiris and Athene), like in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era, the East Romans in the Middle Ages. It is strong at the present day among the Jews in Europe and the Jewish and Near-Eastern immigrants in the United States. It is true that the primeval country of the Jewish nation is no more, and the motive of self-defence is here comparatively weak. These immigrants do not find themselves at a disadvantage individually as against the aliens with whom they come in contact. Unlike the Egyptians or Chinese, they adapt themselves successfully to the modern environment, and even attain the highest positions of wealth and power in the new groups to which they attach themselves. The pressure which maintains their race-feeling is not external, but arises within themselves. The Gentile group is not closed against the Jew; it is the Jew who will not merge himself in it, because that would be a tacit admission that his own group had lost its existence—a failure which he refuses to face. The more successfully, therefore, the Jew or Eastern European adapts himself to his present group-environment, the more jealously he cherishes the race-feeling that identifies him with the group of the past. He cultivates the ritual and language, prophets and heroes, folk-songs and national dress of the race, as if he were living amid the events of eighteen hundred years ago, by Muhammad the Conqueror or by Titus and Vespasian. Only a few individuals overcome this instinctive group-reaction and surrender themselves spiritually to the new group in which they live and have their individual being. Such individuals are often scorned for ‘losing their race’; they should rather be commended for casting out an irrational race-feeling which no longer corresponds to their real social relations, and giving their allegiance to the new group into which they have voluntarily entered. 

(b) Race-feeling in ancient Greece.—It has been suggested above that race-feeling in any human society tends to be inversely proportional to the vitality of its civilization. There is not space here to trace this curve of race-feeling through the whole of history consecutively, but it may be tested in two important instances—the civilizations of ancient Greece and modern Europe.

Ancient Greek civilization sprang more abruptly out of primitive conditions than ours, and was therefore penetrated by race-feeling more profoundly at its roots. The city-state (which was the ancient Greek state form, as the national state is modern European) was a natural product of the human community. Hence all ancient city-states were not racial unities at all. They were combinations of smaller groups—village communities scattered over a plain (φωτισμός), or bands of rovers flocking together from across the sea (φωσις), and even these smaller units were not homogeneous in themselves. They had come together in the Aegean from the four quarters of the earth, and an ethnologist would have analyzed in each of them the component racial elements. Yet race-feeling dominated the group-consciousness of the city-state and its structural parts. The city’s legendary founder was conceived as the ancestor of the living citizen-body. He had fixed the racial relations by being born into the family which was to be the race. There were those who were to live under it. The constitution could be supplemented by current administrative regulations, but (like the American federal constitution) it could be altered only by elaborate ‘initiation-rat’ or else by revolution. The citizen-body, again, could be supplemented by immigration; but the immigrants remained resident aliens. They might live in the city from father to son, build up its trade, pay its taxes, serve in its wars, and even create its literature (Lyssias, the model of Attic orator, was a Babylonian, a resident alien of alien family); but they were still aliens, without a vote and even without a status before the law (Lyssias, who could present the case of his citizen-clenmis, could not enter the court as an inhabitant). Because a city-state’s life could not make the blood of the founder flow in their veins, and citizenship was inseparable from this racial qualification. ‘Naturalization,’ like constitutional development, could be brought about only by revolution, and revolution, when it occurred, was generally complete. Every free inhabitant of the city-territory—citizen, free immigrant, or enfranchised slave—then became a citizen of what was virtually a new state, with a new internal organization and a new racial myth which made the new citizen-body just as exclusive as the old.

The city-states of ancient Greece were thus racial to the core, and that is why they were never transmogrified—a failure that was the political ruin of the Greeks. Greek national life, on the other hand, which sprang from the same origins as the city-state, emancipated itself from race-feeling easily and quickly. It has been mentioned that in Greece, as in primitive societies, every racial group judged itself to be by birth better, and religious feeling and religious feeling were co-extensive (see art. GREEK RELIGION, § 4). But there were several Greek groups—Delphi, Pisa, Eleusis—which, as it were, abnormally developed their religious side and received into their religious communion neighbour-groups which would have remained hopelessly snubbed from them and from each other on the narrow racial principle. Delphi, for example, by the 6th cent. B.c. had received into its ‘amphictyony’ about two-thirds of the Greek-speaking population on the mainland, and had given the common name of ‘Hellene’ to all Greek-speaking people. All ‘Hellenes, in turn, were admitted at Pisa to the religious festival of the Olympic group. To be admitted to the name of ‘Hellene’ became the test of ‘Hellenism’ or Greek nationality. This Hellenism was at first conceived racially. The Hellenism was contrasted with the ‘barbarian’ (the man who spoke jargon), and was thus distinguished by language. In this basis of ‘race’ than the ancestral basis of the city-state and its sub-groups, was still external and objective. But his Hellenism was never tested by his mother-tongue alone. Slaves, for example, were excluded. Yet by the last two centuries B.C. (the 6th and 5th century B.C.) the majority of Greek-speaking were Greeks by speech and ancestry; and a man was not necessarily a Hellene even if he spoke Greek and was free. In

1 Lit. ‘brotherhoods,’ 2 Lit. ‘growth (from one stem).’
The city-state. Hellenic barbarian Group-characters 'The many which untransmittable historians called barbarians, which is one thing, but to recognize a common humanity in men with brown skins or men who never tilted the ground needed a greater intellectual effort. The Greeks, however, accomplished this feat of imagination some time or other. and the Hellenes was the same bun but an metal stamped with a different impress by the diverse environments into which it had been introduced. Thus the experience of alien human types, so far from stimulating race-feeling in the Greeks, tended to make the Greek ideal of race altogether.

This explanation of group-differences by adaptation to different environments is worked out in a treatise on Atmospheres, Waters, and Localities included in the 5th. cent. collection of medical writings, the Work of Hippocrates. 'Some human natures, the writer lays down, 'are like well-wooded, well-watered mountains, some like thin-soiled, waterless country, some like meadow and marsh land, some like stiff, arable woodland.' The Skythians, he says elsewhere, 'are like one another and no other people in the world, and it is the same with those barbarians, who, as I am informed, have put these things into their physiqne by the heat, and the Skythians by the cold.' He explains temperaments in the same way. 'A wild, unsociable, barbarous nature,' is produced by a climate of extremes, for in such a climate 'the mind receives constant shocks which implant wildness and weaken the mild and gentle side of character and impair the even traces differences in temperaments. Temperament to differences in political constitution: 'The inhabitants of Europe are more born warlike by their institutions, because they are not ruled by kings like the Asiatics. Where people are ruled by kings, they are inevitably more warlike.' He discusses in detail the psychological reasons for this, and cites the exception which proves the rule: -'The Greeks and barbarians in Asia who are not under autocratic government are antibelligerent and labour for their own profit, are as warlike as anybody.'

But, if the group-differences between Hellen, Egyptian and Skythian, European and Asiatic, were accounted for by climatic and cultural influences, it would be evident if your group-character merely depended on whether you lived a thousand miles nearer the Equator or the Pole, in a swamp or on a mountain, whether you built your city with this aspect or that, whether you let yourself be governed by a king, then racial barriers were potentially abolished. Any barbarian, by taking thought, could raise himself into a Hellen, and any Hellen could sink into being a barbarian.

This conception of Hellenism, not as race, but as a culture, for all humanity, gained ground steadily from the 5th cent. on. Herodotus tells the story of the Skythian king who lived in a Hellen in a Greek trading-settlement several months each year, till his tribesmen discovered the double life that he was leading and killed him. The campaigns of Alexander gave vast populations the opportunity of 'Hellenizing' themselves freely: and, though this Hellenization was sometimes superficial (e.g., in the propaganda of Jason of Colchis), it bore the same high-productive fruit, and always proclaiming the paramountcy of *Hellenism*, but it was also his saying that *Hellenism* is king of all, and this idea entered profoundly into the attitude of the Greeks towards the likenesses and differences between group and group.

During the 5th cent. the Greeks became intimate with peoples strikingly unlike themselves—the Egyptians in the Nile valley and the Skythians in the Russian steppe; and this might have stimulated their race-feeling afresh. To recognize a common Hellenism in the descendents of the conquerors of the Macedonian king therefore looks like a reversion from the linguistic basis of Hellenism to the narrower ancestral basis of the city-state. Really, however, it marks an advance in the other direction, for the qualification required of him who could be a registered citizen of this city-state or that (as in fact he was not a citizen of Argos), but that he should be within the pale of the 'city-state culture.' Hellenism, by this ruling, implies not merely the free-man's status and the Greek mother-tongue, but a certain rub theorem of social life and other Greek historians besides Herodotus support this view. Thucydides calls the inhabitants of Epirus barbarians, though they too spoke Greek. Aristotle, on the other hand, talks of Rome as *παρθανοι* (i.e. barbarians) by lower or lesser constitution; and he also describes the constitution of the city-state of Carthage in his Politics—a work otherwise devoted almost exclusively to the politics of Greece.

The standards of Hellenism led up to the conception that Hellenism was not an inalienable and untransmittable race-character, but a quality that could be acquired. 'The Hellenic people,' says Herodotus, 'has in my opinion spoken the same language ever since it existed [a concession, this, to the objective notion of race]. It was originally an off-shoot of the Pelasgian people, and started weak; but from such beginnings it has grown to include a multitude of populations which have become assimilated to it—chiefly Pelasgians, but many other barbarian populations as well. As for the Pelasgians, I do not imagine that, as barbarians, they grew to anything great previously to the growth of the Hellenes.'

In other words, the essence of Hellenism is not a certain language spoken from time immemorial by a certain group, but a development of culture which enabled this group to assimilate far larger groups outside it—the population of Attica among others, which is a general evolutionary product, in which an ever-expanding group is distinguished progressively from the raw material of human nature, is sketched in by Thucydides:

Once all Hellen were arms in civil life like the barbarians. The parts of Hellas that still live like this witness to the life that was once lived by all alike. The Athenians were among the first to leave off weapons and change to less austere habits. . . . The Lacedaemonians were the first to strip naked and to take off their clothes in public exhibitions with oil when they took exercise. Formerly even in the Olympic games the competitors wore girdles when they competed, and it is not many years since this was given up. Among some barbarians, especially the Asiatics, they still wear girdles when they box or wrestle. In fact, a girdle is said to be absolutely indispensable to life. The ancient Hellenes was undifferentiated from that of the modern barbarians.6

This evolutionary view of Hellenism is the first to remove from the racial concept of *Hellen* and *barbarian* which pervaded the city-state, and contemporary Greek thinkers were conscious of the contrast. They called the two opposite principles *Hellen* and *barbarian*, and debated their relation to one another. But, while the one, the ruling concept, was always proclaiming the paramountcy of *Helenism*, but it was also his saying that *Hellenism* is king of all, and this idea entered profoundly into the attitude

1 Herod. v. 52.
2 In a fragment which is the first mention of Rome in literature.
3 1. 59.
4 1. 57.
5 1. 8.
6 1. 6.
7 Quoted by Herod. iii. 33.

1 Chs. xii.-xvii.: Group-character of race-differentiation (Attica, Thessaly, Macedon, Thrace, Phocias, Thessalians); xii.-xvii.: Skythians in detail; xiii.: European group-differences; xiv.: The theory of group differences in general.
2 Ch. xiii.
3 Ch. xvii.
4 Ch. xxii.
5 iv, 73-80.
generation of Hellenic rhetoricians, scientists, and poets, and a new school of Hellenic philosophy was founded in Athens by Phidias and Zeno. Taking the profound and the superficial together, it is true to say

that the idea of Hellenism in ancient Greek civilization did transcend completely the idea of race inherent in the city-state. It made possible a feeling of unity which was not passed over without a break into Christianity.

Christianity in its origin was the antithesis of race-feeling; its membership depended on an inward spiritual act, and within the Christian group, there was no more Jew or Greek, no more Teuton or Latin Pole, or barbarian. But in this had been anticipated by the little Greek *πατρία* of Eilenos, which had developed its primitive initiation-ritual into a spiritual religion and had thrown it open to all mankind.

(c) Race-feeling in modern Europe.—The history of race-feeling is more difficult to trace in modern Europe, because it is still unconsidered, but it is clearly very different from the development just outlined in the case of ancient Greece. European civilization did not spring straight, like Greeks from primitive social life, and was therefore partly emancipated from race-feeling at the outset. It had behind it Hellenism and Christianity—two social forces which were the antithesis of race—and a long history of its own, which translated Hellenism and Christianity into political terms by building a 'world city state'.

The Latin Church of the Middle Ages, with its common ecclesiastical organization, common culture-language, and common outlook on life, overrode race-feeling triumphantly. It assimilated the outer barbarians who broke into the Roman Empire in its decay. It initiated into European civilization populations which had lain entirely outside the Roman pale—Angles and Saxons, Scandinavians, Lithuanians, Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians. It looked on all Latin Christendom as one, and on heathens and Muslims not as vessels of destruction, but as raw clay ready for the Christian mould. The legend of Prester John (q.v.), the mighty Christian king who was to come out of the heart of Asia or the heart of Africa or the heart of Asia or the heart of Africa and aid his fellow-Christians to make Christianity prevail all over the world, shows how completely free from race-feeling the spirit of medieval Christendom was. And the history of nationalism shows how living was the community of thought within the Christian group. A new doctrine travelled within a few years from one end of Christendom to another, was passed on from Croats to Albanians, from Englishmen to Croats, receiving a fresh but unbroken development from each of the wandering students or pilgrims by whom it was transmitted. No race-feeling inhibited this general interplay of ideas.

But this great anti-racial force on which European civilization was founded has been invaded by race-feeling to an increasing degree. The linguistic basis of association and dissociation, which had been transcended first by Hellenism, and of which Christianity in its origin had been independent, has been broken early to assert itself, and to split the Church, united by the subjective bond of a common belief and a common will, into a number of groups divided from one another by their 'mother tongues.' This relapse towards race-feeling as the basis of group loyalty is not merely a pathological effect springing from the Christian world. It first made itself felt in the disguised form of doctrinal disagreement. The Jacobites, Nestorians, and Gregorian Churches left the Catholic communion nominally because they differed on some articles of the creed or some ruling of a council; and the founders of those Churches were probably unconscious that they were also ministering to an impulse in their followers to have a liturgy and a literature in their own vernacular—Coptic, Syriac, or Armenian. A few centuries later the Orthodox Church broke communion with the Roman Church, also nominally because it was doctrinally opposed; but the principal issue was the struggle of the Greek and Latin languages each to become the official language of the Church, and the inability of either to conquer the whole field of Christendom from the other. This linguistic element was the most noteworthy, and with which the Greek Orthodox Church allowed its Slav converts in the Balkans and Russia to form autonomous Orthodox Churches with the Bible and liturgy in their native tongue. And it is noteworthy that among the Slavs on the Adriatic littoral, who bordered on the limits of Orthodox missionary expansion, the papacy was forced by competition to make equally liberal linguistic concessions, in complete contradiction to its general policy elsewhere.

The Protestant Reformation (q.v.) in W. Europe was in its larger part a linguistic movement too. The Hussites (q.v.) in Bohemia took up arms for 'common in both kinds,' but they were in fact the Czech peasantry reacting against German penetration, feminine (q.v.), who translated Hellenism and Christianity into political terms by building a 'world city state.' The Latin Church of the Middle Ages, with its common ecclesiastical organization, common culture-language, and common outlook on life, overrode race-feeling triumphantly. It assimilated the outer barbarians who broke into the Roman Empire in its decay. It initiated into European civilization populations which had lain entirely outside the Roman pale—Angles and Saxons, Scandinavians, Lithuanians, Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians. It looked on all Latin Christendom as one, and on heathens and Muslims not as vessels of destruction, but as raw clay ready for the Christian mould. The legend of Prester John (q.v.), the mighty Christian king who was to come out of the heart of Asia or the heart of Africa or the heart of Asia and aid his fellow-Christians to make Christianity prevail all over the world, shows how totally free from race-feeling the spirit of medieval Christendom was. And the history of nationalism shows how living was the community of thought within the Christian group. A new doctrine travelled within a few years from one end of Christendom to another, was passed on from Croats to Albigenses, from Englishmen to Croats, receiving a fresh but unbroken development from each of the wandering students or pilgrims by whom it was transmitted. No race-feeling inhibited this general interplay of ideas.

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The internal unity and external assimilative power which Christendom once possessed can be inferred by comparison with the Islamic world as it still is—Islam being an inferior reproduction of Christianity with a belated development of a new un-racial (in the sense of MUHAMMADANISM). The Muslim missionary in W. Africa or India makes more converts than the Christian missionary, because he really receives his converts into his own group, treats them as social equals, and gives them his daughters in marriage, while the European missionary is divided by the colour-bar from Christian natives just as acutely as from pagan, and can only organize his converts into a 'native church,' which is still outside the pale of the European communities.

It is noteworthy, however, that the Muslim populations which have approached nearest to the standards of European civilization are also losing their pan-Islamic sense of brotherhood and acquiring a sense of linguistic nationality of the European kind. Among the Arabs of Syria and the new nationalism, which is dividing them from their Persian or Turkish-speaking co-religionists, has tended in compensation to break down the barriers between Christians and Muslims of Arabic speech. Among the Bosnians the Ottomans have developed a nationalism of the purely dissociative kind. Before 1908 the Ottoman Empire, like medieval Christendom, was a group which gave the privileges of its membership to all inhabitants of its territory who professed the established group-religion, whether they inherited its creed or adopted it by conversion. The Young Turkish party, when it came into power, substituted for this pan-Islamic basis a programme of 'Ottomanization,' which made for the elimination of the Turks who were not included in the obligatory group-characteristic, and set out to eliminate all inhabitants of Ottoman territory who would not or could not be 'Ottomanized' by force. The racial persecutions in Turkey during the European War were directed against the European Arabs as well as the Christian Armenians; and, though the Armenians were offered the traditional alternative of conversion, those who accepted it either were distributed among Turkish families, if they were of the male sex, and children, or, if they were whole towns or villages, were driven away with as mercilessly as those who refused. Communities converted wholesale would have retained their linguistic nationality, as the Slav of Bosnia retained theirs after their wholesale conversion to Roman Catholicism, in the act of will introduced by the Turks set no store by the religious uniformity which had been the paramount social bond for their forefathers, if it left outstanding the external, objective differences that offended their sharpened racial sense.

This historical outline of the development of modern race-feeling raises a problem. Why should the most progressive Muslim populations be affected most powerfully by 'racialization,' which is clearly a retrogressive process and European influence is the cause? How has European civilization made such vigorous and constant progress as it has from the Dark Ages to the present day, with this equally rapid and steady counter-current carrying it in the opposite direction? What is the secret of the process which we have observed race-feeling?

1 In the case of forced converts, the uniformity would of course be purely nominal, and in no sense including a unity of spirit; but history shows that the spiritual bond, which the forced converts never feel, establishes itself almost automatically in their descendants.

1 It is typical of medieval Catholicism that its artists represented one of the Three Magi as a negro.

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its continuity, and has increased rather than diminished in its sense of objectivity and its intolerant spirit. It still produces persecution, civil war, and war between state and state, by a fanatical belief in the necessity and rightness of external uniformity, and by an uninhibited craving to impose this uniformity by violence. And this ideal of linguistic uniformity is the religion of Europe in the 20th cent., as far as religion is a group-phenomenon. And this is, as we have seen, the idea sponsoring the religious doctrinal uniformity was in the 17th. In spite of the superficial change of orientation, the creed of 'Cuius regio cius religio' has persisted, because the race-feeling behind it has remained the same.

Thus the inheritance of internal unity which European civilization derived from Hellenism and the Christian Church has been shattered away, and the anti-racial group-feeling of Catholicism has degenerated gradually into the acutely racial group-feeling of nationalism. There has been a corresponding 'racialization' of the division between those inside and those outside the civilized pale.

It has been said that medieval Catholicism divided mankind into Christians and pagans (including Muslims), and regarded the latter, not as creates of another species, but as potentially Christians capable of becoming actual Christians at any moment by an individual act of will. But, about the time of the Reformation, the great maritime discoveries brought Europeans into contact with other populations markedly different from the people of Europe and W. Asia in externals. Their pigmentation was at the opposite extreme of the human colour-scale; their culture was too primitive to be placed in any scale of comparison at all. They were thus the Turks, the Chinese, the Tartars, whom they lived was tropical instead of temperate. In coming into contact with these populations, Europeans were having the same experience as the Greeks when they came into contact with Egyptians and Skythians, but their reaction to it was not the same. The Greeks, struck by the environmental contrast as much as by the contrast in human type, explained the latter by the former, and concluded that all human beings, however acute their superficial differences, were the same in essence, and that all could and ought to be potentially transmutable into every other. The Europeans were struck so forcibly by the external differences that it never occurred to them to explain their origin by the secondary influence of environment, or to look forward to their elimination by change of environment or progress in culture. The differences hypnotized them as the one overwhelming fact. The black man might become a Christian, he might adopt European clothes or habits of life; but he remained black, and the European white. The colour-barrier presented itself to the European as insurmountable, and it displaced religion for him as the dividing-line between people within the pale of civilization and people without. Instead of classifying mankind as Christians and pagans, transmutable, by conversion, into one another, he now classified them as 'white men' and 'natives,' the 'white race' and the 'black race,' divided from one another by external differences of which the colour-barrier will on either side could surmount. And, just as the Greek's hypothesis of adaptation to environment, as an explanation of the Egyptian and the Skyth, reacted on his own feeling of Hellenism, making it monotonous and un-racial in quality, so the European's hypothesis of a natural difference between Black and White reacted on his own growing nationalism and made it more uncompromisingly racial than it need otherwise have become.

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progressively gaining ground other and anti-racial forces were disengaged. The schisms of doctrinal theology were not only expressions of libertarianism but fields for intellectual activity; the Lutheran Reformation was not only a descent towards the national state but a victory for freedom of thought and conscience; and the narrowest and most inscrutable racial dogma of the 20th century is not a mere substitution of dogmatic barriers for the brotherhood of mankind, but the struggle towards equality of populations, which, through disunion, numerical weakness, illiteracy, or other adverse social and political conditions, may be induced by other groups or had altogether lacked a group-consciousness of their own. The stimulation of race-feeling, which resulted from these movements, and which we have so far considered in abstraction from the other consequences that they had, was often only the lesser backwash of a forward wave—the toll which liberation of mind and will had to pay to slavery. And there were also movements, like the American or the French Revolution, in which race-feeling was not the result of a definitely new stimulation of race-feeling can be traced to them, to offset the impulsion which they gave towards free association.

This anti-racial tendency in European civilization is the result of the racial tendency of nationalism by the whole span of European progress, is what we name 'democracy'; and modern democracy has liberated broad fields from race-feeling which Hellenism and Christianity never conquered.

There was the inveterate racialism of the ancient city-state, which on its political side was only superficially transcended by the Roman Empire; and the Roman Empire, at the time when Christianity was offering spiritual unity to all mankind, was disintegrating into the 'feudal system,' under which a man was bound to the soil on which he was born by more servile and prosaic fetters than the φυλή and φροντία of the historical Greek city-state, or the citizens of gold, silver, and bronze in Plato's racial myth. Feudalism is the great idea, though by no means the only, inebus of racialism inherited by European civilization and successfully thrown off. But, as was remarked at the beginning of this section, it is impossible to trace the history of European civilization with a certain hand, because it is still in the making. In the phase of history that led up to the European War nationalism made such formidable advances among almost all civilized peoples that race-feeling and democracy seemed on the way to equilibrium, and the continued progress of civilization probably depends upon the ulterior consequences of the war.

For this equipoise which is embodied in the contemporary 'democratic national state' is not, after all, a stable condition. Nationality and democracy are really opposite tendencies—the one towards race-feeling and the other away from it—and one of the two must have the mastery in the end. But the data are insufficient for speculation into the future, and we must be content to study race-feeling as the past history of it, of which has been outlined in this article.


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by the Sādhus, as it resounds through all regions. He then teaches them to mount on this spirit-current and to rise on it to the highest temple of the inner spirit-world, the Supreme, except through the sacred Sāngamū. So that all men ought to have, for the time being, a book to read. The secret discipline is called Sarvat-Bhū-Tēg, 'union of the human spirit with the Word.' The methods of this discipline are not known further than this. It is the most refined and noble art that the guru gives the disciple his photograph, and bids him contemplate it as the revelation of God in his meditations. In addition to the secret practices, men are told that prayer, works of faith and charity, a vegetarian diet, abstention from intoxicating drink, and attendance at meetings of the sect for worship are necessary for the holy life.

The second guru died in 1899. Besides the English booklet mentioned above, he left behind him four volumes in Hindi verse, named Premā Pratīva, 'Love Letters.'

The third guru, Brahmā Sunkara Misra, a man of Bengali extraction, resident in Benares, guided the sect from 1899 until his death in 1992. His book, Discourses on Rādhā-Kāsī Faith (Benares, 1900), contains brief statements about the gurus, which have been used in this article.

Since the death of the third guru the sect tends to fall into two sections, one of which is in favour of the second guru and the other opposed to it. The former section recognizes at present Anand Swārāj as their guru, while the other party is led by Mādhyā Prasād, who refuses to be called a guru.

Radha-Vallabhis are held to be identical with the Supreme Being, and receive lofty titles to express his dignity. The worship of the sect therefore centres in him. All the excesses of Hindu guru-worship are reproduced among Rādhā Soānis. They not only prostrate themselves before the guru, adore him, meditate on his virtues, pray to him, and believe that everything that has touched his body is filled with spiritual power; they also follow certain Hindu sects in a number of disgusting practices. They drink the water in which he has washed his feet, eat certain products of his body, and, after his death and cremation, drink his ashes in water.

When a guru dies, his relics are placed in a tomb, his photograph is affixed to it, and round it is erected a circular temple, because it is sanctified by the relics of the guru, is called a guru-deva. Since three gurus have passed away, there are three guru-devas: (1) the shrine of the first guru, who is called Rādhā Soāni, or Soānīlī Mahārāj, is at Kusumā Chānḍī, four miles from Agra; (2) the shrine of the second guru, who is called Huzoor Mahārāj, is at Pipālmandi, Agra; (3) the shrine of the third guru, whose title is Mahārāj Sahib, is in a fine new building in Madho Das's garden, Benares.

Apart from the adoration of the guru, the worship of the sect is a simple service consisting of scripture-reading, hymn-singing, prayer, and a sermon. Their scriptures are the writings of Kabir and of certain other Hindu saints and the works of their own gurus.

Since the sect is largely guided by Kabir, and recognizes one God only, the visiting of Hindu temples and the worship of Hindu idols are discon- nected. Yet a Hindu, a Musalmān, or a Christian may remain outwardly a member of his old religious community and conform to its usages, while secretly avowing himself a Rādhā Soāni and partaking in the worship and private meditations of the sect.

The name of the sect is rather an enigma. The word santsaṅg is quite clear, for it is a Hindi word used by the Sikhs for a company of pious people; but Rādhā Soāni is obscure. It is a phonetic misspelling of Rādhāvānī, 'Lord of Rādhā,' a term used of Kṛṣṇa in relation to Rādhā, his famous cowherd mistress, in the latest cycle of the myth. It is most strange that, in a sect which worships Kṛṣṇa as God, the name of God and should also be used as the title of the first guru of the sect, and to form the name of the sect itself. No credible explanation has ever been given by any writer of the sect. It is transpires, however, that the first guru's name used to be dress up as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā to receive the worship of their disciples; and when, in February 1914, the writer of this article visited the gurudwāra of the first guru, he found two photographs hanging on the walls of the gurudwāra, one of the sect, who acted as cicerone, said that they were the photographs of Rādhā and Soāni, the first guru's wife and the guru himself. Thus it is probable that, during the lifetime of the guru and his wife, when the disciples went to worship them, they addressed them as Rādhā and Soāni, and that the double name thus became associated with the chief act of worship of the sect. That would be sufficient to account for the way in which it is used.

LITERATURE.—The chief publications of the sect have been mentioned in the course of the article. A valuable pamphlet, The Radha-Kasim Sect, by H. D. Griswold, was published many years ago by the Cwmpnore Mission Press, but is now out of print. The fullest account of the sect will be found in N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, New York, 1915, pp. 167-173.

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celebrated as the companions of Kṛṣṇa during his youth spent in Vṛndāvana. The legend of his sport with these herdmasters is pretty old. It was superseded, or supplemented to the Mahābhārata, and in the Vīṇa and Bhāgavata Purāṇas, but it is not till we get to the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa, a late sectarian work, that we find prominence given to Rādhā as the leader of the herdsmen as Rādhā’s beloved mistress. Here we are told that Rādhā, from the beginning of all things, had been Kṛṣṇa’s ṣāktī, or energetic power, and that, when he came down to earth in human form, she also became incarnate.

In many religions there has been a tendency exhibited to worship a female counterpart of the deity, as his energetic power. This was not confined to India. It has even appeared in corrupt forms of Christianity which substituted the Virgin Mother for the Third Person of the Trinity. In India this ṣāktī-worship became most developed among the Saiva sects, but it has also obtained some currency among Vaiṣṇavas, some of whom direct their prayers more particularly to Lakṣmī or to Sītā, the spouses of Vishnu and Rāma, respectively, but among Rādāvallabhāśis this is carried to an extreme length. Rādhā is the supreme object of worship, and the writings of the sect are devoted to singing her praises, and to describing, with marvelous adjectives and conspicuous allusions to the union of Kṛṣṇa with his beloved. The whole is, of course, capable of mystic interpretation, and is so interpreted by the pious, but Growse,1 in commenting on one of Harivaihsa’s devotional poems, is not unfair in saying:

1 Ever the language of the brothel was borrowed for temple use, it has been so here. But, strange to say, the Gosains, who accept as their gospel these nauseous savagings, and who insultingly refer for the most part to respectable married men, who contrast rather favourably, both in sobriety of life and intellectual acquirements, with the professors of rival sects that are based on more respectable authorities.

To indicate the fervour of his love for Rādhā, Harivaihsa took the premonition of Hita, “affectionate,” and he is generally now known as Hita Harivaihsa. This custom was followed by his disciples, so that we find names such as Hita Dvura Dasa and Hita Dāmodara as those of his pupils and imitators. Harivaihsa was about sixty-five years old at the time of his death. He was the author of two works. One of these is the Rādāvallabha, ‘Store of the Nectar of Rādhā,’ extending to 170 long couples. The other, the Chaurāṣi Pada, ‘Eighty-four Stanzas,’ is in Hindi. They are both very erotic in character and exhibit much poetical fancy. Portions of them have been translated by Growse. Stray verses attributed to him are also recited. Wilson mentions a work entitled the Śrīnāsakhi-vyāy, ‘Sayings of the Companions in (Rādā’s) Service.’ He states that it is a more ample exposition of the notions of the sect and of their traditions and observances, as well as a collection of their songs and hymns. He does not mention the author’s or compiler’s name.

By his later marriage Harivaihsa had two sons, one of whom, Vraja Chandra, or Drāj Chand, was the most successful, given to the temple of Rādāvallabhāś in Vṛndāvana, the chief temple of the sect. It dates from the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century.

Literature.—The only English authors who have written original works on this subject are H. H. Wilson, Notes of the Religious Sects of the Hindus, London, 1853, p. 172 ff., and F. S. Growse, Mathura, a District Memoir, Allahabad, 1856. Other authorities may also be consulted: Nābhā Dāsa, Bhāktamālā (see EEE ii. 546), verse 190, and Prabandhakārīn, ‘A Skilful Singer of Songs of Service’ (see Sūnīkā, 1913, 3), and Rādāvasīrāga Bhagavān Prāśāda, Benares, 1895 (the account in this is summarized by Wilson, and given in full by Growse).
RAIN

When the Chaungthaw, or leader, of this group is about to hold a rain-making ceremony, he sends messengers, called Innawra, to the surrounding groups, to inform them of his intention, and to call the members of the tribe. At the appointed time the men are assembled ... the men of the totem march into camp, and then rise up and with their mouths open ... bunches of eagle-feathered hats on the crowns and sides of ... a signal from the Chaungthaw all sit down in line at once ... and sing. At another signal they all jump up and walk in single file out of the camp, and spend the night a few miles away. At daybreak they scatter in all directions in search of the animal, which, when found, he must not touch until water be drunk, or the ceremony would fail. While some of the men provide the animal, others erect a wooden shelter of boughs, near the main camp. When the decorating is complete, the men march back to the Chaungthaw silently and in single file. The young men enter first and lie face downwards at the inner end, while the older men, after decorating the leader, take up a position near the opening. Singing continues for some time, and then the Chaungthaw walks up and down a trenched outside the Chaungthaw, his body and legs quivering in a peculiar manner. This performance is repeated at intervals during the night, the singing continuing practically all the time. At daybreak he executes a final quiver, and, thoroughly exhausted, "declares the ceremony to be at an end, and at once the young men jump to their feet and rush out of the walled encampment in imitation of the spur-winged plover. The cry is heard in the main camp, and is taken up with varied effect by the men and women who have remained there." On the following day, the next night, and so on, the "singing mouse" which with uncooked food, which they prepared for themselves in a place apart. When, however, they sat down to eat, they found no portion of the meal, Rai Dass had dispensed himself, and was sitting and eating between each of two of them. This opened their eyes; and they became more and more devoted to the dishes. Rai Dass then tore open his skin, and, showing to them beneath it his former Birman body wearing a sacred coat of tigers' fur, he went to the river and washed it. These legends were recorded by Priya Dass, under the instruction of Nabhâ Dassa, who lived only three generations later than Rai Dass, and their marvellous character illustrates the impression that his teaching must have made upon his immediate successors.

LITERATURE.—Practically the only authority is Nabhâ Dassa, Bhaktamala (see ERD ii, 546), verse 54, and Priya Dass's account, written by an old man, Dr. A. N. NABIAN. The best ed. of the Bhaktamala is that of Sitâsârasâra Bhavanâ Prasada (Benares, 1850). A summary will be found on pages 165 ff. of the work. The Bhaktamala is cited in abundance in the Hindu's, London, 1861, p. 113 ff., where the legends about Rai Dass are gathered together more or less haphazardly, and for the most part are quoted in accordance with the original. Cf. also Dhruva Dass, Bhaktamalanâ, ed. with a full commentary, by Râdhâkrïa Dass (Sagar Prachâriya Sabha), Benares, 1913. In this Rai Dass is no. 110. According to the text, there are still descendants of Rai Dass in Benares, who carry on their ancestor's tradition of rain-making. For an account of the songs see the text above (p. 560).

RAIN.—Water is the first need of man, since without it vegetation withers and animals languish and die. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in countries inhabited by primitive people where rain is scarce magico-religious ceremonies are resorted to in order to regulate the supply. In Australia it is this simple cult that is in effect a special class of magicians, and, in some cases, a particular totem, are set apart for the due performance of rain-making ceremonies. From an anthropo-geographical survey of the distribution of these rites it is evident that the supernatural control of rain is chiefly found in areas where there is no abnormal rainfall, as, e.g., in sultry lands like Australia, and parts of E. and S. Africa, where for months together the sun "bakes" from a cloudless sky the unfortified bodies of men and the parched and withering vegetation. At the same time it must be remembered that it is not unknown in the moister climate of Europe, as in Russia.

1. The water-totems in Australia.—Among the Arunta tribe of Central Australia is a group of people who have water for their totem, and to whom the secret of rain-making was imparted in the remote past by the former chief of the Elam district. By his individual named Irchroughta, who also settled upon the exact places at which the intichiuwa ceremony should be performed. One of the most important of the water-totem groups is a local subdivision of the Arunta, inhabiting a district about 50 miles to the east of Alice Springs, called by the natives the "rain country" (Karntwa guhtcha), VOL. X.—36
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...under which an ancestor who was in his day a great rain-maker has been worshiped. Rain dances are accompanied by sprinkling water on its roots, so that the rain-maker may send them rain.

Such ceremonies as these can hardly be described as magical, if magic imply the presence of an automatic efficacy, since they imply a belief in a contrived effect, for the下雨, the rain-maker, is made by the supernatural powers of the deceased.

(c) Bull-roarers are used for procuring rain in Australia, Africa, and Central America. The reason for the association of this ceremonial object and rain- making in Afric, is the bull-roarer, which makes a mimic storm may be made only on the roof of a pine tree which has been struck by lightning, thus showing the connexion between a thunder-storm and the instrument.

Among the Zulu Indians the rain-maker whirs a bull-roarer, while one of his associates whips a mixture of water and mud into rings on the ground. Then the rain begins, and the bull-roarer is thrown on the fire. 'All this is an invocation to the gods for rain—the one is for water, the bull-roarer is a maker of the rain. The bull-roarer is then laid aside, and the offerings are sprinkled six times on the consecrated water, whereupon the bull-roarer is again taken up, and the rain is at last sent forth.

It is significant that in parts of Africa, where the bull-roarer is little more than a toy, the Kafirs still have sufficient regard for the rain-making qualities of the instrument to forbear to play with it when they want dry weather, lest a gale of wind should be attracted.

3. Dances.—From Carl Lumpholtz we have a detailed description of the rain-dancing of the Tarahumare Indians of Mexico.

In describing the relation of these Indians to nature, he says that rain 'is the focal point from which all their thoughts radiate,' since the people obtain their subsistence from the products of the soil. In order to induce the gods to let it rain, dancing, consisting of a series of monotonous rhythmical movements, is kept up sometimes for two nights. 'The dancing is accompanied by the song of the shaman, in which he communicates his wishes to the unseen world, describing the beautiful effect of the rain, the form; and the mist of the vegetable earth. He invokes the aid of all the peoples, and the shaman also dances to appease the rain-god from the rains of flood. Therefore dancing expresses not only prayers for rain, but also petitions to the gods to ward off evil to the crops or man. Sometimes the family dances alone, the father teaching the boy, one being deputed to bring down the fructifying rain by this means, while the rest of the family plant, hoe, weed, or harvest. In the evening the others sometimes join the unfortunate dancer for a while, but often he goes on alone all night. In winter they dance for snow, at other times in order that the clouds from the north and south may shun and bring down rain to make the grass grow and the deer and rabbits multiply.

4. Prayers.—Reference has already been made to prayers for rain. In Australia the only actual instance of prayers being offered to supernatural beings is in connexion with rain-making.

In the Dieri country the sky in which the sun rises—the predecessors and prototypes of the blacks—live is supposed to be a vast plain inhabited by wild tribes. The clouds are regarded as the dwellings of these beings, and rain is much in demand and is always of considerable moment. In times of severe drought the Dieri call upon these supernatural beings to send them rain. They then make a heavy rain, fall, proclaiming in loud voices the impoverished state of the country and the half-starved condition of the tribe consequent upon the long time since they have possessed food to preserve life. In S.W. Africa, if a drought has lasted long,
the whole tribe goes with its cattle to the grave of some celebrated old sorcerer, drinks milk from a gourd, and sets up a rock over their plaster: "Look, O Father, upon your beloved cattle and children; they suffer distress, they are so lean, they are dying of hunger and want!" 18

In Upper Burma, a Bantu people living in E. Africa, and among other African tribes is rain-making. So important is the aspect of their oil the land is a rule that, should the chief be unable to make rain himself, he must procure it from some one who can. 1 The Nandi rain-makers belong to a special clan. 2 In olden times the chief was the great rain-maker among the Akikuyu, and he allowed no one else to compete with him, lest a successful rain-maker should be chosen as chief in their stead. 3 The rain-maker invariably exerts great power over the people, and so it is important to keep this function in the 'right' house. Tradition always treats the power of making rain as the fundamental glory of ancient chiefs and heroes, and it therefore probably played an important part in the origin of chieftainship, hedging round the chief's person with tabus, though not necessarily, as Frazer suggests, with divinity. All influential people are sacred, but the most sacred do not work — e.g., the Mikado. If the chief were divine, so sacred would be his person that he would not be able to execute his functions. An ordinary chief or king is charged with mana only to an extent sufficient to hedge him round with simple tabus. Frazer's divine kings are a specialization of the conception of kingship, occurring only where the mana aspect of chieftainship is exaggerated.

The rain-maker — usually a medicine-man — who is endowed with mana (q.v.), by means of which he is able to control the weather by supplying wind, rain, thunder, famine, and plenty at will and for a price. It is not surprising, therefore, if this is the part of the world in which recurring periods of drought are frequent, the powers of the rain-maker cannot be lightly esteemed. Among the Dinka rain-makers are considered to be animated by the spirit of a great rain-maker, which has been handed down through a succession of rain-makers. By virtue of this inspiration a successful rain-maker enjoys great power. In fact, so sacred is the office that the holder thereof is put to death before old age and infirmity creep on, lest his demise from natural causes should bring distress on the tribe. But so honoured a life and death are not always the lot of the rain-maker. His position is beset with difficulties. Though a successful career offers great rewards, the unskilled practitioner is doomed to poverty. When people believe that a man has power to make the rain to fall, the sun to shine, the winds to blow, the thunders to roll, and the fruits of the earth to grow, they are also apt to attribute drought and dearth to his negligence or evil magic. Thus, the Banjars of W. Africa beat the chief in times of drought till the weather changes, and the tribes on the Upper Nile rip up the abdomen of the rain-king, in which he is supposed to keep the storms, if he does not make the showers fall. 4

7. Rain-gods. — The Dieri believe in rain-making supernatural beings, known as mure-nureus, who live up in the sky and make the clouds, which are the body or substance of rain. The rain-making ceremonies are thought to be seen by the mure-nureus, who cause the clouds to appear in the sky, unless they are angry or influenced by the evil magic of some other tribe. In Africa rain is attributed to a high god. The Aikikuyu believe rain-gods also go up and down, and are good and bad. The first sends rain and riches, the second good wives and healthy children, and the third sickness and loss. All three are called ngai, but it is the god who sends the rain that is considered the supreme deity and credited with divine powers.

1 G.E.B., pt. 1., The Magic Art, 1, 357.
4 Hollis, The Nandi, do. 1900, p. 43.
5 Gazetteer Upper Burmah, Rangoon, 1900, pt. iii. 63.
8 H. R. Tate, in JAI 1904, (Nov.) 368.
9 Spencer-Gillen, p. 190ff.
10 Howitt, pp. 394-397.
The Akikuyu regard their deities as common to other tribes, such as the Masai and Akamba. 1

The Eve-speaking people associate a falling star with a powerful rain-god, who sends the showers from the sky. In times of drought they call upon him by night with wild howls, and once a year an ox is sacrificed to him. The priests are also conspicuous in the flesh, while the people smear themselves with the pollen of a certain plant, and go in procession through the towns and villages, singing, dancing, and beating drums. 2 The Dinka believe in a great god who sends the rain from the 'rain-place' where he dwells, and who animates the human rain-maker. His name, Dengdit, means literally 'great rain.' It was he who created the world and established all things in their present order; and, according to the Niel Dinka, he was the ancestor of a clan which has rain for its totem. Bullocks are sacrificed in spring to a spirit, Lepiru, for the purpose of inducing him to move Dengdit to send down rain on the parched earth. 3 Likewise among the Shiluk a bullock and a cow (or bull) there are to be sacrifices yearly to the semi-divine ancestor of their kings. One (or both) of the animals is slain, while the king prays to the divine hero for rain. 4

In Mexico Tlatoani, Tlatoatlcochtli, is the god of rain, thunder, and the fertilizer of the earth. He is thought to reside where the clouds gather, on the highest mountain-tops, especially those of Tlaloc, Tlascalin, and Toluca, his attributes being the thunderbolt, the flash, and the thunder. Prayers were offered to him in times of drought, as the chief of the water-gods, to look down in mercy on the sufferers of man and beast, and give the things which are 'the life and joy of all the world, and precious as emeralds and sapphires.' When the rain came down the forty children are sacrificed to Tlaloc by being closed up in a cave. 5

The rain-god of the Kandhs is Pidzu Pennu, a being who rests on the sky and whom the priests propitiate with eggs, rice, and sheep, and invoke with prayers, so that he may send down water upon them through his sieve before men and cattle die of want. 6 The Koi tribes of Bengal consider their great deity Marang Barn, 'great mountain,' to be the rain-god. His dwelling is on one of the mountains, and the top of the place is called Chota Nagpur. In times of drought the women climb the hill, led by the wives of the pathans, with girls drumming, to carry offerings of milk and bet-leaves, which are put on the rock at the top. When women thus invoke the deity to give the seasonal rain, wildly gesticulating and dancing till the prayer is answered by distant peals of thunder. 7

E. B. Tylor thinks that the rain-god is usually the heaven-god exercising a special function, though sometimes taking a more distinctly individual form, or blending in characteristics with a general water-god. 8 Although the tribal All-Father in very primitive cults is remote and in need of nothing that man can give, and therefore is not one of the folk of the human affairs, the rain-maker being the function of the marua-maraus — yet it seems that the rain-god proper is a heaven-god. This view is supported by the evidence from the Akikuyu, where it is the supreme deity who sends down water in showers to foster the parched earth in answer to the prayers of the people. Likewise, Dengdit is the creator and sustainer of all things. The Mexican Tlaloque was probably originally a heaven-god, since he is supposed to reside where the clouds gather, and is evidently superior to the god of the earth. Pidzu Pennu, the rain-god of the Kandhs, rests on the sky, and Marang Barn of the Koi tribes dwells to the west of a high hill. In classical times it was to the heaven-god Zeus that the Athenians turned with requests for rain, 9 while in later and still more enlightened ages it is the Lord of heaven and earth that men supplicate in times of drought by solemn litany and procession to send such 'moderate rain and showers that they may receive the fruits of the earth to their comfort and to His glory.'

8. Conclusion.—Frazer is of the opinion that the method adopted by the rain-maker is usually based on homoeopathic or imitative magic. In other words, he seeks to produce rain by imitating it. 10 Now, there can be no doubt that many of the rites associated with rain-making imitate the natural processes of creation, e.g. when the deer crosses a hut over a hole in the ground and drop blood on the men sitting round, while others throw handfuls of down in the air, they symbolically represent the natural phenomena connected with rainfall. The Adivasi, on the other hand, according to Agar, make the drizzle from the cirrus clouds, the dropping blood the rain. The two large stones in the centre of the hut suggest gathering clouds presaging rain, and the overthrow of the hut by men battering at it with their heads is the piercing of the clouds and the downpour of rain. Such a rite as this certainly contains an element of imitation, but only because the savage is a man of action, who 'dances out his religion.' 11 When he wants wind or rain, he does not, in the lowest term of the process, prostrate himself before his remote All-Father, but gathers certain people together, often members of a water-totem, to perform magico-religious rites. Thus he expresses by actions, sometimes accompanied by suitable exclamations, his inmost desire. Rain-making ceremonies, therefore, may be described as outward and visible signs of inward emotions and longings.

It is not surprising that primitive ritual is often of such a character as to imitate the process of Lolnhum, which in higher cult is expressed by utterances. Frazer's theory of imitative magic does not take into account the emotional and representative aspect of rudimentary religion—the pent-up desire expressed discharging itself on the mere symbol of the object. In developed magic the operator is more or less aware that he is dealing with a symbol, yet, in his need for emotional relief, he makes himself believe that the desired effect, though enacting on the symbol, is actually transmitted to the real object. 12 What applies to magic in general is equally applicable to rain-making in particular.

A modern community is chiefly dependent upon the weather for its incomes and outgoings, and for the variation in the prices of bread and vegetables, yet even so it is not easy for us to understand a condition of life in which a bad harvest means starvation. But in primitive society, where the food-supply is governed directly by the rainfall, the process of culture towards the one of grave anxiety calculated to produce states of emotional intensity. The emotions must find outlet somewhere. This they do in representative and emotional ceremonies to produce the desired result.
When the savage wants thunder to bring rain, he does not imitate it, but simply swings his bull-roarer in order that he may actually make it. It is not a noise like thunder that he imagines he hears, but the thunder itself. It is only as the bestowal of a new name upon the thunder-deity, that the idea of thunder was assimilated to the primitive ideas of making or being a thing de
genenerate into a merely imitative ceremony, a piece of frivolous and valueless mimicry. Thus the prayer attitude is but the more developed expression of the same, with which the so-called 'magical' rite is instinct.


RAJPUT.—Rajput (Skr. rājāputra, 'a king's son,' 'a prince') is the general term applied to a group of septs which constitute the so-called 'military' class of India. At the census of 1911 they numbered 9,430,095, appearing in the greatest numbers in the Panjab, United Provinces, and Bengal. In Rajputāna, the head-quarters of the tribe, they were 675,789.

1. Ethnology.—Within the last few years an important change of view regarding the origin of the Rajputs has taken place. Following the universal tradition of the Hindus, it was generally assumed that they were the direct successors of the Ksatriyas, one of the four groups (varṇa, 'colour') which constituted the Vedic polity. According to Manu (Laws, i. 89), the Creator commanded the Ksatriya 'to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to give himself to pleasing and comforting pleasures.' The true position of this group of septs has now been clearly ascertained.

So far back as the time when the Dialogues of the Buddha were composed, the Ksatriyas were recognised as an important element in society, and in their own estimation stood higher than the Brahmans. The fact probably is that from very remote days ruling class of Ksatriyas essentially similar to the Rajputs of later days, existed and were continually forming new states, just in the same way as in the medieval period. But their records have perished, and only a few exceptionally componious dynasties are at all remembered, and so stand out on the stage of history, in a manner which does not fully corres
don with the truth. The term Ksatriya was, I believe, always one of very vague meaning, simply denoting the Hindu ruling classes. Quite recently, however, it has been claimed occasionally a rāja might be a Brahman by caste, but the Brahman's natural place at court was that of minister rather than that of king (V. A. Smith, The Early Hist. of India's, Oxford, 1914, p. 458).

In the tradition, which in India ranks as history, there is a sudden gap: the old Ksatriyas disappear, until the 6th and 9th centuries A.D., when we find a group of states under Rajput rulers. But it is impossible to say whether these rajas were merely successful adventurers, or how far they were the heads of dominant clans. The true situation has no record. This is partly due to a want of evidence in N. and W. India. It is clear that the break in the tradition—in other words, the disappearance of the old Ksatriyas—was the result of the invasion of India by successive hordes from Central Asia. K. A. F. Wright has studied the Sakas in the 1st cent. B.C., followed by the Yueh-chi or Kushāns in the 1st cent. A.D. It is believed that the chiefs of these invading hordes rapidly succumbed to the in
tfluence of their new environment, became Hindus, and assumed the rule, ruling princes, the old name of Ksatriya. But it is assumed that pedigrees of any of the ruling clans go back to this period. During the 5th cent. A.D. and the early part of the 6th cent. the Huns (or Hūnas, as the Hindus called them) made a fresh invasion and crushed the Hindu polity. They settled principally in the Panjab and Rajputāna, their most important group being that of the Gūjaras, who, in name at least, are represented by the modern Gūjars (E.E. vi. 453). The Gūjaras founded important kingdoms, and gave their name to the province of Gūjarat. They were soon admitted to the status of Hindus, and we are thus enabled to interpret the strange legend of the fire sacrifice at Mount Abū (E.E. i. 51 f.). Their passing through the fire was a mode of expressing the purification which they underwent; their topographi
cy was removed, and they became fitted to enter the Hindu caste system (W. Crooke, 'Rajputs and Maharratas,' J.R.A.I. xl. (1910) 42).

In later times the same process of introduction into the Rajput body has continued. Many chiefs of the so-called aboriginal races, with their fol
dowers, have marked their rise to the status of rulers by assuming the title of Rajput, which, as has been said, merely implies the fact that they claim to be rajas or cadets of a ruling house. For further details of this, the most recent and important advance in our knowledge of Indian ethnography, see Smith, p. 412 f.; Crooke, p. 41 f.; BG ii. ix. p. 1 (1910) 443 f., where full details and references are found.

This mixed body, containing perhaps some survivors of the older Ksatriyas, reinforced by foreigners and aborigines, being thus admitted to the Rajput status, were naturally desirous of authen
ticating to antiquity. In common with the heralds of modern times, were ready to provide pedigrees linking the new ruling class with the gods and ancient heroes, just as Livy and Virgil affiliated the new Roman Empire with the heroes of the Trojan war. Hence arose the mass of legend ascribing to the Rajputs the descent from the sun or moon or other gods, or from the heroes who fought in the great war described in the Mahābhārata epic. These legendary pedigrees are recorded in great detail by J. Tod, the enthusiastic historian of the Rajputs, in his Annals of Rajputana.

2. Religion.—As might be expected from what has already been said, the Rajput cults and beliefs are of a mixed type, including those taught by their bards and Brahmans who trace their pedi
grees to the foreign or aboriginal stocks from which the Rajputs are derived.

(a) The place of Rajputs in the development of Hinduism.—In the early Hindu period tales are told which describe the antagonism between the Ksatriya and the Brahman. Some refractory rajas are said to have opposed the pretensions of the Brahmans (Manu, Laws, viii. 38-42). Visvāmitra, a Ksatriya, is said to have attained the rank of a Brāhman (Muir, Orig. Sm. Texts, i. (1885) 58 f.). The same feeling appears in the rise of the Bhakti
mārga, or the monothestic Bhāgavata religion, which was the work of Kṣatriyas (E.E. ii. 351 f.). In the same way, both Buddhism and Jainism were the result of a Sanskrit segregation against the despotic power of the Brahmans to retain the monopoly of admission into the ascetic orders (E.E. vi. 694, vii. 209). Even at the present day some Rajput septs assign a higher rank to the bard than to the Brahman, though, as our author remarks, the arrogance of the Brahman is such that even a degree of respect is only due to him, tenacious of practice among some classes of Brahmans in Rajputāna (E.E. vi. 693). But the Brahmans are anxious to accept the new situation, and by politic concessions to Rajput feeling lose no opportunity of regaining their position in the courts of the reigning princes.

(b) Cult of Śiva and the mother-goddesses.—As a martial race, many Rajputs favour the cult of Śiva
dhāvēda combined with that of his consorts, the latter being largely drawn from the non-Aryan races, but now freely admitted into Hinduism
If, as some believe, the cult of Siva had its origin in the Himalayas, we may suspect that it was introduced, or rapidly assimilated, by the Scythian or Hun invaders, Vatasen, king of the Kushana (c. A. D. 140-173), frequently on his coins the image of Siva with that of his bull, Nandi (Smith, p. 272). The chief Siva temple in Rājputāna is that known as Elding, 'he that is worshipped under the form of a single ūṣāṅga, Rāja or Rākat, Mount ... Mount in the Himalayan seat of the god. It is situated 12 miles from Udaipur, the capital of Mewār (H. D. Erskine, Rājputana Gazetteer, ii. A. [1908] 106; Tod, i. 499 ff.). The Rānas of Mewār combine the functions of lord and priest, and the vice-regents (ādhośīn) of the god (Tod, i. 182). With the cult of Siva is combined that of his consort Durgā.

In another form she is known as Māmā Devī, 'mother of the gods,' and round her image are grouped those of the other gods (ib. i. 553). Again, as Gaurī, the 'yellow' or 'brilliant' goddess, probably representing the ripe corn, she is the subject of a special cult, when at the Gangaur festival her image is taken to the lake at Udaipur and cere- monially bathed in order to purify her from the last year's pollution, or as a rain charm; as in the worship of the Bona Dea, no male may be present at the rite (ib. i. 544; IA xxxv. [1906] 61). She is also worshipped as Anāpūrṇā, 'who is possessed of a seat,' and her mimic marriage to Siva is performed (Tod, i. 455). In other forms she is worshipped as Sākambhari, 'nourisher of herbs,' Matā Janamī, 'the birth mother,' and Asāpūrṇā, 'who fulfils desire.'

Thus the popular belief Kṛṣṇa is the deity of the Yādava tribe, and he has his seat at Mathurā (q.v.), where he sports with the gopiṣ, or milkmaids. In another form, at Dwārākā, he is god of the dark storm-cloud (J. Kennedy, J.R.S, 1907, p. 951 ff.). His shrine is at Nāthdwārā, 30 miles N.E. of the city of Udaipur. His image is said to have been removed from Mathurā to escape the persecution of Aurnagbhīth; when the ear came to this place, the god refused to go farther, and a shrine was erected for him, which is so near the temple that it is daily, receiving donations from merchants throughout the Hindū world, and his pontiff is a personage of great sanctity and authority (Tod, i. 415 ff.). It is strange that the gentle Kṛṣṇa should be worshipped side by side with his godfather, his name is recognized, as to have a good effect on Rājput society, and Tod quotes a case in which he interposed to prevent satī (i. 423).

(d) Ancestor-cults.—It is the primary duty of the Rājput to visit the cenotaphs of his ancestors in the season of mourning, and to feed their hungry ghosts. Special veneration is paid to the maḥā- satī, or place of sacrifice of faithful wives.

'The Rājput never enters these places of silence but to perform stated rites, or anniversary offerings of flowers and water to the manes of his ancestors' (ib. i. 573 ff.).

He also venerates the heroes of his sept, as in the remarkable court at Mandor, which contains images of the heroes of the Rāños (ib. i. 573 ff.).

(e) Tutelary deities.—Each sept worships its tutelary goddess; Rāthasen or Rākhyasenā is the embodied luck of the Sesodins of Mewār, as Nag, necha, the serpent, protects the Rāths, and Vāyān Mātā the Cīvādās, while Khetrapāla, the 'field-watcher,' is the patron of agriculture (ib. i. 229 p. 291 ff.). He sometimes played the part of a sort of chief to the battle. On one occasion the Rāthor god fell into the hands of the Kachchhālas of Jaipur. Their prince took him to his capital, wedded him to the Jaipur goddess, and returned him with his compliments to his defeated adversary. 'Such,' says Tod (i. 87), 'were the courteous usages of Rājput chivalry.'

The tutelary god of Kotah is Brajnāth or Kṛṣṇa, and the chief at every battle used to carry his golden image on his saddle. He too was lost in battle, and was many years before he was found, 'to the great joy of everyone' (ib. ii. 413).

(f) Cult of youthful heroes.—The cult of the youthful hero (putra) is common among the Rāj- puts. Laut, the young hero of Ajmer, is worshipped by the vulgar, and, as he wore at the time of his death a silver chain anklet, this ornament is tabu to the children of the sept (Tod, i. 200 n.). The cult is not confined to youths. The queen of Gānor, who killed himself by means of a poisoned robe in the presence of the Musalmān who attempted to outrage her, receives no special worship, but in the spirit of sympathetic magic a visit to her tomb cures tertian ague (ib. i. 497).

(g) Worship of natural objects.—Water-spirits are honoured by throwing coco-nuts into the water. The spirit of the Banār river used to raise her hand over the water to receive the offering, but, as in the common fairy-gift legend, 'since some unhallowed hand threw a stone in lieu of a coco-nut, the arm has been withdrawn' (ib. i. 523; Tod, i. 637 ff.). It is the duty of the Valās, when at the summons of Rājīla Śālītya, the seven-headed horse which bears the chariot of the sun rose to bear him to battle (Tod, i. 179).

(h) Snake-worship.—The Pushkar lake is provided with a remarkable snake legend indicating a conflict of cults (C. C. Watson, Rājputana Gazetteer, i. A. [1904] 19). The Śāṅkhanch festival, 'the cobra's fifth,' is celebrated in its honour (Tod, i. 462). The usual tales are told of the serpent protecting or recognizing the true heir to the throne (ib. i. 236, ii. 281). The worship of snake heroes, like Tejaji, Gugā, and Pipā, is common (FR. i. 231 f.; Tod, i. 580).

(i) Sacred animals and trees.—Next to the cow, the boar is sacred to the Rājput, and possibly represents the corn-spirit (GBP, pt. v., Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, London, 1912, i. 298 ff.). Birds of augury are carefully protected, and the pigeon, as the bird of love, has become associated with the erroneously Kāshā, and is still kept at every courtyard in Rājputāna. Among trees the varieties of the fig are especially sacred. It was from a pījāl-tree (Ficus religiosa) that Asāpūrṇā, the tutelary goddess of Būndi, appeared to protect the queen (Tod, i. 339).

(j) The Rājput festivals are numerous and interesting. The reader may be referred for details to Tod's classical account (i. 444 ff.). But, when he compares the ritual with that of Egypt and other countries to the west of India, it must be remembered that his theories are, to a large extent, obsolote.

LITERATURE.—The classical authority is J. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, 2 vols., London, 1859-62 (the original is now very scarce, but it has been often reprinted; the references in the text are from Routledge's popular ed., London, 1914). For the Rājputs of districts outside Rājputāna see A. Forbes, Rājput Land, London, 1973; H. A. R. Kennedy, Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the N. W. Frontier Provinces, vol. i. 1910; vol. ii. 1914; D. O. K. Pethick, Ethnography, Calcutta, 1883; W. Crooke, Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, do. 1890; R. V. Russell, Tribes and Castes of the Central Frontier, London, 1907; W. Crooke, RĀMAIS.

RĀMAIS.—1. History.—Vaṁśavāc, one of the two main divisions of the Hindū religion, includes the sects which worship Vishnu in a proper form as a supreme personal god, two large sects embracing not only the great majority of the Vaṁśavāits, but also a very considerable portion of the Hindus of to-day. These two parties are the caritavāc or the sects of Vīvanāta, Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. The cult of Rāma as a chief god at the present day prevails over an ex-

1 See art. INCARNA(TION) (Indian), vol. vii. p. 113.
tensive area in India. But Rāma was at first only an epic hero; for in the original part (bk.s. ii. vi. vii.) of the Sanskrit epic, the life and deeds, he is represented as an essentially human character. On the other hand, in bks. i. and vii., which are admittedly later additions, his divine nature is fully accepted. In another passage also (v. 117), which is without doubt an interpolation, the gods, with Brahmā at their head, appear and declare Rāma, who had till then regarded himself as a man, to be Nārāyaṇa, i.e. Viṣṇu, the highest god. The character of Rāma, already a model of morality as the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, was still more exalted by later poets, including those of the Purāṇas and especially by Bhavabhūti (first half of the 5th cent. A.D.), the author of two Sanskrit dramas concerned with the life of Rāma. Having thus become immensely popular, the epic hero was before the lapse of many centuries generally acknowledged, by a people ever prone to deification, as an incarnation—an already familiar feature of the Hindu religion—of the supreme god Viṣṇu. Though there is not sufficient evidence to show exactly when Rāma came to be accepted as an avatar, there is good reason to regard this belief as having already existed in the early centuries of the Christian era. Thus in the 10th cent. of Kālidāsa's Ayodhyāyī, one of his masterpieces, the first half of the 5th cent. A.D., the poet, before relating the story of Rāma's birth, represents Viṣṇu as promising to be born as a son of King Dasaratha for the destruction of the demon Raivata. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which probably belongs to the same century, also refers to his divine character. Much later, A.D. 1014, we find the Jain author Amītāgati making the statement that Rāma was regarded as the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world. But, though the divinity of Rāma had thus become, from the 10th cent. onwards, to be an atavā, i.e. incarnate, every cult in his honour existed during this long period. It cannot, however, have been established much later than the 11th century A.D. Thus Madhya (q.v.), otherwise called Anandātirtha (the founder, in the 12th cent. of a Viṣṇu sect), which aimed at confuting not only Saṅkara's theory of the unreality of the universe and the identity of the human soul with the supreme deity, but also Rāmānuja's doctrine that God is the material cause of all, was succeeded, as is well known, by the whole of Saṅkara's Bhāgavad-gītā, an adaptation of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, composed in Hindi by Tulasi Dāsa, the greatest of modern Hindu poets, in the 16th century. What the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Bhāgavad-gītā are to the Ḫaṅgāte, Tulasi Dāsa's poem, together with the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, is a major work in the vernacular language of Western religion. Like Jahweh, Viṣṇu is a personal supreme deity who is an object of worship, finite forms of which can now be found in the many millions in India. 

3. Doctrine.—The following are the doctrines held by all Rāmāṇa in common: (1) the deity is not devoid of qualities (as brahman, the impersonal world-soul of Saṅkara); (2) Vyākhyāṇa is the supreme deity and should be the object of worship together with Lakṣmi, his wife; (3) Rāma is the human incarnation, or avatār, of Viṣṇu; (4) Rāmānuja and all the great teachers who have succeeded him were also avatāras of the supreme deity, for the first three of these doctrines afford a parallel to the conceptions of Western religion. Like Jahweh, Viṣṇu is a personal supreme deity who is an object of worship, while the relation of Rāma, as a human manifestation of the supreme deity, to Viṣṇu is analogous to that of Christ to God. The Rāmānt attitude resembles that of a Western deist who might adopt Christ as the main object of his devotion.

4. Sub-sects.—Rāmāṇanda, fifth disciple in succession from Rāmānuja, from whose school he seceded, was the founder of the Rāmānt sect which goes by the name of Rāmāṇava, since it is engaged in the study and worship of Rāma. He named his sect Kīl, separated from Rāmāntsvas by a succession of several disciples, founded the Kīlav pairs, and so forth. The last of this line of the Rāmānt sect is a priest, who is the head of the deistic movement, and the moving spirit of the tendency of Hinduism to eclecticism and compromise. See also art. RĀMĀNUJA.

the other two being Dayānanda Sarasvatī (1824–93) and Śrīvāṇi Vivekānanda (1862–1902). All three adopted in early youth the life of the ascetic devotee—striking illustrations of the deeply-rooted conviction which prevails among Hindus that re-nunciation (q.v.) is the highest religious ideal, and which whoever, than two or three hundred years has led innumerable young Indians to give up home, marriage, property, and money for the attainment of union with God.

I. Life.—Gopalārā Chatterji, the son of a poor but honest Brāhman, was born on 20th Feb. 1854, in the village of Kamarapukur, situated in the Hugli district of Bengal. Losing his father when he was seventeen, he migrated to Calcutta, where for a few years he earned his living as a pothead, or ministrant attending to the worship of the household idols in Hindu families. In 1855, when a temple of the goddess Kālī, built on the bank of the Ganges by a rich Bengali lady named Rāni Rāsmoni, a few miles from Calcutta, was opened, his elder brother was appointed priest, while he himself not long after became one of the assistants. His religious instinct, of which he had shown signs as a boy, now developed into passionate worship of the image of Kālī in the temple. The Holds of an unknown universe and as his own mother, he used to sing hymns, talk, and pray to her by the hour till he became unconscious of the outer world. He would then pass into the state of religious trance called saṃprāptī, which of being and lost of attachment, in which the action of the pulse and the heart became imperceptible. When he was twenty-five, his relatives, hoping to cure him of his religious ecstasies, induced him to undergo the usual cere-men, which he thought of as a death at the age of six and would not live with him as his wife till she was eleven or twelve years old. Returning to the temple and being now convinced that it was possible to see the deity visibly, he renewed his devotions with such intensity that he neglected his duties and could no longer retain his official position. So he left the temple and settled in a neighboring wood, where for the next twelve years he lived a life of strenuous prayer and self-re-pression in continuous efforts to attain union with the soul of Kālī. Though rejected as a teacher or training, he was helped during this period in his aspirations first by a Brāhman nun, who instructed him in yoge, or the system of exercises producing mental concentration, and in the Ṭantras, or manuals dealing with the worship of Kālī and the theology concerned with her cult. Afterwards he came for nearly a year under the influence of an ascetic named Tōtāpuri, who expounded to him the monistic Vedānta doctrine of Saṅkara, that God is impersonal, that the human soul is identical with God, that the world is an illusion, and who taught him the highest stage of religious trance in which every trace of consciousness disappears. Tōtāpuri also initiated him as a saṃsāris, or ascetic. His approval was received with enthusiasm. In accordance with the practice of such devotees, Gaḍāḍhara now assumed a new name. Hencefor-ward he was known as Rāmakṛṣṇa; and later he received from his friends the title of Paramahamsa, which means the one by whom the soul is delivered from ignorance and sanctity. After Tōtāpuri's departure he lived for six months almost continuously in a state of exalted religious trance. This condition ended in a severe attack of dysentery, from which, however, he was cured by a nun named Kṛṣṇa, who afterwards became his wife. Rāmakṛṣṇa now entered on a new phase of religious aspiration—the craving to realize the Vaiṣṇava ideal of passionate love for God. This aim he sought to realize by imagining himself one of the great devotees of ancient stories. Thus at length in a trance he saw the beautiful form of Kṛṣṇa. Now he was satisfied; he had at last achieved mental peace. By this time (1871) he was thirty-seven years of age and was becoming famous. His wife, who was now eighteen, came to see him. When he explained that, being a saṃsāris, he could not live with her as her husband, she agreed to reside at the temple as his pupil and be taught by him how to serve God; she thus remained a devoted disciple till the end of his life. As the supreme enjoyment of her husband many days, during which she regarded him as an incarnation of God Himself, and endeavoured to further the work that he had begun.

Though as an ascetic he no longer had any caste, he now began to feel that he had not yet given up his Brāhman prejudices towards the lower orders. Having accordingly resolved to do the work of men of the lowest caste, he acted as a scavenger in the temple and cleansed it like a Pariah during the night. He also collected and ate the fragments of food left by the beggars who were daily fed at the temple, and who included Muhammadans, outcastes, and bad characters.

The last stage in his religious development was the result of a new desire that arose in him to do good to mankind, and which he resolved to give vent to by going to live with a Muhammadan saint, becoming temporarily a Muhammadan in dress, manner of life, and religious practice. He then turned to Christianity and once saw Jesus in a vision, but in the end he renounced the idea of being able to speak of anything else but of Him and His love. These experiences led him to the conclusion that all religions are true, as being various paths leading to the same goal.

At the age of 42 one of his intimate friends, Paṇḍit Vaiṣṇava Chārān, took him to Calcutta, where he stayed till the beginning of the following year. During this visit he made the acquaintance of Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the founder of the Arya Samāj. About 1875 Keshā Chunder Sen, one of the leaders of the Brāhma Samaj, made the acquaintance of Rāmakṛṣṇa, and, becoming deeply impressed by his devotion and conversation, went to see him often, occasionally accompanied by a number of his adherents, and drew public attention to him in his daily talks and by writing about him. The result was that Rāmakṛṣṇa was now visited at his temple by many educated Hindus from Calcutta, and also made the acquaintance of the young men who became his attached pupils and continued his work after his death. His conversation is described as brilliant, and was listened to by many noted Indians who went to see him at his temple. During the last seven years of his life he was constantly engaged in talking to his visitors. He never wrote anything, even in this last period; but his disciples made copious notes in Bengali of his sayings, of which several collections were published after his death. He was essentially a conversationalist, and not a formal ascetic. He was a humorous and by writing about him. The result was that Rāmakṛṣṇa was now visited at his temple by many educated Hindus from Calcutta, and also made the acquaintance of the young men who became his attached pupils and continued his work after his death. His conversation is described as brilliant, and was listened to by many noted Indians who went to see him at his temple. During the last seven years of his life he was constantly engaged in talking to his visitors. He never wrote anything, even in this last period; but his disciples made copious notes in Bengali of his sayings, of which several collections were published after his death. He was essentially a conversationalist, and not a formal ascetic. He was a humorous and
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him at the temple of Dakshinadeva at last told on his health. In 1885 he began to suffer from an affection of the throat, which after a short time progressed into a swelling. He was removed to Calcutta, where he was attended by the best physicians. They advised him to keep the strictest silence; but he could not refrain from addressing the crowds that gathered wherever he went. He would still fall into trances, on awaking from which he would talk incessantly as before. Even when his throat became so constricted that he could hardly swallow even liquid food, he continued his efforts, cheerful and undaunted, till 15th March 1886. On that day he fell into a samadhi, from which he never returned. After his death a group of his disciples decided to devote their lives to the spread of his teaching, and to become sannyasis. The most prominent of these was Narendra Nath Dutt, a Bengali, who on becoming an ascetic took the name of Vivekananda.

2. Habits and character.—Ramaekra had not many personal traits. Though a sannyasi, he not only dressed, but lived, like an ordinary Bengali. He is described by one of his disciples as distinguished by profound humility and childlike tenderness, the outward manifestation of which was a singular sweetness of expression. His character was simple, for every detail of his life can be exactly ascertained. A nothing particle of pride entered into his relations with God, which mastered his whole being. It was this that made him at an early age enter the life of a sannyasi, in which he renounced all earthly ties and by tremendous self-repression completely conquered the sex instinct and acquired a hatred of money. His averance to gold and silver became so great that he could not even touch them, and the simple contact of a coin, even when he was asleep, would make him shrink convulsively. In his later days he could touch no metal, not even iron. Mathuramahatma, the son-in-law of the foundress of the temple, repeatedly offered to hand the temple over to him together with a property yielding an income of 25,000 rupees a year, but he refused and threatened to leave the place of the offeror if the gift of 25,000 rupees were paid to him by another wealthy man was similarly declined. His deep sincerity and exclusive devotion to God won him the boundless love and reverence of his disciples, who regarded him as a living revelation of God.

3. Belief.—Ramaekra had no proper education. He knew no Sanskrit and scarcely any English, and he possessed no scholarly knowledge even of Bengali. Never having had any systematic training in philosophy, and deriving, with the aid of a retentive memory, practically all that he knew of it from this occasional intercourse with the religious teachers with whom he came in contact at his temple, he neither was nor claimed to be the founder of a new religion. His belief regarding God and the relation of God to man and the world was based on the Vedanta system. It may be summed up thus: God is unknowable and utterly beyond the reach of man; on the other hand, every human being and every thing that exists is a manifestation of God, who is so truly all that is that everything that happens is in a sense done by Him, and therefore moral distinctions become oblitered in Him. Hence, as he looked upon even himself and his soul as a manifestation of God, Ramaekra would, if he met an unfortunate, bow down before her in adoration. Like ordinary Hindu, he also regarded all deities as manifestations of the impersonal Supreme Soul. But he believed all the spiritual teachers to be the manifestation of God as the divine mother of the universe. He worshipped her more than any other of the universe, and that by means of idols; for he implicitly held the Hindu belief that the divinity fills every one of his own idols with his presence. He further advised his disciples to worship any spiritual teacher, declaring that the disciple should never criticize his own guru and must unquestioningly obey his behists. Thus he was a true Hindu, and was always ready to defend the whole of Hinduism. In these respects he was one of the multitude of very devoted Hindus who might have lived at any time during the last 2500 years.

4. Distinctive doctrine.—What differentiated his belief from that of other revivalists was the doctrine that all religions are true, because in their inner essence they are identical, and that each man should therefore remain in the religion in which he has been born. In order to illustrate the idea of the harmony of all religions and of the part played by Ramaekra in introducing it to Keshab Chunder Sen, a pupil of his caused to be painted a symbolic picture in which a Christian church, a Muhammadan mosque, and a Hindu temple appear in the background, while on one side of the picture is a group in which Chaitanya and his disciples are seen being initiated into a group in which Christ and Chaitanya are dancing together, and a Muhammadan, a Confucianist, a Sikh, a Parsi, an Anglican, and various Hindus are standing round. Ramaekra's universalistic theory of religion was a strong defence of Hinduism because it implies that no Hindu should abandon his religion either as a whole or in any of its individual doctrines.


A. B. MACDONELL.

RAMANANDIS, RAMAWATS.—The Ramanandis or Ramawats are an important Vaisjyav sect in N. India, numbering from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000. Their founder was Ramananda, a teacher who flourished in the ninth century, and whose name is frequently that of Ramanuja (5th), the Bhaktamala giving the succession as (1) Ramanuja, (2) Devacharya, (3) Harivansha, (4) Raghavannada, (5) Ramananda. According to the N. Indian tradition regarding Ramananda’s life and times, Raghavannada was the last great teacher of the Ramakrishna church founded by Ramanuja. He travelled over India spreading its doctrines, and finally settled in Benares. In the year 4400 of the Kaliyuga, corresponding to A.D. 1299, Ramananda was born at Prayaga, the modern Allahabad. His father was a Kanyakulja Brāhmāna named Punsadasa (or Bhūrkīrd or Dvāla), and his mother’s name was Susīla. The child was named Rāmadatta, and, as he grew up, he acquired knowledge rapidly, so that by the time he was twelve years old he had become a finished pandita, and went to Benares to study religious philosophy. There he attached himself to a Śrāmaṇa teacher, who followed the Advaita philosophy of Śūkradvarāhyā. One day he happened to meet a Śrāmaṇa teacher of Rādgavha, who spoke of the power of foretelling future events, and who expressed his sorrow that Rāmadatta had not yet taken refuge with Hāri (i.e. Rāma), as his days were fulfilled and he had but a short time to live. Rāmadatta returned to his Śrāmaṇa teacher and reported the conversation. The teacher had to 1 So all native authorities, Bhāgyān Prasāda (Bhaktamāla, p. 433) refers to eight or nine, and quotes three. Tradition says that the ingredients of the amarkvatā in which Rāmananda has thus have occurred in A.D. 1137.

2 It is noteworthy that both Rāmānuja and Rāmananda are represented as having been followers of Śaṅkarā, and later to have seen the error of their ways.
confess that the prediction was a true one, and that he himself could offer no remedy. He therefore recommended him to throw himself on the mercy of Rāgahavananda. Rāmādatta did so, and Rāgahavananda received him, taught him the Śrī Vaṣayānī initiatory mantra,1 and changed his name to Rāmānanda. He also instructed him in the yoga methods of suppression of breath, etc., leading the practitioner into intense mental absorption, and, when the time for his death arrived, with their aid, put him into a trance. Death came to take him away, but, finding him in this death-like condition, departed leaving him unharmed. Rāmānanda then awoke from his trance, and, thenceforth devoted himself to attending on and learning from Rāgahavananda, who blessed him and gave him the boon of an exceptionally long life.2 After serving his guru for a considerable time, he went on a pilgrimage over the greater part of India. A persistent tradition asserts that he even visited the island of Gangesgāra at the mouth of the Ganges, and that there he discovered the site of Kapila's hermitage, all trace of which has long been lost. After completing his pilgrimage he returned to Benares, and settled at Pāńchganga Ghat, where his footprints can still be seen by the faithful.

The Śrī Vaṣayānī church, of which Rāgahavananda and Rāmānanda were members, allows only Brāhmans to occupy the post of teacher, and imposes upon all the strictest rules as to the preparation and consumption of food. When Rāmānanda returned from his long wanderings, he essayed to rejoin the brotherhood, but they refused to receive him, alleging that it must have been impossible for him during his peregrinations to carry out the rules of the order, and imposing the condition that Rāgahavananda should impose a penance upon him. Rāmānanda resisted this, and in the discussion that ensued Rāgahavananda finally solved the problem by deciding that Rāmānanda must go his own way, and might form a sect of his own. This quarrel thus resulted in one of the most momentous revolutions that have occurred in the religious history of N. India. Its effects were by no means confined to Rāmānanda's immediate disciples, for his teaching worked as a leaven among all classes of mankind. Among the Brahmans, Rāmānanda took his guru at his word, and founded the Rāmāvat sect—also nowadays called, after him, the sect of the Rāmānandas. The philosophical system is the same as that of Rājananda. Rāmānanda, however, was very learned. His ethical system was based, not on spiritual pride, but on spiritual humility. It was developed in various directions by his successors, but through all their teaching we find insistence ever laid upon two great principles: first, that faith in God consists in perfect love directed to God, and (2) that all servants of God are brothers. Rāmānanda called his followers 'Avadūttas,' because they had 'shaken off' the bonds of narrow-mindedness. His system, however, carried this doctrine of catholicity still farther, and—what is more—his general acceptance by the masses of Hindōṣṭān, seven generations later, through the works of modern India's greatest poet, Tulasi Dīsa.

teaching, and that which has so captured the mind of India as to be enshrined in a proverbial saying, is that, so long as a man or woman has genuine loving faith in the Supreme, his or her caste and position in life are matters of no importance. The Śrī Vaṣayānī addressed itself to teachers, and only people of high caste as lay members. But Rāmānanda permitted no such bounds. As the saying referred to above says, he taught:

जीति पय चित्ति नौह लिडी, हरी-कु बलाई, सो हरी-कु बलाई.

'Let no one ask a man's caste or with whom he eats. If a man shows love to Hari, he is Hari's own.'

Hari is the name given to the Supreme when he is used to denote a loving father, and, in this character, it is to the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Rāmachandra, the hero of the Rāmāyana, that the devotion of Rāmānanda and his followers was more particularly directed. His initiatory mantra, or formula, was the words 'Śrī Rāma,' 'the salvation among members of the community being 'Jaya Śrī Rāma,' 'Jaya Rāma,' or 'Sītā Rāma.'


Of these six were women. Regarding Padmāvatī nothing is known. Surasisari was the wife of Suraṇaraiṇānanda, and the Bhāvakanta (67) tells a pretty story of how she was once wounded by the forefinger when she was attacked by Musalmān robbers. Thereupon Rāma took the form of a lion, and guarded her, like another Urs, till she was out of danger.

A Nārāhaṣṭiṣṭiṇa was Rāmānanda's first disciple. He is most famous as the author of the Bhāvaṇa (6). He was a wanderer, and one day was converted by a miracle at Sambhar, recalling that of the barren fig-tree in Mk 11:22. (Bhāvaṇa, 35). The third in descent from Rāmānanda, a famous teacher and pupil, was Nāth Dāsa, the author of the Bhāvaṇa. Sūkhānanda was a poet. His hymns are famous, and have been collected in a volume entitled the Sūkhāsasara (Bhāvaṇa, 64).

Suraṇaraiṇānanda, the husband of Surasisari, was famous for his faith. The Bhāvakanta (65) tells a curious story about him, the lesson of which reminds us of Mk 7:24. A wicked Musalmān gave him a piece of cake. The same secretaries gave him a pig's head (an impurity). He accepted them as food offered in the name of the deity, and they all ate the food. Then the Musalmān told the disciples of the brahman [author's addition], that unless Master is in the soul that served him, he would not let them eat the food. The Musalmān then晚饭 from their mouth. Then he vomited, and showed them that by his faith the impure meat had been converted into the food of the soul, and that the same was the case with the pig's head. He is of importance, for through him Tulasi Dīsa traced his descent from Rāmānanda in line of teacher and pupil.

A curious story is told about Nārāhaṣṭiṣṭiṇa. One day, being in want of fuel to dress food for a party of holy men, he took an axe, and went to a temple of Dēvi and cut away it a sufficient portion of wood. Dēvi promised, if he would desert from spelling her temple, to give him a daily supply of fuel, and so it came about. A covetous and ungrateful neighbour, hearing of this, thought that he would follow the saint's example, but, as soon as he applied his axe, Dēvi attacked him. He complained to her angrily that, when people came for him, they found him at death's door. Dēvi spared him only on condition that he give the rest of the wood to the people of Nārāhaṣṭiṣṭiṇa. He did not agree. He said he would not let them take the wood from the fuel. (Bhāvaṇa, 67).

Pīpa was a Kajjūṛī rāja of Gārgarān. He was originally a worshipper of Dēvi, but was commanded by her in a dream to become a disciple of Rāmānanda. Rāmānanda refused to accept him, saying that he had no dealings with men of war like him, and, when Dēvi persisted, angrily told him to go and fall into a well. Pīpa at once tried to cast himself into the well in the courtyard of Rāmānanda's house, and was saved by the bystanders. Rāmānanda admitted him, put him on probation as a disciple. After a year's trial he was fully admitted, and his death is noted in the Life of the Baktamāla, Baktamāla, by Śrī Viṣṇu, the biographer of Rāmānanda.

1 The list given by Wilson (Religious Sects, p. 56) is incorrect, being based on a mistranslation of the Baktamāla.

2 Almost alone in duty of recitation the followers of Rāmānanda was that of showing hospitality to wandering holy men. The necessity of providing the means for this seems to have been held to justify almost any course of conduct.

We shall see extreme instances of this in the case of Pīpa. Cf. also the story of Dhanā, below.

1 Ṣrī Rāma (name).
2 The legend of this boon is of some importance. Rāmānanda does seem actually to have lived to a great age. Nāth Dāsa takes pains to record that he 'bore his body for a very long time,' and tradition says that he lived 11 years.
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RAMANUJA.

— Tradition dating from the 13th cent. A.D. ascribes the birth of Ramanuja to the year 933 of the Sakas epoch (= A.D. 1016-17). In his youth he lived at Conjeevaram, and was a pupil of Yadavaprakasha, an adherent of the strict Advaita philosophy of the Upanisads. However, the influence of the Vaishnavism which had been made current by the efforts of the Alvars in the Tamil country, and separated on this ground from his preacher, attaching himself instead to Yannanmuni, who represented the philosophical aspect of the creed of the Alvârs. In due course he succeeded his new teacher as the head of this school of opinion, and settled at Srirangam near Trichinopoly, where most of his life was spent. In his old age he is said to have fallen under the disfavour of the Chola king, Kulottunga, who was an adherent of Saivism, and to have removed his residence in 1006 to the dominions of the Hoyalsa princes of Mysore, where in 1008 he succeeded in converting to his faith Bījī Deva, or Vīrā Deva, the time then reigning king; he dedicated to his brother, Ballâla, and later (1104-31) himself king. Another tradition recorded in Nârisâsa's Śmītyarthasāgara2 refers to him as alive as late as 1127, and it would clearly be unwise to attach too much weight to the pontifical dates assigned for his birth; his activity, it is certain, fell in the last quarter of the 11th cent. A.D., with which accords the statement of the Pratyâmyânta3 that in 1091, towards the end of his life, he dedicated an image of Nārisâsa on Yadava-râchâla. Numerous works are attributed to him,4 in many cases doubtless without just cause; of special importance are the Vedânta-sûtra, the Vedântasâra, the Vedârthasâra, and the Vedânta-sûtrâdâsa, which are independent works, and his commentaries (bhâgas) on the Brahma-sûtras and the Vedânta-sûtras, cited.

1. Philosophical tenets.—The essential contribution of Ramanuja to Indian thought was the effort to develop in a complete system, in opposition to the uncompromising Advaitism of Sâkara, a philosophic-and-dogmatic doctrine of devotion to God which was presented in poetical form in the hymns (prabandhâs) of the Alvars—a task for which his training under a teacher of Advaitism rendered him specially fit. In attempting this task, which he undertook on the bidding of his teacher, Yannanmuni, he was, it is clear, not developing any essentially new line of thought, and he makes no assertion of originality; in his interpretation of the Brahma-sûtras as a text-book of Vaishnavism, he claims merely to be following the commentary (suttis) of Boddhâyana and the opinions of previous teachers, of whom elsewhere he enumerates several—Tâïka, Drandâla, Guhadeva, Kapardin, and Bârâuchî; of these Drandâla at least preceded Saîkâra, and is represented in Saîkâra's own commentary that Ramanuja's claim to be following tradition is not unfounded. The disappearance, however, of the works of his predecessors and the hopeless obscurity in itself of the Bhâsya, it is impossible to determine what degree of independence is to be assigned to Ramanuja. The Srimâbhâya, his commentary on the Brahma-sûtras, conveys an impression of no mean philosophic insight, and it is fair to assume that his work in substantial part is a complete and precise far outdid any previous effort to find in the Brahma-sûtras a basis for monothelism.

To Saîkâra the whole universe was one, Brahman without a second (adhvaite), without qualities, consisting of thought, but without differentiation of subject and object; the world of experience arises from the association with the one reality of illusion, and has therefore but a conventional existence, being the object of the lower knowledge as opposed to the higher knowledge of the one reality. Escape from the fetters of transmigration, which is an essential part of Advaitism, is obtained by the use of intellectual intuition which appreciates the illusory character of the empirical universe. A creator (Īsvara) exists, and his grace serves to secure in some degree this intuition, but the existence of God, as also of the soul itself as individual, is in ultimate analysis mere illusion, and His grace is equally illusory. To establish this scheme Saîkâra does not rely on the human faculties unaided: freely as he uses argument, he bases his views on the Upanisads and the Brâhma-sûtras as an eternal and conclusive revelation.1 Ramanuja is no less dogmatic, but the doctrine which he deduces is very different. In the Upanisads his opinions find their chief support in the antaryami-brâhma, contained in the Bhâgavatapancasîka. Upanisad, and this is described in detail as the inner ruler of the whole of the universe in all its aspects, and in a passage in the Śvetâvatara Upanisad5 in which stress is laid on the threefold unity in Brahman of the empirical subject (jīva), the objective world (bhūkṣya), and the prâvritti which instigates (prâvritti). He teaches, therefore, a monism, for all is Brahman, but a qualified monism (visishtadvaita), since room is found for the reality of individual souls and the external world. The higher reality of God is conditioned with all desirable qualities, not consisting of knowledge alone, but having knowledge as an attribute, all-powerful, all-pervading, and all-merciful. Whatever exists is contained within God, and therefore the system admits no second independent element. But within the unity are distinct elements of plurality which, if effects or modes (prakāra) of God, are yet absolutely real, and not figments of illusion. These are souls of varying classes and degrees (ātman) and matter in all forms and functions, which exist as constituting the body of God, standing to Him in the same dependent relation as is occupied by the matter forming an animal or vegetable body towards the soul or spirit. Both matter and souls exist eternally in God, and have had absolute beginning and will have no absolute end. But there are two distinct forms of this existence. In the pratyâya condition, which occurs at the end of each world-period (kalpa), matter exists in a subtle state in which it possesses none of the qualities which make it an object of ordinary experience; the souls likewise cease to be connected with bodies, and, though retaining the essential quality of being cognizing agents, are unable to manifest their intelligence; in this condition all things are to be in the causal state (kārayeavasthā). From this condition creation develops by the will of God: subtle matter takes on its gross form,4 souls expand their intellect, entering at the same time the world of living bodies; then we have for the deities in previous forms of existence; in this condition Brahman occupies the state of an effect (kāryayeavasthā). But between the two states there is no essential difference; the effect is the cause which has undergone

1 P. Deussen, Des Systeme des Vedânta, Leipzig, 1883, p. 59 f. 2 Int. vii. 3. 3 The details of the process are borrowed bodily from the Śâkhyâ system, and have no independent value.

a process of development (parinîtana). The difference, however, serves to explain in the view of Râmâyana, the conditions in the Upanishads which seem to deny all duality: in the causal state the differences are merely implicit and may be ignored; passages which assert the creation of the material world, while assuming the eternal existence of soul, are explained away on the foundation of its subtle state, which may be regarded as in a sense non-existent, since it has in that condition none of its essential qualities, while even in the pralaya condition the soul remains essentially intelligent. The, however, clear proof that Râmâyana, an difficulty in determining to himself the relation of the non-sentient matter to Brahman: in discussing the Brahmastûtra\(^1\) there are presented, as possible explanations of the relation, the views that such beings are special arrangements (sveñathânavigdo) of Brahman, as are the coils of the body of a snake, or that the relation of the two entities is comparable to that of the luminous object and light, which are one in that both are fire, or that the material world is a part (anîka) of Brahman, which is the position definitely assigned to the soul. The relation of souls and the material world causes Râmâyana no difficulty; he accepts the same frankly realistic position as Śâṅkara, though in the case of the latter the realism is ultimately illusory.

As with Śâṅkara, the fate of the soul is determined by its knowledge, but, as the nature of that knowledge differs entirely in the two systems, so does the fate of the soul. Knowledge means not extinction of, ignorance a life by heavy, eternal bliss, distinguished from God Himself merely by the fact that the released soul does not possess the powers of creating, ruling, and retracting the world which are the special characteristics of the supreme soul.

2. Religious system.—The actual system of religion expounded by Râmâyana and his school, while resting on the basis of the metaphysics of the Śrîdhâra, is clearly largely the traditional inheritance of the Pâñcarâtra or Bhâgavata school; in the Śrîdhâra itself the only sectarian hint is the use of the term Nîrâyana as a synonym of Brahman. In the theology of Râmâyana God manifests Himself in five forms. The first is the highest (parama), and is common to all schools. He dwells in His city of Vaikuntha, under a gem pavilion, seated on the serpent Seva, adorned with celestial ornaments and bearing His celestial arms, accompanied by His consorts Lakṣmî (prosperity), Diti (the earth), and Liśa (sport); in this condition His presence is enjoyed by the delivered spirits. The second form of manifestation consists of His three or four vyāhâras, conditions assumed for purposes of worship, creation, etc.; of these Śâṅkara possesses the qualities of knowledge (jñâna) and power to maintain (bala); Pradyumna has ruling power (âsvarya) and abiding character (vīrya); Aniruddha has creative power (śekti) and strength to overcome (tÇga); while Vâsudeva, when included as a fourth vyāha, has all six qualities. The third form comprises the ten avâltas of the ordinary mythology; the fourth the antaryâmin, in which condition He dwells within the heart, can be seen by the supernatural vision of the Yogi, and accompanies the soul in its moral journey to heaven or to hell, and the fifth form is that in which the deity dwells in idols or images made by men’s hands.

The individual soul, which is a mode of the supreme soul and entirely dependent upon and conditioned by the latter, is endowed with intelligence and self-consciousness, without parts, unchanging, imperceptible, and atomic—a doctrine denied energetically by Śâṅkara. Souls are classified as etcd, bhakti, in a special sense, such as those of Ananta or Garuḍa, which dwell in constant communion with Nârâyana, released (muktâ), or bound (budha). Of the latter some seek merely earthly gains, others return to the sky to enjoy the thousand offices of their sky, while the others are precluded from obtaining the eternal bliss of final deliverance. For the latter two means of attaining the end desired are available; the former is confined to the three higher classes alone, excluding the Sûdra; it leads subsidiary means, including the gift of gold, books, and bhakti, while the latter is open to those who despair of accomplishing this elaborate process and fling themselves upon the will of God (prapattî).

The karmayoga is the teaching of the Bhagavad-Gîtâ, which bids man perform acts without desire of reward; it includes the ceremonial worship of the deity—the practice of sacrifice, the bestowal of charity, and the performance of pilgrimages. It serves as a preparation for the jñâna-yoga, in which the devotee attains the knowledge of himself as distinct from matter and as a mode of Brahman. This, again, leads to bhakti, which for Râmâyana is not ecastic devotion, but a continuous process of meditation upon God. This meditation is to be promoted by subsidiary means including the use of defiled, polluted food, charity, the performance of rites, the practice of such virtues as charity, compassion, abstaining from taking life, truth and uprightness, the maintenance of cheerfulness, and the absence of unkindness. Results in an intuitive perception of God, the highest state realizable.

Prapattî, on the other hand, consists in the sense of submission, the avoidance of opposition, the confidence of protection, the choosing of God as the source, the placing of oneself at His disposal, and the consciousness of utter abasement.

The relation between bhakti and prapattî was left obscure in Râmâyana’s teaching, for it immediately formed a subject of bitter division between the two schools which claimed to follow his teaching—the Vadagalâ, or northern school, which used Sanskrit as its medium of teaching, and the Ten-galâ, or southern, which resorted to the vernacular, thus continuing the tradition of the Alâvs. The reason for this conflict was partly the temper of Râmâyana in its conservatism and restraint, claimed that prapattî was merely one way of salvation, not the only way, and that it should be resorted to only when it was found impossible to attain the desired result by the other modes; moreover, they found in it essentially an element of human action in that it demanded a distinct effort on the part of the prapattî, resulting from the effect of his sense of submission, etc. The southern school, on the other hand, maintained that prapattî was the only mode of salvation, and that it precluded any action on the part of the devotee,\(^2\) action emanating from God alone, and that the sense of submission, etc., was the outcome of prapattî, not the means of producing it. Similarly, the southern schools differ in their treatment of Śâṅkara: the Vadagalâ confined equality to conversation alone, and forbade the teaching to them and indeed even to Kâśîtîra and Vaisnava of the mantra of homage to Nârâyana with the syllable Òî; the former, however, reserved the mantra for the higher classes alone, and the equality of the castes and permitted the use of Òî by all.

In addition to bhakti and prapattî Râmâyana is credited with permitting the attainment of deliverance by evidene in which he endows the votary places himself under the control of his

\(^1\) See Brahmasûtra, ii. ii. 19-32.
\(^2\) Cf. art. PRAPATTI-MERQOA.
teacher, who performs for him the necessary acts to attain deliverance.

Greater importance attaches to the ceremonial worship of the deity in the practice of the school than was seemingly laid upon it by Rāmānuja himself, though he fully accepted it and made an important part of his system. The modes of worship prescribed include the stamping of the discus or conch of Hara on the body, the wearing of a mark on the forehead, the repeating of mantras, the doing of service to his devotees, fasting on the eighth day of both lunar fortnights, the laying of tulasi-leaves on his idol, the drinking of the water in which the feet of the idol are washed, and the eating of the food presented to Hara. Importance attaches to the last practice, for it bears a certain resemblance to the Christian sacrament and suggests the possibility of borrowing from the Nesterian Christian communities of S. India.

The same conclusion is also indicated by certain features of the doctrine of proppati, and above all by the method of salvation in which the sādhaka performs the necessary steps, while the part of the devotee consists in implicit faith in the teacher—a mode which bears a remarkable similarity to the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice. It is unnecessary, however, to connect the proppati, which in the system of Rāmānuja were borrowed by him personally from Christian teaching; they are much more likely to have been already incorporated in the Viṣṇuvism which he expounded and defended.

The epic was translated into several languages rather than as a whole. The emotional character of Rāmānuja’s teaching that he ignores the aspect of Viṣṇu’s character in which he appears as Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and sports with Rādhā and the cowherdsmen, and that even Rāma does not appear to have been the object of his special devotion.


A. DEBBEDEALE KEITH.

RĀMĀYANA.—1. Character. —This poem, "the Career of Rāma," is one of the two great Sanskrit epics of ancient India. Both have been a national possession for at least 2000 years, deeply influencing the literary production as well as the moral and religious thought of the Indian population. But they offer several contrasts. The Mahābhārata (12,000 sections) is the larger, more popular and the older, while the Rāmāyaṇa belongs to the class called kṛṣṇa, or artificial epic, in which form is regarded as more important than the story, and poetical ornament is likely to be used with much greater profusion. The Mahābhārata, being a congeries of many parts only loosely connected by the thread of its epic kernel, which forms not more than one-fifth of the whole work, is hardly an epic at all, but rather an extended collection of the West similar to the Iliad and the Odyssey, of which the source is unknown, and the traditional name of its final reductor, Vyāsa, "the arranger," is evidently mytho- logical. The Rāmāyaṇa is a real epic of the romantic type, being homogeneous in plan and execution, on the whole the work of a single author named Vālmiki. Being in its main and original narrative almost free from interpolated and secondary episodes, it is also much shorter than the Mahābhārata, containing about 24,000 as compared with 100,000 stanzas. The warfare in the epic nucleus of the Mahābhārata is that of 100,000 horsemen fought on both sides; in the Rāmāyaṇa it consists of conflicts with monsters and demons such as are described by writers of fairy-tales without first-hand knowledge of real fighting. The Mahābhārata was composed in the northern plains of N. India, the ancient Madhyadeśa, or Middle Land, which lies between the eastern conifères of the Panjāb and the city of Allāhābād, while the Rāmāyaṇa arose in the ancient kingdom of Kosāha, which lay to the north-east of the Ganges, and roughly corresponds to the modern Oudh.

2. Importance.—The importance of the Rāmāyaṇa is twofold—literary and religious. It is the first product of the artificial epic, or kṛṣṇa, literature of India. It thus always served as a model to be imitated by the later classical poets, who regarded it as the ‘first epic’ (ādi-kṛṣṇa) and its author as the ‘first epic poet’ (ādi-kṛṣṇa). It supplied the subject of Kālidāsa’s epic, the Rāghu- vampī, ‘The Family of Raghu,’ as well as of two of the plays of the great dramatist Bhāskara the Great. Even at the present day the recital of the Rāmāyaṇa is listened to with delight by many thousands of Hindus at the great festival of Rāma held every year at Benares. In the Middle Ages the Sanskrit epic was translated into many languages of India, beginning with the Tamil version, which appeared at the beginning of the 12th cent. and was followed by adaptations and renderings in the vernaculars all over the country. On the Rāmāyaṇa the whole of the Brihadāraṇyak Upanishad (11.26) to 12.42) is borrowed and inserted throughout the poem. Dās (1532–1623), founded his religio-philosophic poem in Hindi, entitled Rām Charit Mānas, ‘Lake of the Doings of Rāma,’ which as a lofty standard of purity and virtue is like a Bible to over 90,000,000 of the population of N. India. Dramatic representations of the story of Rāma are still performed at religious festivals in the towns and villages of India. Thus the ‘Play of Rāma’ (Rāma Līlā), in which the most popular scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa are exhibited, is annually performed at Lahore before the Emperor and at the court of the Mughal Emperors. Probably no work of world literature, secular in its origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of a people as the Rāmāyaṇa. The nobility and majesty of Rāma’s character and the conjugal devotion and fidelity of his wife Sītā, have, for a great many centuries, exercised a far-reaching moral effect as paragons for imitation among Indians. His early dedication has, moreover, secured to the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa the worship of the Hindus down to the present day. The belief that he was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, which forms the fundamental doctrine of the religious reformers Rāmānuja (q.v.) in the 12th and Rāmānuja (see art. RĀMĀNANDĪ) in the 14th cent., has contributed much to counteract the diffusion of the degrading superstitions of Saivism in the south as well as in the north of India.

3. Recensions. —In its present form the Rāmāyaṇa consists of almost 29,000 verses, composed almost entirely in the ordinary epic metre called śloka, which consists of two hemistichs of sixteen syllables with an iambic cadence. It exists in three recensions—the Bengal, the Bombay, and the Madras. The last is a recension of about one-third of the verses contained in each do not occur in the other two. The oldest appears to be the Bombay recension, in which the irregularities of the epic language have not been removed, as is the case in the other two. It must not,
However, be regarded as representing the original text of which the other two recensions are mere revisions. The variations can for the most part be attributed to the two recensions, and the popular tradition that the Iksvaku, by the time when these three recensions came to be written down. There is, moreover, evidence to show that those recensions existed at a comparatively early period. Thus quotations from the epic in works of the 8th and 9th centuries indicate that a text allied to the Bombay recension was then in existence, while a poetical abstract of the Ramayana composed by Kesemendra proves that at least i. t. to have been written by Ayodhya to that author in the first half of the 11th century A.D.

4. Present text.—The Ramayana, as it has come down to us, consists of seven books; but careful and detailed research has shown that the first and last were later additions. The former not only contrasts as inferior in language and style with the original, but contains both internal contradictions and statements conflicting with the following books. Thus it includes (in cantos i. and ii.) two tables of contents which must have been composed at different times; one of them, which takes no notice of the first and last books, was evidently made before these were added. Again, Lakshmana is introduced in bk. ii. as having been married to Ayodhya at the same time as his brother Rama, while at a later period, in bk. iii., he is expressly said to be still unmarried. The original poem evidently came to an end with the conclusion of bk. vi. For in bks. i. and vii. the thread of the narrative is characteristically interrupted, as in the Mahabharata, by numerous episodes, myths, and legends, while this feature is very rare in the other books. Some cantos have been loosely interpolated in the genuine books also, but these consist chiefly of extension of the limit passages added by processors in rapid succession, and show the same lack of popular taste. Though the additions to the original poem must have been made before the three recensions came into being, it is evident that they could have become part of the epic only a long time after the old part was composed.

5. Place of origin.—There is evidence indicating that the Ramayana was composed in the country of which the capital was Ayodhya, the royal residence of the race of Ikṣvāku. Thus it is stated in bk. i. that the Ramayana arose in the family of the Ikṣvāku; the hermitage of Valmiki is described in bk. vii. as situated on the south bank of the Ganges; and the poet must have been connected with Ayodhya, for Sītu, Rama's wife, sought refuge in his forest retreat, where her twin sons were born, brought up, and taught to recite the epic by the poet. In or near Ayodhya, therefore, Valmiki may be assumed to have worked into a homogeneous whole the various episodes and adventures of the court bards of Ayodhya about the life of the Ikṣvāku hero Rāma. This poem was then learnt by rhapsodists, who wandered about reciting it in different parts of the country.

6. Age.—The age of the age of the Ramayana is involved in some doubt, because the arguments bearing on it are rather inconclusive. There is no evidence to show that either the Mahābhārata or the Ramayana existed even in its earliest beginnings before the end of the Vedic period (c. 800 B.C.). As regards the relative age of the two, however, one passage in the Ramayana does place the conclusion of the Ramayana was finished before the epic nucleus of the Mahābhārata had assumed definite shape. For, while the leading characters of the latter are not referred to in the Ramayana, the story of Rāma is often mentioned in the sister epic. Again, two of Valmiki's lines (vi. 81, 28) are quoted in a passage of the Mahābhārata (vii. 143, 66) which there is no reason to regard as a later addition. There is an episode of Rāma (Rāmopakhyāna also) in the Mahābhārata that presupposes the existence of the extended Ramayana, in which Rāma was already deified as Viṣṇu. The Ramayana, moreover, was along with its later additions a complete work by the end of the 2nd cent. A.D., and was already an old book by the time the sister epic had more or less attained its final shape in the 4th cent. of our era. With this divergence in the date when their growth was completed the permission of all the old parts of the Mahābhārata with new matter is in keeping, while in the Ramayana such permeation hardly extends beyond the first and the last books. Both epics not only have, in all their books, many phrases, proverbial idioms, and whole lines in common, but the numerous agreements in language, style, and metre. Hence it may safely be concluded that the period of the growth of the Ramayana coincides with that of the Mahābhārata, though it came sooner to an end. In other words, the Mahābhārata may, however, be older than the original Ramayana, because the former has certain archaic features compared with which Valmiki's poem shows an advance. Thus, while speakers are introduced in the longer epic with prose formulas such as 'Yudhishtira spoke,' in the sister poem such expressions invariably form part of the verse. The Ramayana, too, comes decidedly nearer the classical poets in the use of poetical figures. Various sources of evidence have been examined in order to determine, with some approximate accuracy, the historical and logical limit of the Ramayana. The history of early Buddhism supplies no decisive information. In the oldest Buddhist literature, the Pali Tipitaka (see art. LITERATURE [Buddhist]), there is no mention of a Ramayana; and in a Jātaka (q.v.) concerned with King Daśaratha there are twelve verses in which Rāma consoles his brothers for the death of his father, Daśaratha, and that one of these verses actually occurs in our Ramayana. The fact, however, that there is only one verse in common indicates that some old story about Rāma rather than the epic itself is the source of the Jātaka verses; for there is not a word in the whole Jātaka about Rāvana and his following, though it is full of fabulous matter and has much to say about demons and rakṣasas. On the other hand, excepting one evidently interpolated passage, there is not a trace of Buddhism in the Ramayana itself. Such silence, however, may very well be due to the absence of any reason to mention Buddhism in a poem like this. Now, H. Oldenberg has shown (Gautampitakaavumādī, Leipzig, 1896, p. 9f.) that the metre of the Ramayana represents a later stage of development than that of the Jātaka, and that this evidence would place the composition of the original Ramayana appreciably later than the rise of Buddhism, c. 596 B.C.

Excepting in two passages, which have been shown to have been interpolated additions, the Ramayana contains no reference to the Greeks, who first came into direct contact with India during Alexander's expedition in 327 B.C.
A. Weber's belief that Greek influence can be traced in the
Ramayana in the concept of Agastya can no longer be
accepted. There is no real parallelism between the
story of the abduction of Sītā by the demon Rāvana in the
Mahābhārata and the abduction of Persephone by Pluto,
both of which are described in the Odyssey. The
Greeks were familiar with the Odyssey, but it is
unknown whether they read it in Sanskrit. It is possible
that these stories are independent, but it is impossible to
state that they are independent.

Thus far we have no reason to go back much
further than 288 B.C. for the genesis of Valmiki's
poem. H. Jacob, however, adds some arguments
based on the political conditions prevailing in the
city of Ayodhya to show that it dates from before the
rise of Buddhism.

In the first place, he notes that the city of Ayodhya (now
Patna), which had become the capital of India by 300 B.C., is
not mentioned at all, though Rama is described (L. 35) as passing
his very site, and the poet makes a point of referring (L. 322)
to the foundation of various actual cities in India. India
shows remarkably little growth in any direction in two
hundred years. It is generally accepted that the city of
Ayodhya had spread beyond Kosala, the country of its origin; he
could therefore hardly fail to mention it is not uncommon in In-ka for two languages to be
old part of the Ramayana the capital of Kosala is always called
Ayodhya, while to Buddhists, Jainas, Greeks and Parthians (c. 180 B.C.) it was a much
inhabited city, and that even in Buddhist literature we find
that Lava, one of Rama's twin sons, established his government in
Sārvastī, a city which is not mentioned at all in the original
Ramayana. We must therefore know to have been the
capital of the time by King Prasenajit of Kosala. From these data he infers that
the poem was composed no earlier than 288 B.C. The capital of Kosala, before its name of Sāke was known,
and before the seat of government was shifted to the
capital of Kosala. It would therefore be better to allow the
Sāke to be the older name, which also mention Ayodhya and, though added much later,
do not know the name Sāke, must have been composed
socially before the rise of Buddhism. Ayodhya is
the highest degree improbable. Jacob finally notes that in
b. i., Mithila and Vaisali are two cities governed by separate rulers, while it is known that by Buddha's time they had become
a single city named Valisā ruled by an oligarchy.

It is to be observed that these arguments are
based on data to be found in the late first and last
centuries B.C., and hence just after the rise of Buddhism
and before must be regarded with suspicion. They
do not appear to the present writer to have any
cogency as proof of a pre-Buddhist date for the
original Ramayana.

A further argument has, however, been added
to show that the old part of the Ramayana dates
from before the time of Buddha.

The Ramayana is a popular epic and its language is a
popular Sanskrit. Now, about 260 B.C., we have史诗
texts in the dialects of the Ganges countries, and in
popular dialects resembling Pali. Budhis himself before 500 B.C. preached not in Sanskrit, but
in Prakrit, the language of his people. The stories of
the Ramayana have been composed in a language that was already dead, but
must have been written in one that the people understood.
The language must therefore be earlier than the
Buddhist period when Sanskrit was still a living tongue.
Now, the foregoing argument is not cogent, because Sanskrit
has always lived as a literary language beside the popular
dialects, and has been understood by large sections of the
population. There is nothing strange in Sanskrit
epics being composed and listened to while Jain and Buddhist
monks were writing poetry and preaching in popular
dialects, especially when these dialects had as yet diverged comparatively
little from the literary language.

Even at the present day the evidence which for the Ramayana and
Buddhism is a well-known fact. Sanskrit has always lived as a literary language beside the popular
dialects, and has been understood by large sections of the
population. There is nothing strange in Sanskrit
epics being composed and listened to while Jain and Buddhist
monks were writing poetry and preaching in popular
dialects, especially when these dialects had as yet diverged comparatively
little from the literary language. Occasionally verses occurring in the Mahabharata and
Ramayana are also found as Pali or Prakrit verses in Buddhist
and Jaina literature. The Sanskrit stories have been
translated into Sanskrit from popular languages.

The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are also called Dīna-kīrti (Childhood
Section), commencing with an introduction on the origin of the
poem, goes on to narrate the legends and stories that the
Buddhist and Jaina hermeneutics were preparing to
describe worthily the fortunes of Rāma. While he was
watching a young cow, a tiger shot a hunter and fell to the ground
with its prey. The poet, touched by the grief of the bereaved
female, related the legend of the death of Vīraśeṣa and the
remembrance of the murderer on the murder.

As he wandered towards his hut pondering this
occurrence, the god Brahma appeared and, announcing to the poet
that he had awakened created the rhythm of the god, he
bade him compose the divine poem on the life and deeds of
Rāma in that measure. This story possibly preserves a histori-
cal reminiscence: it may seem that the epic Ṛkṣa, which in the form of the anonymous Sanskrit poem, is transmitted orally throughout the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, was fixed in its final form by Vālmiki. The epic Śāstra, in which the wise and mighty Dāsāratha ruled, the king, being for a long time without a son, resolved to offer a horse-sacrifice, to direct his son, at the close of the sacrificial ceremony, to the moon as a minister, and to this end that time the gods were suffering many things from the violence of the demon Ṛavana. Vālmiki, inspired by his consent to be born in human form, because Ṛavana was immune from death except by the hand of a human being, the three daughters of Dāsāratha, the three wives of the king bore four sons, Rāma, Laksmana, Ṛukumāni, and Pratāpa, the Sumitṛa of the pair Laksmana and Śatrughna. Of these sons Rāma was the eldest and eldest son, and when, at the age of fourteen years, Laksmana was particularly devoted from the beginning. After the sons were grown up, the great seer Viśvāmitra, who had come to Ayodhya, conducted the two princes Rāma and Laksmana to the court of Janaka of Videha. That king had announced that he would give his daughter in marriage to the prince who could bend a powerful bow. Many had tried in vain; Rāma not only bent the bow, but broke it in two. The wedding of Rāma and Sītā, attended by King Dāsāratha, was then celebrated with great festivities. For many years after the young couple lived in great happiness. In back to Ayodhya, book the thread of the narrative is just as in the Mahābhārata, interrupted by numerous episodes, many of which, in different versions, recur in the sister epic, and with which the narrative of the Rāmāyana closely follows. One of these (I. 51-65) deals with the enmity of the Rāvana, which has already been referred to, as has the story of the war-god, which the latter undertook great penances which extended over thousands of years, and in which he resisted the seductions of beautiful nymphs, which he also became reconciled to his rival Yāsīṣṭha. Among others may be mentioned the story of the battle (I. 25-30), of the birth of the war-god Kumara or Kārttikēya (I. 35-37), and of the churning of the ocean by the gods and the demons (I. 35). The story of the two lovers-and-friends, of which the latter relates how the sacred river was brought down from heaven to earth in order to purify the remains of King Naga's 60,000 sons, put to death by the eight-armed Asura and by their disturbing his devotions.

(Rāmāyana ("Ayodhya Section"), with which the main story of the epic begins, describes the event that occurred at Dāsāratha's court of Ayodhya. The king, by this time growing old, held an assembly, in which he announced, an island general approval, his intention to make Rāma his heir-apparent. Kaikeyi, Bharata's mother, whose heart was set on her son in the throne, now reminded Dāsāratha of his former promise to grant her any two boons she might choose to ask for. She then requested the king to appoint Sītā his successor and to banish Rāma from Ayodhya for fourteen years. Kaikeyi having refused to withdraw her demand, the king, at the close of a day, when the consecration of Rāma was to have taken place, the king sent for and explained the situation to her, who accepted the conditions with equanimity, without delay set forth in exile, accompanied by Sītā and his half-brother Laksmana. The two brothers were converted to themselves entirely from Kaikeyi, remained with Rāma's mother, and died after a few days, lamenting the banishment of his son. Bharata, who had been living with his maternal grandparents at Rājarṣa, was now summoned to Ayodhya, but, indignantly refusing the succession, set out for the purpose of bringing Rāma back as king to the capital. In the wild forest of Dandaka he found Rāma living happily with Sītā and Laksmana. But Rāma, though deeply affected by the magnificence of his brother's request, declined to return, considering it his duty to fulfill his vow of exile. He accordingly took off his gold-embroidered shoes, and handed them to his brother, in token of transferring the succession to him. Bharata then went home to Ayodhya, and, after a time, three Rāma's shoes surmounted by the royal umbrella as emblem of sovereignty, retired to Nandagrama, whence he administered the affairs of Sītā and Laksmana, and, as a part of the original epic, which deals with the world of reality.

(4) Second part.—With bkk. lii., the Adbhuta-Kīrtīya ("Forest Section") begins. The Rāma is constantly engaged in adventures and conflicts with foreign princes, especially with the king of Ayodhya, whose subject Rāma is.
RAMOSHI—RANTERS

heaven, and Sittā prays that, as surely as she has not even thought of any other man than Rāma, the goddess Earth may open to receive her. Scarcely have the words been uttered when the moon drops from the highest heaven, and Sittā disappears with her in the depths. Rāma in vain implores the goddess to sit back to him; but the god Brahmā appears and explains that the moon was the bodhī tree of the forest of Rāma's birth, which he has withdrawn into heaven. Soon after Rāma, making over the kingdom to his two sons, Bhadrapāla and Bhāsa, he signs his title of Rāma, and Nātha, of the slaying of Vītra by Indra, of Uvasī, beloved of the gods Mitra and Varuṇa, besides several others aiming at the same object. The Poinams is quite in the spirit of the later parts of the Mahābhārata.


2. TRANSLATIONS.—English: by R. T. H. Griffith, Benares, 1874 (verso); M. N. Dutt, 7 vols., Calcutta, 1892-94 (prose); Ramesh Dutt, Rāmāyana: the Epic of Rama, rendered into English verse (sældred tr.), London, 1900; Italian: by G. Gorresio, 5 vols. on account of their absurdity, Pavia, and 9 vols., do. 1854-58 (worthless); A. Rousseau, 3 vols., do. 1893-99 (sound). German: only highly condensed verses in context, by F. Röckert, Rams Krishna und Silas Kodaks, Frankfort, 1868; bu. i. in prose by J. Menrad, Munich, 1897.


RAM MOHAN RAY.—See BRĀHMA SAMĀJ.

RĀMOSHI.—The Rāmoshi, also called Nāik (Skr. nāyik, 'leader'), a jungle tribe found in the Deccan and W. India, profess to derive their name from the demi-got, Rāma, who is said to have created them when on his way to Lankā to recover Sittā; others doubtfully connect the name with Skr. aranyāsina, 'jungle dwellers.' At the census of 1911 they numbered 60,664, found in Belgaum, the small body in the Central Provinces and Berār.

Those in the Deccan appear to be an outlying branch of the Kanarese or Telugu tribe or group of tribes known under the general name of Bādr or Bādari, sottis, and wool-woolers. The fact that the branch in Poona is divided into two groups, Chāhān and Yadava, names of leading Rājput sept, has been held to indicate an admixture of higher blood. Like their neighbours the Kolis (see art. Kol., KOILIRIAN), they were for a long time noted for their extreme hereditary and predatory habits. They supported the Marhāt leader, Sivajī, against the Muhammadans, and under British rule, as late as 1879, they committed outrages in Satārā and the neighbouring districts. In recent years additional depredations from Rāma, some of the tribes in the Poona are called Rāmbhākt, 'worshippers of Rāma,' and are vegetarians. But more generally they have adopted Siva in his form Kānhābā as their tribal deity. He is reputed to have been a sorcerer, and his women, Vāni (or merchant-women), his wedded wife, and his Dāhangar (one of the jungle tribes) combine behind him. As turmeric is a vegetable in which Kānhābā is supposed to dwell, they swear by it, and not by the cow milk. A few objections, but the oath ritual prescriptions that the person swearing shall take a leaf of the bel-tree (Aegle marmelos) sacred to Siva, a few grains of millet, and some turmeric powder which has been laid on the śīfa. The oath is recited with an imprecation against perjury, a little powder is eaten, and some is rubbed on the forehead. They also revere Kedārī, now regarded as a form of Siva, the tutelary deity of the subjects of the Rāmoshi, under the name of the Parvatis, whose image Rāghūrū, one of their leaders, is said to have laid his turban, with an oath that he would never wear this head-dress until his tribe should be restored to the privileges of which they had been deprived by the Marathas. Besides these they worship many local gods, Musalmān saints (pir), the demon-leader Vetāla, who has many female spirits, or 'mothers,' in his train. The tomb of an Englishman in the neighbourhood of Poona is called by them Rāmdevā, 'Rāma's temple,' and is tended by an old Rāmoshi woman, who pours water over it, keeps a lamp burning, and allows no one who has eaten meat that day to visit the place.

Mackintosh marks that both men and women had frequently to 'undergo the expiatory penance of the swinging ceremony, when the penitent is elevated to a considerable height and swung a few times in front of the tribe's tomb, or temple, supported by a hook run through the skin and sinews of the back.' 1

Indications of totemism are found in the badge, or crest (derāk), which is generally some tree or a bunch of the leaves of several trees. Persons with the same crest are regarded as brothers and cannot intermarry, nor can they eat the fruit or use the tree in any way. They dread the spirits of the dead, and at a funeral, on the way to the grave, the corpse is turned round and the bearers change places in order to baﬄe the spirit and prevent its return. As an additional precaution, heavy stones and thorns are placed in the grave. The same fear of the dead appears in the marriage rites. If a woman has lost three husbands in succession and wishes to marry a fourth, she holds a cock under her left arm, and the tribal priest marries her to the bird before she is joined to her new husband. The intention is that the vengeance of her former husbands may fall upon the bird. Their belief in amulets is shown by the story told of their noted leader, Dālji. When he was brought to execution, it was impossible to baﬄe him until he had made an incision in his arm and removed a tiny flesh genet which had been inserted as protective. Like other tribes in the same state of culture, they are much vexed by witches and sorcerers, and have a profound faith in omens.


W. CROOKE.

RANTERS.—The term 'Ranters' was the nickname given to an antinomian movement—hardly cohesive enough to be properly called a sect—in the period of the English Common-wealth, appearing about 1644. The name is derived from the English, i.e. 'to talk in a high-flown manner' (cf. Shakespeare's phrase, 'I'll rant as well as thou' (Hamlet, v. 1. 307)).

The Ranters constituted the somewhat chaotic 'left wing' of the earlier dissenting groups that were maintained in England in the 17th cent. A type of Christianity confirmed to apostolic, primitive Christianity, free from what the leaders of this movement called 'the apostacy,' and loosely enough conjugated and

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1 E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of S. India, Madras, 1909, p. 180 ff.
organized to allow very wide individual liberty of thought and action. The central individualism of the movement tended to produce a great variety of religious ideas and consequent conflict. England at this epoch appeared to be 'swarm with sects,' though the 'sects' were hardly more than marked variations of one general ground-swell movement. Ephraim Pagitt's description is vivid and well enough gives the horror which the guardians of orthodox felt as this 'infection' swept over the country:

The plague of all diseases most infectious: I have lived among, and known the worst about them, and have seen and heard of great care and provision to keep the city from infection. The plague of herey is greater, and you are now in more danger than you were in the late pestilence. They of London, seeing the convulsions of the saints of God, and knowing what England swarne appears almost incredible. The sober Puritans were confoundedly afraid of it, and called it a remission of the judgment of the sands of Libya, where searching scns produce new monsters every year ' (Hist. of the Life of John Norris, p. 15).

All movements, such as this one, which expresses a deep popular striving to escape from the rigidity of old systems and to secure a large area of individual freedom tend to develop an extreme wing. Persons of unstable equilibrium are swept on by the movement. They may be driven to做出 an abnormally responsive to suggestion are certain to be carried along with the movement. These psychopathic persons, lacking in perspective and balance, bring into strong light the dangers that are involved in complete religious liberty. The Ranter were largely composed of this type of person, and some of them were obviously insane. The Ranter, so far as they can be differentiated from the general ferment of the time, show two marked characteristics: they were (1) pantheistic, and (2) antimonian. Masson says:

'Pantheism or the essential identity of God with the universe, and Indwelling in every creature of nature, has been the belief of most Ranter's that could manage to rise to a metaphysics' (Life of Milton, v. 18).

Richard Baxter says of them:

'some such men as these, ... to set up the Light of Nature, under the name of Christ in Men, and to dishonour and cary down the Church, the Scripture, the present Ministry, and every thing Disorderly; and so Men to harness to Christ within them.' (Religio Baxteriana, i. 70).

Joseph Salmon and Jacob Bauthumley may be taken as characteristic specimens of the leaders and exponents of the Ranter idea. Bauthumley (or Bottomley), who was called by George Fox 'a great ranter' (Journal, ed. N. Penney, i. 151), was the author of a pantheistical book with the title The Light and Dark Sides of God (London, 1650). This book opens in his best and sanest vein as follows:

'O God, what shall I say thou art, when thou cantst be named? What shall I speak of thee, when speaking of thee I speak nothing but contradiction? For if I say I see thee, it is nothing but thy seeing of thyself; for there is nothing in me canst see thee: if I say I see thee by me, or the knowledge of me, I am rather known of thee than know thee. If I say I love thee it is nothing, for through me, there be not in me to do and love. If I say I love thee, it is nothing but lovesth thou dost but love thyself. My seeking thee is no other but thy seeing of thyself' (p. 1).'

On p. 27 he develops his extreme doctrine of the inward Light:

'It is not so safe to go to the Bible to see what others have spoken and writ of the mind of God as to see what God speaks within me and to follow the doctrine and leading of it in me.'

Joseph Salmon wrote Heights in Depths, and Depths in Heights: or Truth no less Secretly than Secretly, Sparkling out of its Glory (London, 1651). This strange tract recounts in extravagant style the mystical experiences of the author as one conformed into the abyss of eternity, nonintellectual into the being of beings, my soul split and emptied into the fountaine and ocean of divine fullness, expired in the expiring of pure life' (p. 13).

The tract is throughout a presentation of extreme pantheism. A tract entitled The Smoke of the Bottomless Pit (London, 1650-51), written by J. Holland Porter, who claims to be an eye and ear witness of those many details of the Witches' views and their manner of life. All contemporary writers unite in the opinion that the Ranter were morally disorderd in their way of living, and that they held antimonian views of conduct, i.e., they were 'able' and wrong. George Fox's Journal gives many concrete accounts of personal experiences with Ranter, and these accounts generally emphasize the two aspects under consideration—the pantheistic and the antimonian. In 1648 Fox went to visit a group of Ranter in prison in Coventry. He says:

'When I came into the jail, where the prisoners were, a great number of them, and their appearance struck me with a spirit gathering to this end, God's Church and light of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly concerned, and I recollected myself, and I thought we could not hear such things. When they were calm, I stood up and asked them whether they did such things by motion, or from any necessity, as they said, from being at hand, I asked them to point out that Scripture; and they showed me the place where the prophet John directed that, and it was said to him, what was sanctified he should not call common or unclean. When I had showed them that Scripture, they appeared to have reconciled all things to themselves, things in heaven, and things in earth. I told them I owned that Scripture, and showed them what was was to them for their purpose either. Then seeing they said they were God, I asked them, if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow? They said the will of God. I told them, God could tell. Again, I asked them, if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change? And they answered they could not tell. Then I said unto them, God can tell, and God doth not change. You say you are God; and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or not' (Journal, bi-centenary ed., i. 477).

Under date of 1654 Fox writes:

'During the time I was prisoner at Charing-Cross, there came among us a raving ranter. Another of those that came to see me, was one Colonel Pucker, with several of his officers; and while they were with me, came in one Cobb, and a great company of them. The Ranter began to call for the drink and tobacco; but I desired them to forbear it in my room, telling them, if they had such a desire, they might go into another room. One of them cried, "all is ours" and another said, "all is well" ' (ib. i. 211).

Richard Baxter's testimony almost certainly overstates the case against the Ranter, but, as it is the opinion of a highly-minded contemporary, it must be given due weight. After presenting the views of the Ranter, he describes their manner of life:

'But at last, they conjured a Curious Doctrine of Libertinism, which brought them to all abominable filthiness of Life: They taught as the Familiarita, that God regardeth not Actions; the outer Man, but of the Heart; and that to the Pure all things are Pure (even things forbidden): And so as allowed by God, they spake most hideous Words of Blasphemy, and many other things, which are not written. There could never Sect arise in the World, that was a lower Warning to Professors of Religion to be watchful, and watchful... But the horrid Villains of this Sect did... speedily Extinguish it' (p. 764).

The Ranter were vigorously dealt with by Acts of Parliament, and many of the extreme Ranter were transported or hanged, and for acts considered either blasphemous or immoral. The better element in the groups of Ranter were 'convinced' by the preaching of George Fox and became Quakers. The Ranter were gradually disappeared from public notice, though the antimonian tendency has at intervals continued to reappear sporadically both in England and in America.
RASHI—


KUPUS M. JONES.

RASHI.—This is the name familiarly applied to Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac; it is, indeed, derived from the Hebrew initials of his name. Some writers erroneously called him Yarchi (Yarhi), supposing that his name was connected with the city of Lamen (yarchi = lune = moon). He was called Rashi, however, everywhere, and died in the same town in 1150. Like most of his contemporaries, Rashi did not derive any emolument from his work as rabbi. He was among the many Jews of his epoch in France who engaged in viticulture. His fame is an index of his learning as an author, and his works have won an enduring fame. No medieval commentator is more studied in modern times. His exposition of the Pentateuch is still beloved of Jews, while his Commentary on the Talmud remains absolutely indispensable to the understanding of that work.

The first Hebrew book to be printed (of known date) is Rashi’s Commentary on the Pentateuch (Reggio, Feb. 1475). Rashi expounded most of the Bible, and wrote now and again in his own language. In this Commentary he combined the newer grammatical method with the older Midrashic style, creating a harmony of unique charm. Nicholas de Lyra (1270-1340) familiarized Europe with Rashi’s Biblical exegesis, and through de Lyra, Luther the Pl. on Med. Berchem, and in his work, the German influence into his Hebrew. A well-known line tells of Luther’s indebtedness to de Lyra: ‘Si Lyra non lynasset, Lutherus non saltasset’; and Lyra, on his part, was much indebted to Rashi.

Rashi’s Compendium, Biblical and other compendia, but apart from his Pentateuch he is best known for his great Commentary on the Talmud. He did much to settle the text, and added notes which for lucidity and brevity have few rivals. The Talmud is invariably read with Rashi by Jewish students, and all scholars are dependent, either directly or indirectly, on his interpretation. This has stood the test of time, and the numerous super-commentaries and annotations on Rashi have only brought out the supreme merits of his work.

RATIONALISM.—I. Definition. — Rationalism, says A. W. Benn, means the hostile criticism of theological dogma, ‘the mental habit of using reason for the destruction of religious belief.’

Custom has come to mean that the submission of belief to reason is the characteristic rationality in reference to every branch of natural knowledge, and rationalism only when it leads to the rejection of religious constructivism with which religion has become identified.

J. B. Bury has the following:

'The uncomprising assertion of reason by her absolute rights throughout the whole domain of thought is termed rationalism, and the slight stigma which is still attached to the word reflects the bitterness of the struggle between reason and the forces arrayed against her. The term is limited to the field of theological belief, and the argument of reason was most violently and peremptorily opposed.'

The usage involves us in obvious difficulties. An argument will or will not be rationalistic, not according to its intrinsic content, but according to the kind of reason or to its effects upon the hearer—and indeed certain theses of geology or astronomy which have been classed as rationalistic in one century have in a later century been accepted by all parties. A further difficulty lies in this: (1) An argument by the weight of the word, in itself, seems impossible to deny the right and the duty of good thinking, of the utmost use of intelligence, in every department of life. Even the appeals to revelation or to authority, to the usefulness of a certain belief, or to the needs and rights of feeling and action, are themselves appeals to our intelligent judgment for comprehension and sympathy. Thought can be criticized, on whatever grounds, only through thought.

The use of ‘rationalism,’ indeed, whether as a war-cry of repudiation of reason of reproach, is a use belonging to popular philosophy, and cannot be pressed with too much exactness. (Its more technical uses in the theory of knowledge are not considered here.)

On the whole, the usage is going to be used with reservations.

(1) An argument is rationalistic when it is directed against a belief which by many of its holders at any rate is counted a ‘religion’ belief. The person bringing the argument may or may not have a constructive philosophy of his own to maintain, but may be a pamphleteer attacking polytheism, or a debater criticizing the doctrine of the Trinity; he may be a materialist, or an agnostic, or none of these things; the ‘rationalism’ of his argument lies in its attack, in the name of sound thinking, on the particular shape of a particular religious system. Obviously such arguments, though anti-religions in one sense, may be used in the service of religion. A higher form of religious belief in conflict with a lower must sometimes use negative criticism of higher to maintain its own. Such may be a monotheist attacking polytheism, or a debater criticizing the doctrine of the Trinity; he may be a materialist, or an agnostic, or none of these things; the ‘rationalism’ of his argument lies in its attack, in the name of sound thinking, on the particular shape of a particular religious system. Obviously such arguments, though anti-religions in one sense, may be used in the service of religion. A higher form of religious belief in conflict with a lower must sometimes use negative criticism of higher to maintain its own. Such may be a monotheist attacking polytheism, or a debater criticizing the doctrine of the Trinity.

(2) In its derogatory use, on the other hand, the name of ‘rationalism’ is specially applied to a certain kind of bad thinking—an unimaginative criticism from the outside. If a difficult idea has been cruelly and imperfectly stated by those who have groped after it and only half attained it, the lower rationalism makes no attempt to reach it and to state it better, but fastens on the crudities of the accepted statement, is triumphant in showing the untenableness of this as it stands, and there-with rejects the whole conception.

In this sense ‘reason holds off, as it were, from trying to comprehend what is most characteristic in religious experience. Instead of allowing the paradoxical nature of religious doctrine to give a provocative and instructive stimulus to further effort, the rationalistic understanding makes it a ground for declining to consider them further. Thus doctrines like the New Birth, the Absolute Sin in Christian theology are set aside because in arithmetic one and three are different, and because the citizen of a civilized state will not accept responsibility for his ancestors’ criminal acts. The question is not put, why such obvious contradictions and absurdities have ever been held and considered of high importance. Or it is put, and the answer is suggested that we have been always at all times fit to understand them. Further the question is not raised, why they are not discarded here also; for it is plainly not because they have not been tried. The effect of close criticism ought only to bring out the need of putting and answering such enquiries; but it may simply lead to the neglect of the whole subject.
Historical Development.

2. History.—There can scarcely have been a century or a country in the history of the world where rationalistic thoughts have not existed in some men's minds. For the Western world rationalism may be traced back to a kind of philosophic reaction against the lingering survivals of paganism and paganism on rationalistic grounds. In the Middle Ages the controversies among Christians and Jews and Muslims were strongly similar to the spirit of rationalism. When men of one religion dispute with men of another, they can appeal only to the human intelligence which is common judge for both. After the Reformation, again, when Church opposed Church, or Church collided with State, reason was invoked by all parties.

In the development of Christian thought rationalistic contributors or opponents have stood sometimes outside the Christian Church and sometimes inside it. Of their arguments, drawn from philosophy, science, history, or the criticism of documents, some have fallen to the ground; others have had real effect in modifying or developing the doctrines grouped together under the general name of Christianity. For this, like every other system, the movement is the sum of the parts, by taking up criticisms into itself, and it is almost inevitable that disputes should arise in each generation as to the amount of new modification that can be allowed if the system is still to retain the names used.

It is not possible to write the history of rationalism as one would write the history of a religion or a science, or that of a nation. The story of England can show a continuous line of movement; it is comparable to that of the Bible. The history of thought on England will have disconnected factors of the most various kinds. A religion has unity and definite movement, but the series of criticisms brought against that religion may have little of either. Some slender thread of historical development must, indeed, run through it, appearing and disappearing, since to some extent the criticism must follow the movement of religious thought—changes in this either giving rise to new forms of attack or abolishing old forms. Or, again, the stage of the world of ideas is in itself a philosophy, and that has been affected by the way that the Bible has been used. Sometimes one knows what the Bible means, and in some cases it means whatever the critic of the age is disposed to give it, and the result is that the Bible has not been able to preserve its historical integrity.

At the same time, it must be observed that the history of rationalism is the history of a great number of ideas, and the fact that each of these ideas is of great importance and is capable of being developed into a new system makes it more difficult to follow.

Renan’s own difficulties, indeed, were comparatively specialized, numerous as they were:

1. ‘If I could have believed that theology and the Bible were true, none of the doctrines . . . would have given me any trouble. My reasons were not merely of a philosophical and critical order: they were not in the least a metaphysical, political, or moral kind. These orders of ideas seemed to me scarcel y tangible or capable of being applied in any sense. But the question as to whether there are contradictions between the Fourth Gospel and the synoptics is one which there can be no difficulty in grasping. I can see these contradictions with such absolute clearness that I would stake my life, and, consequently, my eternal salvation, upon their reality without a moment’s hesitation.’

A clearer example than Renan’s of doubts arising from ten thousand years of reasoning may be found in one who, like Renan, started from the most devout and orthodox standpoint of his time, and could not bear to see it go. This man’s name has come to oppose what he used to believe. This was Francis William Newman, younger brother of Cardinal Newman. In Phases of Faith, or Passages from the History of my Creed (London, 1850), he describes his evangelical upbringing and youthful belief, then his testing of various points by his Bible reading. In one matter after another—the Sabbath, the Mosaic Law, infant baptism, episcopacy, the Lord’s supper—he found discords between the teaching of the NT and what he had been taught himself. Persisting, as a lay missionary in Persia, in trying to read the Gospels with fresh eyes, he found the Fourth Gospel clash with the Athanasian Creed, and returned to England to find himself cast off by his friends as a heretic. He moved from house to house through the land, under the same heresy, and the rejection of eternal punishment, original sin, and the vicarious suffering of Christ. He had already begun to discern that it was impossible with perfect honesty to defend ‘every little contained in the Bible’, for he felt the need of ‘a religion capa ble of being applied to the task of the world’.

The idea of a gradual formation of the world and its inhabitants is a good deal older than Darwin, but, since it was taken up into the form that it got from him, it has become almost overwhelming. The idea that man has gradually ceased to exist as a six days creation. For the third point—the exhibition of fragments of other histories—the illustrations just given would still serve, since they belong not only to the story of religious opinion but also to that of the study of documents and of natural science. Or we might select a different fragment: part of rationalist argument in the last four generations has been the cutting edge of a change in the science of religious thought. This may be called ‘rationalism’; in the last century it has not only against certain religious doctrines but against some older criticisms of them. D. F. Strauss, e.g., offers his ‘mythical’ account of the Resurrection deliberately as superseding older explanations, such as the suggestion that the disciple flung the body of Jesus for the sake of its own ambition and self-interest, or the other suggestion (which Strauss calls specially ‘rationalist’) that Jesus recovered consciousness after a deep swoon but was never able thenceforth to persuade his disciple that he was not a being from another world. We are probably safe in saying that these explanations have indeed been superseded by the growth of a psychological school in which Strauss may stand as one of the pioneers.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to arrange individual rationalists in a clear order of historical development. The threads cross too much. Opinions and criticisms which are obsolete in some circles are not obsolete in others. Different men may use the same language in different ways. They often use the language of the diverse schools of thought; and few men can be fairly described as if they were specialists of a single argument. What Renan says of himself is true of most—that their doubts arose not from one strain of reason, but from ten thousand strains of reasoning.
rked them or of God; and the kind of evidence on which his New writers accepted them was def-
initely inadequate for a modern mind.

Newman claimed that what was left to him in the end was still the essential part of religion—the heart's belief in the sympathy of God with individual man. This was kept not in the traditional form of miracles, but in the sympathy of a scholar, a poet, and an Eastern traveller with the persons who founded Christianity. His Vie de Jésus (Paris, 1863) was not intended as a scientific work either for historians or for theologians, but simply as a personal essay. In it, the clearest and the tenderest colours at his command, of a picture which religious tradition had veiled, he thought, from many readers.

A very different book on the same subject was published almost immediately afterwards—D. F. Strauss's Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk (Leipzig, 1884). His more famous Leben Jesu had appeared nearly thirty years before. The purpose in these books is not to paint a picture, but to re-
interpret the growth of a doctrine. Stories of miracles arise for the most part, the author urges, not by any one's deliberate invention, but out of the unconscious imagination of a community. As with ancient myths, the fact is created by the idea that is needed. The lapse of the time, this line was not new as regards the OT, but Strauss was the first to apply it with anything like such thoroughness to the narratives in the Gospels. His view in 1835 was that very few of these were newly created myths; most were based on OT legends and pictures, transferred, between the Exile and the birth of Jesus, to the person of the expected Messiah. The Messiah must be trans-
figured like Moses, must multiply food and raise the dead. Elijah and Elisha, must perform works of healing because Isaiah had said that in His day the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf should be opened. In 1864 Strauss left much more room for the growth of legend within Christian circles, reflecting the growth of Christian experience and thought, and laid less stress on the OT correspondences. It was far easier of course to apply interpretation by myth to the Gospels, if once it had been admitted that none of these was the work of an eye-witness; and Strauss, though not the first to do so, was the most faithful critic of the Bible. He studied most attentively the contemporary work of F. C. Baur and others. His sketch of the doings and the personality of Jesus is less vivid and definite than Renan's, largely because of his scrupulousness in evaluating the sources and con-
cluding himself to what he thought to be proved facts.

While Strauss worked at re-stating the history of the Christian form of religion, his contemporary, L. A. Feuerbach, in Die Wesen des Christentums (Leipzig, 1841), re-stated its philosophy. The universal reason of the human race operates on an uncultured man only under the image of a personal being. He must separate from himself the element in his own nature which gives him moral laws, and place it in opposition to himself; thus we have the picture of a personal God. Yet, if God were really a different being from myself, why should His perfection trouble me? God is the final human being of the truth of man; to doubt of Him is to doubt of the racial spirit. Our gods are strong first, because physical strength is the first thing we count as glorious; then they are majestic and serene; finally, God loves and we love, so that the conviction of a deep feeling is absolute, divine in its nature. 'God loves man,' one of the figures of expression, is an Oriental expression of the truth, 'The highest conceivable is the love of man.' Not the attribute of the divinity, but the divinity itself or deity of the

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tribute, is the first true Divine Being: When this projected image of human nature, this object of theology, it becomes an inexhaustible mine of falsehoods. The foundation of religion is man's feeling of the sacredness of man and nature; the result of religion too often is that he sacrifices man and nature to theology.

In the line of Strauss and of Feuerbach, whether consciously or not, stand several living writers, including in France Emile Durkheim (Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse, Paris, 1912) and L. Levy-Brulé (Les Fonctions mentales dans les religions primitives, Paris, 1911) and in Germany F. M. Cornford (From Religion to Philosophy, London, 1912) and Jane E. Harrison (Ancient Art and Ritual, do. 1911, Themis, Cambridge, 1912, Alpha and Omega, London, 1915). For these writers the beginning and the foundations of religion is the 'collective consciousness' of a group, dominating the primitive individual as an irre-
sistible pressure from outside, and answering to itself as the voice of conscience within. He 'projects' it first, the figure of a totemic plant, later in other figures which grow out of primitive ritual. All such projections are embodi-
ments of collective emotion, desire, and law. High emotional tension is caused and maintained by the group; the individual cannot exist in a social group-consciousness in tension then makes a picture of itself, which takes finally the form of a god. The mystery-god is both human and demonic, re-created at every celebration of his central site in the community or group. Such a scheme provides the appropriate setting for figures half-human and half-divine—actual living prophets who during their lives or after their deaths become the demons of religions or groups. Group-action and group-emotion, not their formal action in any theology, make the essence of religion.

In this line of writers we certainly find a section of real history of rationalism. How far we judge them to have succeeded in interpreting the facts of religion will probably depend on our opinion, and on our estimate of these writers' opinion, of the reality of the concrete universal. In the common spirit within us, and in the diversity of the attribute, have we something which merely deludes us into forming a religion, or have we something of which the highest language of religion is really true?

There remain some typical or outstanding figures in 19th cent. rationalism which stand apart from those already described. F. K. C. L. Büchner (Kraft und Stoff, Leipzig, 1855) is not so much a landmark as a type recurrent in every century, though the special forms of the arguments change. He attacks the idea of the creation of the world; for no force can exist except as a property of matter; and matter itself can never be either pro-
duced or annihilated. Writing five years before the appearance of The Origin of Species, Büchner claims it as highly probable, even certain, that life may be spontaneously generated out of the non-living; and that higher forms are made slowlv by a natural process out of lower forms. No soul can exist without brain; the experimenter's knife cuts off the soul piecemeal. It would be waste of words to try to prove the impossibility of the human soul by arguments less a scientific person, who is convinced of the immutable order of things, can nowadays believe in miracles. There exist no supernatural or super-
natural things, and no supersensuous capacities; and there is no basis for the belief that the laws of nature would thereby be suspended.

Having laid down these metaphysical doctrines, Büchner adds that there is no such thing as meta-
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philosophy, and that all metaphysical systems come to nothing and lose themselves in an unintelligible play. *Pseudo of Roger Bacon.* All our knowledge is relative; we can have no knowledge of anything except that which is a part of the Absolute—of that which transcends the sensual world.

Buchner ends with agnosticism, though he does not say so. The name 'agnostic' was originated by Huxley, but popularized by Leslie Stephen, whose *Agnostic's Apology* was first published in the *Fortnightly Review* for June 1876.

Dогматism, he holds, is a rare opinion, but agnosticism is increasing. The agnostic asserts that there are limits to the knowledge of science, and that theology is 'metaphysical' knowledge which lies outside these limits. In the whole history of the race no agreement on theological questions has ever been attained. In matters that are still involved in endless and hopeless controversy ignorance is no shame, but a duty. Many of the Christian doctrines have created far more numerous and far more horrible difficulties than those which they profess to remove. It is better to admit openly that man knows nothing of the Infinite and Absolute, that the ancient secret is a secret still.

Agnosticism is metaphysics binding her own hands, and constructive criticism of religious dogma will not come from this quarter. That different position belongs to philosophical workers whose negative criticisms are incidental, though necessary, in their own constructive thought. Such, among living writers, is J. M. E. McTaggart (3 vol., London, 1908). The subjects of religious discussion, he says, are the most important and the most practical in the world. Religion rests on a conviction of the harmony of ourselves with the universe, and nothing but exact metaphysics can justify us in holding this conviction. We are not justified in believing any dogma because all, or most, people believe it; nor because it is held by people who can work miracles; nor because of its importance for our happiness. Nor could observation without metaphysics ever give it sufficient support.

McTaggart's negative criticism is directed chiefly against certain conceptions of the Deity. If God is strictly omnipotent, He cannot be good, for He has permitted evil when He need not have permitted it. He cannot be just, for He has given benefits of human free will without also permitting the evil of sin, but there is nothing that an omnipotent being cannot do. When believers in God save His goodness by saying that He is not really omnipotent, they are taking the best course open to them; but then they must accept the consequences of their choice, and realize that the efforts of a non-omnipotent God in favour of good may, for anything they have yet shown, be doomed to almost total defeat.

Again, suppose God not to be omnipotent—can He be creative and still be good? A creator has nothing but his own nature to determine him, and, if a being who is completely self-determined produces evil, knowing that it is evil, how can we say that such a being is not wicked? Could there be a God, perhaps an omniscient, omnipotent, and good, but only a person more wise, good, and powerful than any other? He might be well deserving of worship, and might dominate the world. But much as an efficient schoolmaster dominates his school, it is a possible theory, though not an established one.

But, McTaggart asks, does religion require the existence of a personal God at all? Suppose our materialism to be right, do we believe that the universe consisted, not of matter, but of a harmonious system of selves. Then the directing mind of a God, though not disproved, would not be needed in any way to account for the traces of order in the universe. The non-existence of God would leave it as it was before the existence of God. Whether the friends whom all men may find could compensate for the loss of a being whom some men thought they had found is a question for each man to answer. In some cases, such a belief can never be answered permanently in the negative while there is still a further possibility in the positive.

'If we want to know the truth . . . we must have faith in the conclusions of our reason, even when they seem . . . too good or . . . too bad, that faith has the better claim to abide both hope and love than the faith which consists in believing without reason.'

It is this faith, surely, which is sought in the prayer, 'Suffer not for any man to put me to death.' And for those who do not pray, there remains the resolve that, as far as their strength may prevail, either the pains of death or the pains of life shall drive them to any comfort in that which they hold to be true' (p. 75).

LITERATURE.—For all except the most recent years A. W. Benn, *Hist. of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century,* 2 vols., London, 1908, covers the ground given by no great number of references. A smaller book is J. B. Bury, *A Hist. of Freedom of Thought,* do. 1913. Brilliant work within its own limits is *H. A. P. Phthis of Realism and Idealism* in *Theology in Germany since Kant, and in Great Britain since 1855,* Eng. tr., do. 1890.

**HELEN WODEHOUSE.**

REALISM AND NOMINALISM. — 1. Ancienient and medieval.—Although these terms are most properly used only of medieval schools of philosophy, the disputes of the Middle Ages were prepared and prepared the way for the fragments of Greek philosophy which they inherited. Plato was known as a realist, and Aristotle was usually believed to be opposed to him—in spite of the fact that after Thomas Aquinas 'Aristotle' is meant as a synonym of realism, and its opposite. We may judge, from the first statement of metaphysics which we now possess, the Platonic dialogues, that the forms (ideas) had been accepted as the explanation of the likeness between objects and individuals, before Plato wrote.1 This meant that the data of experience were (1) individuall, objects, or things, and (2) certain other realities called 'forms' (ειδη, ιδεα) with peculiar relations to the individuals. The relation was sometimes said to be participation in copying; and it was implied in the Platonic school that the scientific in some sense less real than, or dependent upon, the forms. Aristotle seems to have objected that this was only to add a new kind of individual existence to what was obvious; and his argument was perhaps intended to show that the forms were not ultimately real; but the result was that he appeared to make the forms less real than, or dependent upon, the individuals.

At the very beginning of medieval thought (cf. art. SCHOLASTICISM) Scotus Erigena2 attempted to reduce to logical coherence the confusion of semi-philosophical statements, primitive science, and popular superstition, which was known as catholica fides. But the guide that he took was irrationalism, and the result of the pseudo-Dionysius. In accordance with this, he established a form of realism. Being, the most general of all likenesses or forms, was said to be the ultimately real, and we departed more and more from reality in approaching the objects of sensation. The theological results we need not discuss; on the philosophico-scientific side, realism implied what that was usually called 'abstraction' is the correct method for the study of the real world to the subordination, if not the elimination, of sense-perception and the sense in which the real was contrasted with the apparent. The result was a form of mysticism in which all exact knowledge seemed to be useless.

Against this nominalism was a revolt. Aristotle himself said of the Donatists, 'They are not men of the age. We may be sure that the universe consist of material, not of matter, but of a harmonious system of selves. Then the directing mind of a God, though not disproved, would not be needed in any way to account for the traces of order in the universe. The non-existence of God would leave it as it was before the existence of God. Whether the friends whom all men may find could compensate for the loss of a being whom some men thought they had found is a question for each man to answer. In some cases, such a belief can never be answered permanently in the negative while there is still a further possibility in the positive.


2 De Divinis Natura
as predicates,' and the conclusion was made that universals, or the likenesses between things, were not res.

But, since the word res seemed to mean what we now mean by 'reality,' the nominalists were charged with saying that universals were merely words, not real. Such an attitude was known to the early nominalists only from their opponents. It is, however, quite possible that they were attempting to turn philosophical attention towards the individual objects of perception. Abelard (q.v.), the psychological thinker, on the other hand, that the classification of things as like, one to the other, cannot be due to the caprice of the perceiver and must therefore have a ground in the things. It is probably unhistorical to make Abelard a pure conceptuelist or to suppose that he had a theory of forms of the mind or categories due to the structure of mind. It is difficult to be historically just to the early medieval thinkers. They were probably even more simple and primitive than their words seem to imply. The general uncertainty extends with the introduction of more works of Aristotle; and Thomas Aquinas (q.v.) easily dominated the current of thought. He was a realist in the sense that, although he held the individual to be ultimate and real, he considered universals to be objective (in the medieval language, 'subjective') and are 'in the things' (universalia in rebus). Duns Scotus, the great opponent of Aquinas in other issues, in this did not differ very much from him, although he preferred 'thiness' (vakieitas) to the 'principle of individuality' (principium individuationis) as the explanation of the individual. It is to be noted, however, that both seem to hold the individual object of perception to be identical with a likeness, or likeness of universals (like, etc.) with some individualizing element added.

Realism, thus modified, was triumphant. It was conclusive in showing that classification was not arbitrary, and that objects or individuals were like one another quite independently of the perceiver. But it had in it the seed of its own destruction in the mistaken Aristotelian attempt to secure the universal by making it a component part of the object of perception.

The most significant of the medieval controversies was reached by William of Ockham (see art. SCHOLASTICISM), who to the mind of his time completely destroyed the realism of Aquinas and Scotus. His most effective argument was directed against the principium individuationis of his predecessors. He showed that the ultimate difference was nothing else than the individual itself; and, asserting that the individual needed no explanation, he turned upon the universals of the realists. He showed that they did not exist in re and the alternative, as he phrased it, was that they existed in mente. Probably Ockham was not clear as to what he meant; but he certainly did not mean that universals are fictions or even 'the work of the mind': for he expressly disclaims that theory.

At the same time he successfully defended the medieval prominence of the universals against the proposition of some of his predecessors (abstraction theory). In every new metaphysical theory, it was handed on through the Renaissance to modern philosophers. The accepted view was generally that perception of objects of perception were real and the source of all our knowledge; and the likenesses between them were mental or conceptual. There was still the implication that such likenesses were due to the structure of the mind or to the mind itself.

The concept of sense-perception for which Ockham's nominalism stood combined readily with the new interest in physical science. Thus Ockham was opposed to medieval realism, according to which universals were actual, but he is the precursor of modern realism in giving them conceptual (objective) existence and in refusing to suppose the thing to be made up of its qualities.

It is not quite fair to the earlier modern philosophers to class them as realists and nominalists; for this distinction is rather the same as the Renaissance. The two tendencies, however, continued, and conceptuelism (q.v.) was developed as a theory that the objects of perception were what they were because of the perception of them. He held that, as bodies were to Hume (qq.v.) seems to have implied that there was a certain human arbitrariness in classing things as like, one to another. The elaborate study of mental process added to the philosophical prejudices which implied that we never observe the thing 'itself'; and then with Hegel (q.v.) the whole of what the plain man regards as the world was supposed to be an emanation from percepient mind. The result was to make of exact science only a study of mental process or its effects; and realism was driven from the field.

D. E. BURNS.

2. Realism in modern thought.—Modern realism differs from its earlier connotation largely owing to this displacement of the centre of interest from the metaphysical to the psychological, and the introduction of a doctrine concerning the relation between cognition and the thing known. In its simplest form as the naive realism of the unphilosophical man it holds that the subject has immediate knowledge of the external world, that things are what they seem, and that they are independent of being known. The view that things are what they appear as, taken apart from the further supposition of independence, is variously called 'epistemological individualism,' 'simple character of immanence,' and 'phenomenalism.' The last term is a survival from, and represents the antithesis of, an earlier meaning of the 'real' as contrasted with appearance. In this sense the real is that of which something is known, not what it is known as. The 'natural realism' of the Scottish school was of this substance type, and arose as a protest against the 'theory of ideas' of Berkeley and Hume (see art. SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY). Cartesian dualism had asserted that we can have no knowledge of external things by which our mind can represent external objects, and led to a subjectivism which Reid was anxious to avoid. He argued that, since the qualities of a body do not themselves constitute the body, there can be no question of their remaining mere ideas through the uncertainty of the external things underlying body. This argument as against ideas is curious; for, in sharply distinguishing between a body and its qualities, the possibility is introduced that in all cognition what is known is never the object itself but only an idea representing that object. And it was precisely this dualism in knowledge that Reid wished to avoid; 2 indeed he claims, but nowhere substantiates, that cognition is immediate. In fact epistemological dualism is born of the belief that perception is a process of an original pure cognitive form (cf. below, § 3), and leads naturally, as in Hamilton and Spencer, to agnosticism regarding the 'real' object—thus being fatal to all naturalisms of substance. It remains to be shown how the epistemological monism put by Reid came to be recognized, as expressing a relational view of cognition.


2 'Impress and Human Mind, in Works , p. 1966.


realism and nominalism

'face to face perception.' A thing is what it is known as—a reality independent of the existence of a perceiving consciousness. Now, Berkeley licked his finger and removed the difficulties of epistemological dualism by denying it; and it was therefore of vital importance for realism to distinguish between his monism and his subjectivism so as to be able to avoid the latter and to assert independence. That is why 'The Refutation of Idealism' by G. E. Moore 2 cleared the way for future realist construction. Moore contends that a sensation is in reality a case of knowing or being aware of something. Therefore, when we know that the sensation of blue exists, the fact which we know is that it is so. 3 Or, analysis of the 'sensation of blue' is thus seen to include, besides 'blue,' both a unique element, awareness, and a unique relation of this element to blue. From this it follows that, when we know that the sensation of blue exists, we know blue—i.e., we are already outside the subjectivist's circle of his own ideas and sensations. This distinction between sensation and sense-data thus forms a step towards the generalized argument against subjectivism.

2 We find this difficulty diminished in T. L. Wiseman's article on "Realism and the Subjectivist," in The Journal of Philosophy, 1912, 12, 418, who argues that realism is supported by the choice of relations—a doctrine supported by the success of modern logic, since it merely expresses the justification of logical analysis. 4 New realist adherer to analysis is exemplified in the significant attack on subjectivism by Hume, in his Treatise of Human Nature, or, in more recent times, by B. Russell, 'The Philosophy of Common Sense,' in his essay, "The Nature and Reality of Knowledge," in the Journal of Philosophy, 1913, 10, 644, and the important study of relations by H. G. Broad, 'Realism and the Science of Mind,' in the Journal of the British Psychological Society, 1911, 9, 87.

3 But logical atomism, the search for 'piecesmeal, detailed, verifiable results,' 5 renders it difficult to give any adequate summary, in the crude unanalysed language of common discourse, of the positions gained, such as the accurate Scheuer utterance of logical entities (not only particular instances, but universals are required in order to sustain the monism), that if any knowledge is possible, mathematical and logical knowledge is, 6 without acknowledgment the priority of epistemology. 7

There is some difference between speaking roughly, American and English new realism; and this is due largely to William James, who has been to the one school what Hodgson was to the other. In his Essays in Radical Empiricism (London, 1912), James approved of the Meinongian things as what they are known as (p. 27), but insisted that they need not be known in order to be (p. 26). The divergence comes when he urges that there is no specific character of mental things, the difference between the logical and epistemological is one of context and arrangement (ib. p. 25). The origin of this lies far back in Hume's application of the argument from the ego-centric predication to the subject as object. Thus, if subjectivism is assumed, we reach the radical phenomenalism world of neutral elements in momentary being at the instant of perception. The further step of giving these elements independent existence apart from perception Hume mentioned 1 only to reject it because he thought that the so-called illusions of sense proved the dependence of ideas on the structure of our organs. But, on Hume's initial assumption, our organs have no permanent structure; they exist when somebody perceives them and not otherwise. 2 If we now retrace our steps, we have the following results: (1) since the argument based on relativity to sense-organs is inoperative, Hume's tentative step of assuming independence for the elements becomes a possible one; but (2) we were led to the necessity for this step by the argument from subjectivism. Thus (3) arises only if subjectivism is assumed, and this (4) has been refuted by Moore. Now American realists believe that they can retrace step (1) without retreatting further, and so find themselves in James's position of belief in absolute knowledge. 3

4 A detailed analysis of the nominalism is given by Russell. 4 Some important consequences follow from the theory; e.g., a mind which had only one experience would be a logical impossibility, since, according to it, a thing is mental in virtue of its external relations—a view which places the important realist claim of independence at the mercy of a thoroughgoing relativist like N. Wiener. 5 Furthermore, neutral monism unduly assimilates belief or judgment to sensation and presentation, thus leading to the view of error as belief instead of, as Smith and so on, to the admission of unreal things. 6 The problem of error must, however, be disentangled from that of 'sense-illusion.' The more complete avoidance of subjectivism by the English realists makes this easier, and renders the question of secondary qualities much more amenable. The objects of acquaintance cannot be illusory or unreal; 7 so, when a hot metal touches a cold spot on the skin, the 'coldness' is objective. 8 Though sensations are functions of the sense organs and the nervous system, this is not primitive knowledge, but cannot be part of the feeling.

6 Broad, p. 165.
7 We may note that S. Alexander holds that Berkeley in some passages avoids the confusion of mental act and what he calls 'internal objects,' but this is approved of in the view that and regards sensible things as independent presentations ('The Basis of Realism,' British Academy, vi. [1914]; cf. also J. Broad, 'Berkeley's Realism,' Mind, new ser., xiv. [1915] 369).
11 See E.B. vii. 650.
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temological premises of epistemology. Further- more, the influence of colours tending the same plane at the same time has been noticed. T. P. Numn concluded that a wider idea of ‘thing’ must be constructed. The necessary logical work has been accomplished by Bertrand Russell, who showed that the difficulty over the phrase ‘in the same place’ arose from a too simple and unambiguous conception of space. It is obvious that much remains to be done; in the words of a keen critic of realism, ‘the new philosophy is not out of the wood, but it has cleared hopeful paths in it.’


The traditional logic of Aristotle and the Schoolmen was principally a collection of rules of syllogistic inference, and propositions were analyzed into attributing predicates to subjects. Leibniz, indeed, perceived that there could be valid syllogistic inferences, such as ‘Jesus Christ is God, therefore the mother of Jesus Christ is the mother of God,’ and ‘If David is the father of Solomon, Solomon is the son of David.’ The logic of relations which was indicated by Leibniz was cultivated with not much success by Johann Heinrich Lambert, and with great success in the middle of the 19th cent. by Augustus de Morgan. In his work on quite different lines from that of George Boole, whose symbolism for logic was ultimately based on the Aristotelian logic, De Morgan’s work was published in the Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society from 1850 to 1865, and in his Syllabus of a Proposed System of Logic (London, 1860). This part of de Morgan’s work may be shortly indicated by saying that it was a successful attempt to fulfill a certain recommendation expressed by Sir William Hamilton:

Whatever is operative in thought must be taken into account and consequently be overtly expressible in logic; for logic must be as to be is processes, an unexclusive reflex of thought, and not merely an arbitrary selection—a series of elegant extracts—out of the forms of thinking.

But modern logic proper may be said to begin with Gottlob Frege’s first work, Begriffsschrift, eine der arithmetischen nachgebildete Formelsprache des reinen Denkens (Halle, 1879), should be read in connection with his second work, Die Grundlagen der Arithmetik, eine logisch-mathematische Untersuchung über den Begriff der Zahl (Bréslan, 1884). For the purpose of coming to a decision as to the nature (synthetic or analytic, a priori or a posteriori) of the concept of number, Frege devised an extraordinarily effective, though rather clumsy, symbolism for expressing with great precision the methods and methods of deduction in logic; and this symbolism and analysis were developed in the years 1879–1903. Frege’s final statement of his whole theory is in his Grundgesetze der Arithmetik begriffsschriftlich abgeleistet (Breslau, 1903–1903). Philosophically speaking, Frege’s point of view is clearly expressed in his criticism of the psychological logic of Benno Erdmann’s Logik (Halle, 1882):

It seems to me that different conceptions of the truth are the origin of the controversy. I took upon the truth as something objective and independent of the person who judges. It is not so according to the psychological logicians. What is realism, according to Kant? It is the mind of the judge, an act of judgment proceeding from those who judge, and which therefore is not independent of them but may change with their mental state. Every mental act is dependent on the mind which is not a part of actual things; while the psychological logicians, without more ado, look upon the non-actual as subjective.

In many of his works Frege carried on a sometimes ironically expressed polemic against the thesis that the subject-matter of arithmetic is the actual symbol and not the universals denoted by the symbol. Even Meinong, though nominalist in some respects, as H. L. F. Helmholtz, L. Kronecker, H. E. Heine, J. Thomae, O. Stolz, A. Pringsheim, H. Schubert, and many others maintained, in most cases quite explicitly, this form of nominalism. Frege succeeded in showing quite satisfactorily that the numbers used in arithmetic belong to a domain which is both non-actual and non-mental. The logical work of Giuseppe Peano began to be published nine years after that of Frege, but was quite independent of Frege, and the foundations of Peano’s logical system were much more in conformity with those of Boole and his successors, but Peano used a very convenient and ingenious symbolism and attempted with great success the symbolic analysis of arithmetic and the whole of analysis. Peano’s system included already symbolized mathematical deductions.

Peano laid stress on the fact that his symbolism was a true ‘ideography’ and thus did not make use of anything expressed in ordinary language. According to this Peano’s analysis was greatly inferior to that of Frege, and Peano had the merit of being the first explicitly to point out the fact that the two propositions ‘Socrates is mortal’ and ‘All men are mortal’ are different in form. This distinction, which seems to have been well known to Frege also, though it was not explicitly expressed by him until after Peano had done so, was and is unfamiliar to most other logicians, including some symbolic logicians, because of the use of verbally the same copula (‘is’ or ‘are’) in both cases. The philosophical aspect of this distinction has been thus expressed by Russell:

This [corresponding] confusion . . . obscured not only the whole system of philosophy (set theory) but also the relations of things to their qualities, of concrete existence to abstract concepts, and of the world of sense to the world of Platonic ideality.

The work of Bertrand Russell began with the completion of Peano’s system by the addition of a correspondingly symbolized logic of relations, and advanced, by the independent discovery of many of Frege’s subtle distinctions as well as by unanticipated discoveries, to a very satisfactory combination and development of the results of Frege in logic, Georg Cantor’s results in the theory of transfinite numbers, and Peano’s symbolism. The more philosophical discussion formed the subject of The Principles of Mathematics (vol. i. Cambridge, 1903), and a detailed symbolical exposition of the theory of A. N. Whitehead and B. Russell was given in Principia Mathematica (3 vols., Cambridge, 1910–13).

The philosophical bearing of modern logical work has been particularly emphasized by Russell. Broadly speaking, proper names stand for particulars, while other substantives, adjectives, propositions, and verbs stand for universals. Pronouns and some adverbs stand for particulars, but are ambiguous. Only those universals which are named by adjectives or substantives have been much or often recognized by philosophers, while those named by verbs and prepositions have

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1 Russell, Monist, xxiv, 925.
2[i.e., pair]
3 Russell, Monist, xvi, 85.
5 "The Relation of Sense-Data to Physics," Scientia, xvi. (1914) 188.
8 "The Relation of Sense-Data to Physics," Scientia, xvi. (1914) 188.
11 "The Relation of Sense-Data to Physics," Scientia, xvi. (1914) 188.
14 Quoted in de Morgan’s Syllogisms, p. 27.
16 Our Knowledge of the External World, p. 41.
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usually been overlooked. Speaking generally, adjectives and common nouns express qualities or properties of single things, whereas prepositions and verbs tend to express relations between two or more things. Thus the neglect of prepositions and verbs, which is due to the fact that, in practical life, we dwell only upon those words in a sentence which stand for particulars, led to the belief that they could be reduced to mere relations between two or more things. Hence it was supposed that ultimately there can be no such entities as relations, and this leads either to the monism of Spinoza (q.v.) and Bradley or to the monadism of Leibniz (q.v.). The belief just referred to gives rise to redactions of much the same kind as the one of Hamilton and de Morgan mentioned above.

It seems that most philosophers have been less anxious to understand the world of science and daily life than to convict it of unreality in the interests of a super-sensible 'real' world either revealed to mystical insight or consisting of unchanging entities. We find ourselves attributing such things as Parmenides, Plato, Spinoza, Hegel, and this is at the bottom of the idealist tradition in philosophy. However, it is not true that all relations can be reduced to properties of supre-sensible forms. Here we may refer to § 2 above and to Principes, p. viii; cf. p. 448.

Another of the grounds on which the reality of the sensible world has been questioned by philosophers is the supposed impossibility of infinity and the denial of the possibility of a world which assumes infinity and continuity is much easier and more natural, but from the time of Zeno, whose paradoxes were invented to support indirectly the doctrine of Parmenides, the supposed contradictions of infinity have played a great part in philosophical speculation. Some of the problems of infinity were well treated by Bernard Bolzano; but it was the mathematician, Georg Cantor, who, about 1882, first practically solved the difficulties. In fact, it is not essential to the existence of a collection, or even to knowledge and reasoning concerning it, that we should be able to pass its terms in review one by one; but infinite collections may be known by their characteristics although they cannot be explicitly conceived. Such collections can be given all at once by their defining concepts. Thus, an unending series may form a whole, and there may be new terms beyond the whole of it. Because of the fact that infinite collections are not self-contradictory, the reasons for regarding space and time as unreal have become inoperative, and one of the great sources of metaphysical constructions is dried up. 

LITERATURE.—See the works quoted throughout the article.

PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

REALITY.—The words 'real' and 'reality' are used in a variety of different senses; it is therefore impossible to give a single satisfactory definition of them. Moreover, in the most fundamental sense in which they are used they are indefinable. Their meaning is best made clear by considering certain correlative expressions in which they are commonly met (e.g., reality and appearance) and by discussing their relations to certain other notions with which they are very closely connected (e.g., existence).

1. Existence and reality.—In the ordinary philosophic use of reality it would seem that a distinction is drawn between it and existence; for some things which would be asserted to exist would be denied by the same philosopher to be real, and vice versa. If this is the case, then reality is denied to exist. The two words, therefore, cannot be reasonably regarded as having the same intension, and any one who says that their extension is identical is called upon to give some proof of his hypothesis. The most important distinction drawn by philosophers appears to be between things as real and as unreal, but it seems hardly possible to deny that they exist. When I see a colour or hear a sound, I am aware of something, and not of nothing. Also I am aware of something different in the two cases, and the difference seems to be between the objects of which I am aware, and not merely between my two awarenesses as mental acts.

Sounds and colours then may be said to exist, at any rate so long as any one is aware of them; but they are not real, and this is the same as denying something the absence of which is compatible with their existence in the above sense. The two words are not, however, used consistently, and it would perhaps be as much in accordance with usage to say that colours are real but do not exist. At any rate, this example shows that reality and existence differ in intension; and we shall see reasons for preferring to say that colours exist even though they be unreal rather than that they exist, though they do not exist.

The fact that reality and existence differ in intension can also be shown from another side. Many philosophers hold that such things as the number 3 are real; but hardly any one would say that 3 exists, though of course certain collection of three things may exist—e.g., the Estates of the Realm and the Persons of the Trinity. As a foundation for setting up a consistent terminology, we have the following two facts about the common use of words: (a) hardly any one would think it appropriate to say that such things as numbers exist, but many would say that they are real; and (b) there are two kinds of things which almost every one would agree to exist if they be real—physical objects and minds with their properties. Mind and physical objects may proceed to deal with the more doubtful cases of such objects as sounds and colours. We note that the two kinds of objects which are said without hesitation to exist if they be real are particular individuals; i.e., they are terms which can be subjects of propositions but not predicates. Minds and physical objects clearly stand in this position. Objects which are said to be real but are seldom naturally said to exist are universals, whether qualities or relations—i.e. terms which can be subjects of propositions but can also occupy other positions in them. The number 3 is an example; for we can say both that 3 is an odd number and that the Persons of the Trinity are three. We may therefore lay it down as a general rule that objects are most naturally said, not merely to be real, but also to exist, when they are real and have the logical character of particular individuals.

When a man says that he sees a colour, he means that he is aware of an extended coloured object and not merely of a quality. This coloured object—e.g., a flash of lightning—is a particular, and therefore, if real, exists. When we say that red exists, we mean two things: (1) that there are red objects, and (2) that these are particulars. The first part of our meaning corresponds to the
The primary sense at certain times (viz. when we were directly aware of them). But we know what we mean by 'God' and 'the complex universal' in the definition or description of what we mean by the word 'God'? We can see that, if there be an instance of the complex universal involved in the primary sense, it must be a particular; so that, if there be one, it must be real and existent.

We may now turn to those objects that commonly would be said to be real but not to exist. It would seem that every simple universal of which we are immediately aware must be real in the primary sense, and also (a) in a secondary sense which involves the already-mentioned secondary sense of existent as a special case. If we are directly aware of a universal, it is the object of a thought, and is clearly something real in the same sense in which a particular flash of light is real: when it is the object of our senses. It does not, however, exist in the primary sense, because it is not a particular. Again, to be aware of a simple universal, it is necessary to have been aware of some instance of it. Thus any simple universal that we are directly aware of must have instances. It must therefore exist in the mathematical sense. It need not, however, exist in the philosophical sense, because its instances may not be particulars; e.g., we are directly aware of the universal colour, but the instances of colour are red, yellow, etc., which are themselves universals. Thus it seems more natural to say that colours exist than that colour exists.

Nevertheless this is largely a matter of mere usage. We cannot become aware of a simple universal of a higher order unless we are aware of one of the next lower grade, and so on till we come to the lowest universals in the hierarchy—those whose instances are particulars. Thus, to become acquainted with colour, we need to become acquainted with colours; to become acquainted with colours, we need to be acquainted through our senses with particular coloured objects. So we may fairly say that every simple universal of which we are directly aware either exists in the secondary sense, or else there are instances of some universals that are instances of it and themselves exist in the secondary sense.

It follows that the only universals about the reality of which questions can reasonably be asked are either (1) those which are not directly cognized by us, but are described in terms that we understand, or (2) complex universals. The questions that can be asked about the reality of such universals are closely connected; e.g., it may reasonably be doubted whether any one is directly acquainted with the number twelve million and forty-nine. But we all know this number perfectly well under the description of 'the number which is represented in the decimal scale of notation by the figures 12 000 000.' We are acquainted with all the terms involved in this description and with the significance of their mode of combination in it. It is then open to ask: Is there really such a number? This question involves that we may be asked whether any number is dictated or incoherent in the description, as there would be if a number were described as that represented in the decimal scale by a bow and arrow. But (b) if the description be self-consistent and intelligible, it is not really in question whether the number is real and existent. If both these questions can be answered in the affirmative, the number will be said to be real in the primary sense. We can then go on to ask

It is clear that every immediate object of our senses both exists and is real in the primary meaning of these terms so long as we remain aware of the object. For it seems to be a synthetic a priori proposition that anything of which we can be directly aware by our senses is both real and particular; and what is real and particular exists in the primary sense, and must exist. In a secondary meaning of reality, such objects may be called unreal if they give rise instinctively to judgments asserting the continued existence of the same or similar objects when unperceived, whereas in fact nothing of the kind can be perceived. Questions as to the reality of any particular, whether it has its primary sense, can arise only if that particular be not an object of direct awareness. Thus we ask, Does God really exist? or, Are atoms real? The meaning of such questions is as follows: God and atoms are not the direct objects of our minds at any time; if they were, there could be no doubt of their existence and reality in the primary sense at certain times (viz. when we were directly aware of them). But we know what we mean by 'God' and 'the complex universal' in the definition or description of what we mean by the word 'God'? We can see that, if there be an instance of the complex universal involved in the primary sense, it must be a particular; so that, if there be one, it must be real and existent.

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the question: Is there any collection of particulars that has this number? If so, we can add that the number exists in the secondary philosophic sense in which existence can be predicated of universals.

Very similar questions arise over complex universals, e.g., a golden mountain. It would seem that complex universals which involve no internal incoherence must be real in the primary sense if their constituents be real. Thus the universal 'golden mountain' is real even though there are as a matter of fact no golden mountains. And if it should turn out that the universal has no instances, it will exist neither in the mathematical nor in the philosophic sense; if it has instances which are not particular—as, e.g., the complex universal 'perfect number'—it will exist in the mathematical but not in the philosophic sense. But very difficult questions arise as to the reality of complex universals which involve a contradiction or some other a priori incoherence—e.g., a 'round square.' Can we say that such universals are in any sense real?

This question has been discussed very fully and acutely by Meinong and his pupils. The following are arguments for supposing that such universals are in a sense real. These incoherent universals appear to be propositional, and, as such, are real. For instance, as such a proposition as 'A round square is round' and 'A round square is impossible,' the proposition is the object of an act of judgment, and, as such, is real. But the proposition is a complex, and, to understand it, its elements must also be the objects of acts of presentation. Hence the universal 'round square' must exist as a mental act, and it therefore cannot be nothing, and must have primary reality. It will be seen that the question discussed here is similar to that raised by Plato in the Sophist: In what sense, if any, can not-being be?

Meinong and his school have been led to the view that there is a most primitive form of being that applies to all objects about which assertions or denials can be made, whether they be internally coherent or not, and exist or not exist. It is the view that Meinong has put forward that existence is a property of what is true, and existence a species of reality. We may agree that anything that really or objectively exists is true in the primary sense, and we may call such things real for the purpose of Meinong's views, whether they be of a complex or a simple form. Meinong assumes that all mental acts concerned with propositions are founded on an act in which the proposition is before our minds as sense-data and universals are when we are directly aware of them. If so, propositions which we judge, whether they be true or false, have exactly the same links to primary reality as a red patch that we see or the quality of redness that we cognize. Yet it is very difficult to believe that every false proposition that any one has ever judged is real; whilst, if we reject the reality of false propositions, we can hardly save that of true ones.

The general means of meeting Meinong's difficulty depends on recognizing the fact that, in the language of his propositional forms which stand for propositions, the word or phrase that counts as grammatical subject cannot be regarded always as the proper name of the logical subject of the proposition. In the sentence 'Red is a colour' the grammatical subject 'red' is the proper name of the logical subject of the proposition, and therefore the universal red is real; but it does not follow that in the grammatically similar form of words, 'A round square is round,' the phrase 'a round square' is the name of anything. In fact two other possibilities remain open: (1) that the sentence 'A round square is round,' though it has the same verbal form as some sentences which do stand for propositions—e.g., 'A penny is round'—does not stand for any proposition, and (2) that the sentence does stand for some proposition, the proposition for which it stands can be analyzed into a combination of several in none of which a single object whose name is 'round square' appears as subject.

Both these alternatives may be used for dealing with the reality of round squares. In the first place, we may suggest that a sentence like 'A round square is round' seems to stand for a proposition only because of its similarity in grammatical form to certain sentences which do stand for genuinely genuine propositions. We may call these marks or bear the corresponding sounds, we do not think of any proposition whatever. And likewise, when we say that it is necessary that a round square should be round, we mean only that sentences in which the name of a part of the grammatical subject appears as the grammatical predicate stand for necessary propositions if they stand for propositions at all. On the other hand, the statement 'A round square is contradictory' itself does seem to stand for the proposition that there is a proposition about an object denoted by the phrase 'round square.' The proposition really is: 'If an object be round, it cannot be square, and conversely.' This proposition does not contain a complex term denoted by 'round square,' but asserts a relation of incompatibility between roundness and squareness. Hence its reality, truth, and intelligibility do not imply the reality of a complex universal 'round square.'

Before leaving this subject, a word must be said about the reality of objects that involve an a priori incompatibility, but in which the incompatibility is not obvious without proof as in the case of 'round' and 'square.' Does the phrase, 'an algebraical equation of the second degree one of whose roots is imaginary,' stand for a proposition for it involves a priori incompatibilities. But we must not say that sentences with this phrase as their grammatical subject as used by most people are in the same position as 'A round square is round.' This is because the same missing a priori incompatibility as these sentences may stand for propositions, though they cannot be about any object of which the phrase in question is the name.

3. Appearance and reality.—The question of the reality of propositions would lead us into problems connected with Bertrand Russell's theory of judgment and G. E. Moore's doctrine of real possibilities which would carry us too far afield. We will
therefore pass at once to the opposition between reality and appearance, with which is connected the doctrine that there are degrees of reality.

The simplest and most obvious case of this opposition is what is known as the contrast between sensible appearances and physical realities. A cup is believed to be round, yet from all points of view but those which lie in a line through the centre of the circle and at right angles to its plane it appears elliptical. But if we suppose that various points of view are called the 'sensible appearances' of the cup, and are contrasted with its real shape. It must be noticed that the opposition between sensible appearance and physical reality is not simply that between two facts, but that a tendency to use certain qualities of the one that belong only to the other.

The last point is of considerable importance with reference to the statement that Reality is a harmonious whole, and that appearances are contradictory because of their internal incoherence or contradiction. Reality is here used as a concrete substantive, and means the whole system of what really exists. But presumably it is also true that anything that is real, and therefore any part of Reality, must be internally coherent. Now, sensible appearances are real, as we have tried to show; hence they must be internally consistent. There is no internal inconsistency in a red elliptical patch seen by any one, and the person who calls this an appearance does not do so because of any self-contradiction, if any, there is about it. The incoherence arises when the elliptical red patch is taken to be identical with some other part of Reality (e.g., a colourless circle) whose qualities are incompatible with its own. The elliptical red patch is 'real,' but the colourless circle may very well be real; the former is called an appearance, and the latter a reality, because objects of the latter kind are of much greater practical interest and importance as obeying the laws of nature, and as involving the intimate relations between the two are liable to cause us to make the mistake of identifying the qualities of the two where they really differ. Reality—the whole system of all that exists—must include both the elliptical red patch and the colourless circle, if both be real; and their precise nature and relations are a matter for further philosophical investigation.

This seems obvious enough when we consider only the contrast between sensible appearance and physical reality, and that the eminent philosophers use the contrast in many cases where what they call the appearance is not an object of sense-perception. F. H. Bradley, e.g., argues that the self and goodness and relations are not objects of sense-perception, and that the self has incompatible characteristics. This is very different from the kind of false judgment connected with sensible appearances. (1) As we saw, no kind of false judgment need be made there, and if it be made and corrected, the sensible appearance continues to exist. (2) There is nothing self-contradictory in the predicate that is wrongly ascribed to physical reality through confusing it with sensible appearance. The judgment that is false is this: 'This cup is elliptical,' but because it is incompatible with the circularity that the physical cup is supposed to possess. On the other hand, if the self be an appearance in Bradley's sense, the assertion 'Socrates is a self' is false, because the predicate is self-contradictory;
it is like saying 'Socrates is both tall and short.'
The quality of being a self can be truly ascribed 
of nothing, while that of being epilcical can be 
true asserted at least of the sensible appearance.
There is thus a great difference between what is 
meant by calling the seen ellipse an appearance and 
calling the self an appearance.
When this difference is recognized, we see that, 
whilst it is obvious that sensible appearances are 
contaned in Reality, it is not at all obvious in 
what sense such appearances as the self can be con-
ained in it; for these would seem to be in the 
position of round squares. This brings us to the 
doctrine that there are degrees of reality. It is 
held that all appearances are internally incoherent, 
but that some are more coherent than others. As 
a corollary to this, it is maintained that no appear-
ance is as such contained in Reality; on the other 
hand, as Bradley puts it, 'appearances are trans-
mitted' in order to be contained in Reality, and 
the one-sidedness of one appearance cancels out 
with and is corrected by that of others. This 
doctrine seems to be closely connected with that 
others: (a) Reality as a whole being a harmonious 
system, it is assumed that, the more an appear-
ance needs to be modified and supplemented in 
in order to take its place in Reality, the less coherent 
and the more deviant in form it is, the lesser is its 
truth largely dependent on the view that all appearance 
is connected with the peculiar position of finite 
minds, which can know Reality only fragmentarily 
and from an individual angle; lastly (c) it is held 
that nothing of Reality can be correctly comprehended 
in abstraction from its relation to the rest of 
Reality. We may trace the development of this 
view in Spinoza's doctrine of the three kinds of 
knowledge and in the Hegelian dialectic to its 
corresponding Bradley's position.

It is clear that both (a) and (c) are needed if it is 
to be assumed that Reality is the only harmonious 
system. And this is assumed; for very often 
something is condemned as appearance, not so 
much because of any internal incoherence that can 
be directly detected in it as because it obviously 
cannot be predicated of Reality as a whole. It is 
possibility to give a fair and adequate criticism of 
suffice and elaborate a doctrine here. But the 
four points mentioned above are now considered.

(1) Either Reality can be correctly regarded as 
possessing parts or not. If so, it would seem that 
there must be some propositions that are true 
about the parts and not about the whole (e.g., that 
they are parts). And again, if the parts be real, 
they must be as internally harmonious as the 
whole. It may be perfectly true that what we 
take as one self-substantial differentiation of Reality 
is often neither one nor self-substantial, but a mere 
fragment whose limits do not correspond with 
those of any single differentiation (cf. here 
Spinoza's distinction between the hierarchy of 
infinite and eternal modes and the finite modes, 
and his closely connected theory of error). But 
even Reality has something and has a nature 
of its own, and perfectly true propositions must be 
possible about it. We may of course make 
erroneous judgments if we ignore the fact that it 
is a fragment, and if we make assertions about 
its parts which are based on its relations to what is 
outside it. But we do not have the absolute 
right to make assertions about what we are talking about is not the whole; 
e.g., when we say that Socrates is a self, we are 
perfectly aware that Socrates is only a part of 
reality, and that our statement may be false of 
the whole and true of the parts only. Such assertions about a fragment must depend for their 
truth on what is outside the fragment (cf. here Spinoza's 
doctrine of the function of the notiones communes 
in passing from imaginative to rational knowledge).

If, on the other hand, we suppose that Reality 
cannot be correctly regarded as having parts, the 
question arises: What precisely is it that is called 
an appearance, and what precisely is supposed to 
be 'transmitted and supplemented' in Reality? 
Something must be transmitted and supplemented; 
it cannot be Reality as a whole; what can it be 
unless Reality has real parts? Bradley has seen 
these difficulties perhaps more clearly than any 
other philosopher of his general way of thinking; 
but it is hard to believe that his doctrine that 
Reality is a supra-relational unity, and that all 
predication involves falsification is a satisfactory 
solution. Indeed, it perhaps comes to little more 
than a re-statement of the theological position that 
the nature of God can be described only in negative 
terms which at least ward off error.

(2) Sensible appearances, which, as we have 
seen, differ in important respects from others, are 
also held to exhibit what may be called degrees 
of reality in a special sense. As we know, these 
realities are called appearances and unreal only 
with respect to their relations to a supposed 
physical reality about which they are held to be 
an indispensable source of information. Yet, 
who that deny the physical reality of secondary 
qualities would be inclined to say that the colours 
and the shapes are in reality, if not another 
and that are seen at the same time, and more real 
than the colours and shapes seen in dreams, delirium, 
or illusions. We may usefullo compare here Kant's 
distinction between Schein, Erscheinung, and Ding-
aus-Sich in his example about the rainbow to that 
between the colours and shapes of dreams, the 
realities of wakening life, and the qualities of physical 
objects (it is not of course suggested that Kant had 
in mind precisely the distinctions which we are now 
considering). But the four points mentioned above are now considered.

As far as can be seen, the ascription of degrees 
of reality to sensible appearances simply depends 
on how intimately their qualities are supposed to 
be connected with those of a corresponding physical 
reality. To a man who takes the position of 
Locke and of most natural scientists the elliptical 
shapes seen in waking life (to revert to our old 
example) are the most real of appearances, because 
the corresponding physical reality actually has a 
shape, and we may suppose that in a world where 
the one be in any way connected by simple laws with 
that of the appearance. The colours seen in waking life are less real 
appearances because it is not believed that any 
physical object has colour, though it is held that the 
colour seen is correlated with the internal structure 
of the corresponding object. And the shapes and 
colours of dreams or hallucinations are held to 
have the lowest degree of reality, because, while it 
is admitted that they are correlated with distinc-
tions that exist somewhere in the physical world, it 
is held that these distinctions exist in the brain or 
in the medium rather than in any object that can 
be regarded as specially corresponding to the 
appearance in the way in which the round physical 
cup corresponds to the elliptical visual appearance 
seen in waking life.

4. Ethical sense of the term.—It remains to 
otice one more use of the words 'real' and 'reality.' 
They are sometimes used in an ethical sense to 
stand for what ought to be as distinct from what 
It would be interesting to discuss the two senses 
both more generally and by the various authors. Often we contrast real and ideal, and say that 
what actually exists is real, whilst what ought to exist 
but does not is ideal. Yet some ethical 
writers use the word 'real' for 'ideal,' and others use the word 'ideal' for 'real.' It often?
that ought to be as contrasted with that which 
now is. This use of terms is generally connected 
with metaphysical theories of ethics such as 
Kant's or Green's, which hold that the self that 

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ought to be really exists and has a higher degree of reality than what would commonly be called the self as it really is.

**REALITY** (Buddhist)

This trend in Buddhist teaching was not due to the absence of theories concerning the nature of being in the early days of Buddhism. There were views maintained very similar both to that of the Parmenides and to that of Anuruddha. The universe was a plenum of fixed, permanent existents; and to the other extreme as maintained by Gargas and other Sophists—that 'nothing is'. These Indian views, probably antedating those of Parmenides, were set forth to the Buddha by his 'middle theory' of conditioned or causal becoming. His brief discourse is given in the Sutta of the Sanguttavaka, and is cited by a disciple in another Sutta nearly adjacent to that containing the similes referred to above. And we hear no more of the extremist views till we come to the book purporting to be the latest in the canon—the Kathavatthu. There among the first, presumably the earliest compiled, arguments of the work we find that the positive theory—'everything exists' (i.e. continues to exist)—so far from being generally rejected among Buddhists, was maintained by a school which attained to great eminence not only in North India, especially in Kashmir, but also in Eastern India, especially in the south-eastern islands—the school of Sarvastivādins (q.v.; Pali, Sabbpavādins), or 'All-believers'.

The attitude taken up in the Theravāda, or mother-church, towards what might now be called reality, developed along a different line. This confronts us in the very first line of the Kathavatthu: 'Is the person (self or soul) known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact?' In other words (as is rightly supposed) in the process of the long series of arguments, does the term 'person,' conventionally used as a convenient label for the composite phenomenon of a living human being, correspond to any irreducible and permanent entity, non-meno, ego, soul, immanent in that phenomenon? This distinction between the current names in conventional usage and the real nature 'behind,' or 'above,' what is designated by them is anticipated already in the earlier books of discourses and dialogues ascribed to the Buddha. A man's personal sense of selfhood as being real, or a fact (sacca) to him at any given moment, albeit the word expressing that personality is but a popular label, and is not paralleled by any equally fixed entity in man. But, in the inquiry which the problem of philosophical thought is posed to the world, in a lute in a lute, to a lute in a lute, and to conjuring directly. The world is compared to a bank of bubbles: one bubble is not meant to convey the lower denacter Indian Buddhist and Vedāntist sense of the ontological unreality of the objects and impressions of sense. The similes convey on the hand a repudiation of the distinction between the substantial and the phenomenal substance or soul, and on the other a depression of any genuine satisfying value in the spiritual life to be found in either 'the pride of life' or 'the lust of the world.'

1. Therigāthi, 206.
2. Dh. 394.
3. Sāyuttīya, iii. 141.
of this aspect of reality for Buddhists is visible in the writings of Ledi Mahāthāra.1

In his discussion of the terms paramattha and aseva S. Z. Aung quotes medieval philosophical works, which are practically at one in interpreting paramattha as meaning either a sense datum or a thing per se (abhāva) which is veritably exist-
tent to the extent of irreversibility or inaffability. Such ultimately real things, referred to by Anuruddha in a ‘fourfold category’ may also be distinguished under two heads — as unconditional and condition-
dered. Under the former head, meaning ‘whatever is not causally related to anything else,’ Buddhist philosophy refers its metaphysical conception of nibbāna (nirvāṇa), i.e. its hypo-
thetical state which is not life, in that there is no birth or death, the essentials of life. Under the conditioned are comprised all the elements (not the compound phenomena) of matter and mind. In the former the elements, abstractions from earth, water, fire, air, are, respectively, that which extends itself, coheres, burns, moves. Mind is ultimately conceived as consciousness plus a number of what the present writer has called mental co-
efficients (Pāṭ, cetoska-dhammā, ‘mentals’), such as feeling, perception, understanding. All these conditioned elements, though ultimately real, are in a perpetual state of change, i.e. of genesis and cessation, wherein there is always a causal series, one momentary state arising because of its prede-
cessor and transforming itself into its successor. Nothing is causal or fortuitous. All is in a state of causally determined becoming. In the ultimate constituents of conditioned things, physical and mental, Buddhism has never held that the real is necessarily real in a word, goes beyond the inarticulate. Writing of this anticipa-
tion, Bertrand Russell is now asking modern philosophy to concede no less.2

LITERATURE.—See works referred to in the article.

C. A. F. RHY'S DAVIDS.

REAL PRESENCE.—See Eucharist.

REASON.—I. Definition.—In the most generalized sense, all reason might be defined as the relational element in intelligence, in distinction from logical and emotional.

Such a definition could justify itself by etymology: both λόγος and ratio, from which the word as a philosophical term descends historically, have sometimes the meaning simply of ‘relation.’ This is the case, e.g., in the use of the word logismos, λόγισμος, in the New Testament. We must seek for something more limited.

At the beginning of the search we are met by an ambiguity. Man is defined as the ‘rational animal’; yet the ‘reason of animals,’ at a level below the human, is currently spoken of. The explanation of this ambiguity will point out the definition which we require.

It is true that the lower animals have ‘reason,’ as well as ‘instinct’ (which may be defined as the direction, physiical as well as physical, of actions to ends, without knowledge of their purpose). Sensational emotion, in the sense that they, in varying degrees, direct their actions intelligently to desired ends; but not even the animals nearest to man have the power of thinking in general terms, expressed in language. Man has this; and, in the traditional definition of man, it is this that is distinguished by the name of ‘reason.’ The subject may thus be dealt with either psychologically or epistemologically,—i.e., ways may be considered the origin and growth of con-
ceptual thought; or we may consider it as actually exercised in the discovery of true propositions.


Psychologically it has been dealt with under the head of INTELLECT. In the present article we shall consider reason, not further in relation to the classification of the mental powers, and not primarily in the technical sense, but rather in relation to the philosophical discussions on the validity of scientific knowledge, of moral precepts, and of metaphysical beliefs.

2. The term in Greek philosophy.—(a) The pre-
Socratics.—Reason, of course, was used by man long before the use of it was reflected on, and long before it was appealed to as the ground of knowledge or belief. When it is thus appealed to, it comes to be set, along with experience, in antithesis to passively accepted custom or tradi-
tion; and the reason, more precisely, in antithesis to the particular facts known, as dis-
tinguished from the form and the generality of knowledge. The last stage was reached in the early philosophy of Greece—not at the very begin-
ning, but as early as Heraclitus and Parmenides. For the earlier period of the Hellenic world, as for the pre-
Hellenic world generally, the vague Homeric use of such words as νόος, φήσις, πράξης, in which reason is not clearly distinguished from sense, or the mental content of the organic procedure which goes with it physiologically, may be taken as characteristic. Something of this vagueness indeed always remains in literary and even in philo-
osophical usage;1 but there comes a time when language enables us to distinguish if we choose. The time when generalizing thought was con-
sciously recognized, in distinction from the sense or experience in which it is immersed, arrived when the deductive science of mathematics had begun as a distinct and original procedure, marking a step beyond the accumulation of ob-
servations and empirical formulae in the science of the ancient East. It was this, though perhaps neither thinker was fully aware of the source of his thought, that caused Heraclitus and Parmenides to begin the series of articulate statements of a philosophical criterion. Earlier thinkers had already started the series of doctrines, but with-
out a definite test of truth.

The balance, as a necessary consequence of the new departure in which the inquiry had its source, inclines at first to reason in its distinctive meaning as against the later-formulated criterion of experi-
ence. Heraclitus, indeed, appeals also to experi-
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ence. Heraclitus, indeed, appeals also to experi-
ence, but his criterion is a vague and vague.134

This, however, is still vague philosophically. Par-
menides is more precise, and in his affirmation that reason is the criterion he is more exclusive: we are to ‘judge by argument’ (κρίνων λόγον [frag. 1. 30]). Anaxagoras returns to a kind of balance, making for a distinction between rational consideration (λόγος) and by experience (τρέχον), of course, of the fragment translated less determinately by Burnet:

So that we cannot know the number of the things that are

1 See Burnet, Early Greek Philosophy, p. 147, n. 2.

2 The meaning of λόγος in Heraclitus is still disputed; but, when most approximate to reason, it seems to mean a rational law of things and of the mind rather than a test applied by the mind to its knowledge of things (see art. Logos).
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separated off, either in word or deed. And the atomists declared opinion (δόξα), not properly scientific because not dialectical or mathematical, which deals with more or less conjectural methods with the phenomena presented to sense-perception. On the dialectical side, what had been partially formulated by Plato was definitively formulated by Aristotle, who stated the axioms since known as the "laws of though," and made them the basis of his codified formal logic. Aristotle, on another side of his mind, was much more of a naturalistic inquirer into human nature; but, in his general view of the test or tests of truth, he remains faithful to the principles of his master. 

(c) Epicureans and Stoics.—The next period of Greek thought, occupied as it was with the effort to fill the void left by the loss of the old religious framework, was the cosmopolitan world for which the bond of the city-State had become a waning tradition, brought on the search for a more tangible reality than that of the metaphysics in which the Platonic and Aristotelian dialectics for their own completion. To arrive at some external reality in the most expeditious way was the theoretical problem. Then, without useless lingering over this, the philosophic learner could go on to the essential thing, which was practice. The great positive school of this period, the Epicureans and the Stoics (p. v.), while differing much in detail, solved this problem fundamentally in the same way. Going back to the earlier thinkers, they developed more consistently the naturalistic side of their doctrine. The rude rudiments could be found in them of theories which, in the explanation of mind, preceded from the physiological organs and made the senses psychologically fundamental. From these rudiments the new schools, with the long dialectical development of the intervening period behind them, worked out in considerable detail what we may call an experiential theory of knowledge. Not rational argument as such was the criterion, but a certain mode of experience. Epicurus, while taking for his ultimate account of reality the atomism of Democritus (with changes that were scientifically for the worse), completely inverted the position of Democritus with regard to the senses. For Epicurus, the sense-perception is primary; he defines it as "clear consciousness" and thus actively as they appear. This is formally stated by Sextus Empiricus, who was our authority for the precisely opposite affirmation of Democritus. Epicurus, he says, affirms that sense-perception is trustworthy in its hold of reality throughout. The part of λόγος in the Stoic system, like that of αύτος for Anaxagoras, is ontological. In one of its meanings λόγος is the law that runs through the world; but reason as the procedure of the mind in dealing with the general is not for the Stoic theory of knowledge the ultimate test of truth. The ultimate test for the Stoics, as for the Epicureans, is experience. 

(d) Sceptics.—The opposition that this doctrine had to meet came from the sceptics, especially those of the New Academy. That the most reasoned scepticism should have proceeded from the Academy (q. v.) reveals its essential nature. For a time the attempt to build a positive system from the points of view developed in Plato's Dialogues was abandoned, and his school threw itself into negative criticism. A system of confident dogmatism like that of the Stoics provided it with material exactly to the purpose. Carneades seems to have been the one to whom is known to give a true account by the sense of possession that goes with it and the absence of any opposing presentation. As Sextus puts it, λόγος καὶ τὴν ἀληθίνην τὴν κατολικὴν ἐπιστήμην μὴ μόνον ἐν τούτω ἀληθίνῳ εἴπερν τοῦ καπνίδε, ἀλλά καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐχθρίπτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐφιάλτος ἢ Ἴλιον ἠτακνόρα ἤ ἀνθρώποιν ἐκ τοῦ ἔγχρωμα. The part of λόγος in the Stoic system, like that of αύτος for Anaxagoras, is ontological. In one of its meanings λόγος is the law that runs through the world; but reason as the procedure of the mind in dealing with the general is not for the Stoic theory of knowledge the ultimate test of truth. The ultimate test for the Stoics, as for the Epicureans, is experience. 

1 See Republic, end of bk. vi., for an exact account.
which, arising independently, at length absorbed the Academy.

c. Neo-Platonists.—With a positive, and no less
constructive, aim, Platonius revived the
Platonic idealism, bringing into it more system
through the study of Aristotle, and turning it
against the Stoic materialism (see art. Neo-
Platonism). Even sense-perception, he
allowed, is inexplicable from the basis of mere
physiology; but, for the test of truth, he
turned away from sense and insisted on reason as that
which judges. Mysticism, though a distinctive
feature of his thought, does not furnish the
clue. For the mystic experience, being a
state beyond knowledge, seizing upon that which is
beyond mind, cannot be explained to one who has
not had it. The reasoned system points to it,
but does not include it as part of a completely
rational process; it is	tertio, a standing out of
system. The system itself consists of demonstra-
tions, and its criterion is reason. Thus, after
a long and fluctuating process, thought had
returned to the dialectic and logic of Plato and
Aristotle as offering the soundest principles of
knowledge yet discovered.

This was, however, more clearly brought out by
Proclus (A.D. 410-485) two centuries after Platonius
(394-270). For Platonius the ideal is reason, as
in the sphere of the abstract, reasoning against
the highest order of knowledge. Proclus does
not reject this, as he does not reject the more
distinctively mystical experience beyond it; but for
the definitive test of truth he selects a more generally
applicable, and at the same time more
rational approach (νοηματικα) which may
be useful in relation to different kinds of
subject-matter are many; but the soul is a unity
as well as a multiplicity; and there must be some
universal criterion for every soul. This he finds
to be neither pure intellect (νοημα) at one extreme
nor sense-perception (αισθητικα) at the other, but
discursive reason (λογικα). Here is the process
of explicit formulation by which the higher is
mediated to the lower and the lower to the higher.
The mind may start from the glimpses of intuitive
reason and rise to the more complex, as rational
processes; and thus the individual mind
progresses from the particular to the universal. But
the system of knowledge, it must be established
by a process of argument. The circumspicution
which he ascribes to Plato in assigning their proper
places to the various philosophical schools has
certainly to be found in the passage where he
gives this guarded expression to philosophical
rationalism:

ειλοιον της κριτικης ουσιως ηττων —οι δρας που τη θεωρηματικη
κριτικη επιθυμον — τη βοηθων ουσια και παθησιν, το κατοικον
ειν οντο απο τον το σοικο, και κατοικον τη εκδοσιαν και
καταδικην της ένδυσεν; διεκ δε οντο επιθυμον παθησιν

As first matter, or mere possibility, below the
limit of true knowledge, is seized by a kind of
bodily reasoning (νοον λεγειμαι in Plato's phrase),
so the One, at the other extreme above knowledge,
is seized by a kind of bodily intuition (νοον νοον).
Thus every text finally has a certain resemblance
in the model test of explicit reason. If the other
tests are to be regarded as having their own
validity, it must be shown by argument how they
can have it; though argument, of course, cannot
enable us to dispense with direct perceptions
whether of intellect or of sense.

Reason in its process may be called in the
philosophical sense 'rationalism' remained
finally supreme.

2. Medieval and modern use.—(a) Scholasticism.

—in the medieval schools rationalism (q.v.) be-
came a dominant influence. In this passage cited
above from Proclus might have been taken by
the Schoolmen of Western Christendom,
without its qualifications, as a text to prove the
exclusive value of their characteristic activity. It
was long after Proclus, and long after the suppres-
sion of the order of the Dominicans, that the
name of rationalism was lost to the liberal
thought that had the revival of philosophical
thought began in the West; but, when it came, it
gave evidence of continuity with the latest thought
of antiquity. Its first great movement was an
immense development of discriptive reasoning.
Precisely because the Middle Ages had lost the
freedom with which in classical antiquity ultimate
beliefs could be discussed, there was such an
discovery of formal method as had never been
known before. The value of this must not be
underrated. In a sentence from W. Hamilton's
Discussions in Philosophy which Mill prefixed to
the first book of his Logic it is put thus:
'To the schoolmen the vulgar languages are principally
indelible for what precision and analytic subtlety they possess.'

Croom Robertson says:

'All the world has heard of scholasticism as an oppressive
system of pseudo-inquiry, degenerating in a struggle of
reasoning to, and for, the revulsion of rationalism struggling to be' ('The English Mind,' Philo-


The reverse side of the case remains, of course,
that this rationalism was very limited. The
Schoolmen made a fine art of formal reasoning;
but the habit of accepting traditional authority
for facts and data was so fixed that the attempt
to break away from it, though a common
idea, was carried out in a sporadic way.
To get out of the circle of things taken for granted or assumed
discretely, a revolt against the School-philosophy
itself became necessary. The controversy about
the reality and abstracts was mainly ontological.
By their contention that only particulars are real,
and that the genus or species is only a name
indicating resemblance between the members of a
class, the nominalists might seem nearer to modern
empiricism than the realists, for whom class
definitions indicated a reality like that of the Platonic
ideas; but the methods of both were equally
dialectical. An aid to the imagination in forming a
notion of the time that it took new views about
method to emerge is to remember that there is a
long period between the time when Francis
Bacon go to experience and those of Francis
Bacon, than between the publication of the Novum
Ordoenum (1620) and the present date.

Roger Bacon is an isolated figure in the greatest
period of the School-philosophy. Another
great English thinker, William of Ockham, in
the next century, promoted by his dialectic the
disintegration of the imposing dogmatism of St.
Thomas Aquinas (q.v.) and John Duns Scotus (see
art. Scholasticism). Then came the beginnings
of the new movement of humanism (q.v.),
taking the form at first of a more literary interest in the
Latin classics. After the revival, in the 16th cent.,
of direct knowledge of Greek thought in its original
sources, followed by the setting up, in the 16th,
of older types of thinking, in conscious rivalry with
the whole medieval scheme of theology and phil-
osophy, the movement against Scholasticism took
a more systematic new departure.

(b) Experientialism and rationalism.—This,
in the 17th cent., expressed itself in the effort
to establish once for all the right 'method' of seeking
truth. The new aspiration for firm knowledge,
instead of barren disputes about insoluble ques-
tions, culminated in the time of the 17th cent.
reforms of Bacon and Descartes (qq.v.).
Bacon not only clothed in the most impressive
language the appeal to experience as the test by which every
claim to possess real knowledge must be verified,
but also gave an actual theory of induction, no longer unsystematic,
but rising by stages from particulars to generals, as
deduction descends from generals to particulars.
Descartes, himself a discoverer in geometry, set against the sterile formalism of medieval logic, which even in its best only that had been implicitly asserted, the real deduction of new truth in the mathematical sciences. This began the two great movements of philosophy known as English experientialism and Continental rationalism, but it is important to note that these were not so definitely rival as they had become later when Kant turned his critical thought on both at once. The great Continental rationalists, Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz (qq.v.), all took occasion in the way of the departure of the English in their appeal to experience. In all the English thinkers, on the other side, unreduced elements from the rationalism of ancient science and of the Scholastic tradition remain over. It would be easy to show this in the case of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, and Berkeley (qq.v.). And Hume (q.v.), who carried farthest the effort to resolve all ‘principles of reason’ into derivatives of pure experience, treated his results not as ‘dogmatic’ but as ‘sceptical’, i.e. as suggesting problems for reconsideration; finally abandoning his first elaborate attempt to explain mathematics as an essentially empirical science. By Kant (q.v.), while the opposition with him arrived at the most explicit statement, the theory of reason as experience! The constituents of truth was most systematically attempted. Reason, according to Kant, does not merely enable us to arrive at ‘analytical’ judgments implied in what has been already said, but, in the very process of itself, yields genuine new truths in the form of ‘synthetic judgments a priori.’ Yet, while these are not given in mere experience, they have no valid application beyond all possible experience. All true science consists in carrying reason into the construction of nature so as to make it intelligible to thought. Even those highest principles that seem to go beyond this have value only as furnishing an ideal that the actually working system of science may try to approach and so gradually perfect itself.

(c) The Kantian rejection and the revival of experientialism.—If we were to stop here, it might seem that now, as at the end of ancient thought, the supreme place, though with circumspect, was assigned to reason. Kant, however, did not, even for a moment entertain any determinable group of thinkers. The problem became on the one side to develop him, on the other side to answer him. Hegel (q.v.) has been thought to have carried philosophical rationalism to the highest point. By a new logic, the whole order of the universe, he seemed to promise, was to be shown forth as a manifestation of reason. Yet, curiously, his power appears most in a strong grasp of experience intermittently attained, but unmediated by any method fitted to carry general conviction. The next representatives of experientialism, in contrast, were men of pre-eminently deductive minds, whose strength was in reasoned exposition, and who, in the days of Scholasticism, might have been famous as irreproachable doctors. For the complex period at which we have arrived it is more true than ever, in the phrase borrowed by Hegel himself from Anaxagoras, that things are not ‘cut in two with a latchet.’

Descartes himself lented much to a clear issue for the thinkers just alluded to had they known Kant at first hand; but they knew him only indirectly or very imperfectly. Coutte, who, like Descartes and Leibniz among modern philosophers, was the first to bring out the original power, thought that he could explain even mathematics philosophically as based in generalizations from pure experience (see art. POSITIVISM). J. S. Mill (q.v.), who succeeded in founding a valid inductive logic by deducing the actual tests of experimental science from a general principle, the uniform formula, fall back, for the proof of this, on the weakest mode of induction,—viz. that ‘induction by simple enumeration’ which the Baconian canons and his own had been devised to supersede. And this, in both cases, without any acknowledgement of Kant’s arguments for the necessity of a priori principles in the sciences of nature as in mathematics. It is not surprising that, both in France and in England, the two countries where the experientialists took shape from Locke had been strongest, there was a strong reaction against movement, as some put it,—in the Kantian direction. For the whole of Europe, however, it must be said that the predominant movement in the 18th cent., through the influence on philosophy of the enormous new developments in the sciences of experiment and observation, was greatly to enlarge the place given to experience as compared with that which it held in antiquity, and to reduce the principles of reason which science finds that it cannot do without to an attenuated form. The elaborate apparatus of Kant was not adopted by men of science; and in Germany the movement which took for its watchword ‘Back to Kant’ signified a return to the experiential side of Kant against a new era of all the successors of his successors (see art. NEO-KANTISM).

There is, however, it has also become clear, an element in scientific knowledge not explainable as a resultant of accumulating experience. The most general principle of logic, which forms the foundation of inductive reasoning, of mathematical deduction, or of the natural and humanistic sciences, remains more than any historical linking of ideas that can have their validity proved or disproved by their applicability to certain subject-matters. They are not in end more ‘working hypotheses’. There is in reason, as Kant with all his over-elaboration proved, an a priori factor in virtue of which we distinguish it from pure experience.

4. A priori.—This term has been dealt with in a separate article, but calls for a brief discussion in relation to the present subject. Its source, as has been shown, was Aristotelian. Aristotle distinguished between that which is first in relation to us and that which is first by nature. In knowledge, the former is known first to us, the latter is known first in relation to us, i.e. in the order of generation; but, since, in his view as in Plato’s, the formal essence (ēidos), expressed in a concept, is the determining reality of everything, the ideal of knowledge for the philosophically trained mind is to begin with the general and proceed to particulars. Thus the syllogism, into which all formal reasoning can be thrown if we need expressly to test its validity, is first by nature and has more in it of true cognition; but induction, which is the procedure from particulars to generals (ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τῆς καθαύνος ἔδοξος), is more persuasive and carries plainer evidence to the ordinary mind. Quite fitly, therefore, the term a priori was adopted by Kant as the technical expression for reason in its purity, proceeding, whether theoretically or practically, as something necessarily general and not to be derived from experience conceived as a sum of unrelated particulars presented in time without order. From this term the expression has become a kind of shorthand, understood without reference to its historical origin or to any distinctive system. Those who use it do not imply that they are reasoning from a formal cause, but that they are reasoning in the Aristotelian sense as being the real essence; nor even that they regard their general principles as transcendent in the Kantian sense, i.e. as not derived from ex-

1 See Top. l. 12, 106b 13, and Anal. Pr. l. 23, 63b 29.
5. Reason in ethics.—Morality may be considered as practically determined either by the notion of an end of action, a final good, or by the notion of a law to which action ought to conform. In later work, Seneca, on both reason and experience must be allowed a part in deciding what actual conduct shall be. For Greek and Roman antiquity moral philosophy was based on the whole dominated by the idea of an end or good (Scientiae Regni). Aristotle (Politics, ix. 7, 1275 b 16) [Roman] thought that Greek and Roman philosophers were to be judged from the metaphysical point of view that they had inherited from Plato and his ancient or Scholastic successors. A new departure was taken by Kant when he insisted that the only generally valid form of ethical truth is the expression of the moral law, obligatory without relation to ends; and that moral obligation is rationally determined by itself without reference either to experience or to any metaphysical propositions about the nature of a reality beyond experience. Ultimate moral judgments, stating what ought to be done, are determined by 'pure practical reason,' as the ultimate types of assertion about what is or may be real are determined by 'pure speculative reason.' This mode of ethical thought has since been added to by and modified with most originality by C. Renonvqier (Science de la Morale, 2 vols., Paris, 1869) and by E. Juvault (Il Vecchio e il Nuovo Problema della Morale, Bologna, 1914). For further details on moral law, moral obligation.

6. Reason versus understanding.—An antithesis has had considerable importance historically is that which was set up by Kant's distinction between reason in an eminent sense (Verstand) and understanding (Verstand). Understanding relates one thing to another within experience, but does not go forward to the ideal completion of experience in a total system. Such an ideal completion is wrought by the reason, which rises above the bounds of the natural or experience. In that sense the Platonic theory of the soul as a permanent being (the metaphysical idea), the world as a totality (the cosmological idea), and of God as the necessary being who is the cause of the whole (the theological idea) is derived. Thus reason, it is argued, is not demonstrably demonstrable; but neither are they they are not demonstrably demonstrable; and we have the intellectual right to assert them as postulates of the moral life. For, while this, being abstracted, in independent, as a philosophical doctrine, it does not simply rest in itself, but claims that it shall find its fulfillment in a universe ordered in relation to its demands. By Kant's idealist successors in Germany the antithesis of reason and understanding was often turned to account—in defiance of Kant's aim at limiting the pretensions
of the speculative reason—to claim the warrant of a higher faculty for their own utterances, all detailed criticism being treated as an affair of the 'nomenclature of things.' Owing, perhaps, to this reason, this procedure became familiar through its use by Coleridge and his disciples to discredit attacks on tradition, political or religious. The reason saw in this a deep meaning, placing it at once beyond the vulgar hostility of crass rationalism and the arid defences of conventional conservatism, both alike bound within the limits of the inferior pedestrian faculty. In Germany Schopenhauer (q.v.) made an attempt to turn the tables by contending that the understanding is a thing, reason, as merely conceptual, being only the means of preserving consistency—e.g., to be reasonable (vernünftig) is not necessarily to be moral; it may mean only consistency in pursuing well-understood self-interest; true morality implies a sympathetic insight that is not merely rational. Understanding no doubt includes what is below, but it also includes what is above, the process of logically connecting concepts—at once the instincts and perceptions of animals and the perception or 'instincts of sense.' Thus the means that Schopenhauer described as 'the dissolution of the self' is, as he could say, a 'ratiocination in and out of the self,' a dissolution of the unity of the self on the part of the understanding, a dissolution which is, like all of his other terms, a distinction in itself, and a dissolution by recognition that in some respects courageous and deeper insight than Bentham. And Comte, while maintaining the claim of his philosophy to complete positivity, found that, because it was philosophy and not merely science, the supreme place in it belonged to certain 'vues d'ensemble.' The problem of a truly philosophical reform must be to make the 'esprit d'ensemble' predominant over the 'esprit de détail.' "Dispersive specialist," when uncontrolled, becomes an aberration of the human mind, relatively justifying that conservative reaction which at least maintains the synthesis of the past and therefore recognizes that in the light of these testimonies, cannot be dismissed as a mere verbal trick. The problem is to find the right terms. Thus only can we hope to set ourselves free at once from arrogance and from confusion. The right terms for the day are readily found in Milton, who puts into the mouth of Raphael the declaration that the soul's being is reason, 'discursive, or intuitive,' 'differing but in degree, of kind the same.' Those terms, taken no doubt from a Scholastic source, go back to Plato and Aristotle. Intuitive reason is the ρός of the Platonic theory of knowledge; discursive reason is the διδος. The former corresponds to the reason of Kantianism; the latter to the understanding. These terms, 'intuitive' and 'discursive,' have the advantage of accurately rendering, without arbitrary specialization of meaning, a difference that really exists and is plain when it is pointed out. No difficult introspection is needed to see that there is a total grasp, a 'synoptic' view of things, and that there is also procedure from point to point. But it must always be borne in mind that, if the former is higher, it is unavailable till it has been meditated by the latter. The ideal of philosophic presentation is achieved by those who, like Locke and Berkeley, incline in a balance.


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**REBELLION, REVOLUTION.**—Rebellion, in the sense of active resistance to established authority, is a phenomenon as old as political society; the doctrine that there is a right so to resist was proclaimed somewhat later, and after the Reformation it came into collision with the theory of divine right of kings. The question was settled to their own satisfaction by the champions of absolutism, but Locke asserts (Two Treatises of Government, London, 1690, bk. ii. § 90) that a monarchy such as they advocate, arbitrary and unlimited, is no form of civil government at all; and he shows that the question of a right of revolution is not so easily disposed of. Still popular judgment on the subject of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of insurrection is full of the ideas involved in the old theory of divine right (q.v.), that no fair conclusion can be formed without an examination of this theory, apart altogether from its political and historical importance.

All early government was monarchical, and the sovereignty of the ancient State was absolute. But this was not because of any belief in divine right, since on this and other kindred subjects men had not begun to hold theories at all; the reason was that they were not yet conscious of those rights as men and citizens which, by their very existence, limit the power of government. In more modern times, according to Bluntschli (Theory of the State, bk. vi. ch. viii.), among the Greeks and Germans, kings were regarded as being of divine extraction but not as being themselves gods or as superior to human laws. The Romans, again, chose their kings as a rule by election, and did not recognize a supernatural descent even for the kings of Rome by inheritance, although they acknowledged the right of the gods to direct the affairs of the State (ib. ch. ix.). It was in medieval times that it first became the custom to talk of a king as the viceroy or anointed representative of Christ on earth. As a rule of thumb, 'he is a king like Pepin regarded themselves as wearing their crown 'Dei gratia.' Such a claim as that of Louis XIV. to a monopoly in his own person of political rights could not find even outward justification except on the assumption that his power was divinely derived.

There is a sense in which this doctrine may be said to be based upon the teaching of the NT. It did not come from the Jews, whose chronicles show them to have been, as a nation, more rebellions than law-abiding, whose kings besides were in the strictest sense servants of Jehovah, subject in all their acts to the censorship of His prophets. Moreover, the God of the Hebrew people sometimes favoured insurrection, as we see in 2 K 18, whereas it is not supposed that the Lord was with Hezzen, the king of Judah, when 'he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not.'

On the other hand, the early Christian Church taught what amounted practically to a doctrine of absolute, and not even conditional, obedience and submission to the supreme power be,' says St. Paul, 'are ordained of God' (Ro 13). And again we find: 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto God.' The words were held, after the Reformation, to support the theory to which we have referred, that kings
RECAPITULATION (Biological).—The biological facts indicated by the terms, recapitulation, rudimentary organs, reversion, regression, regeneracy, rejuvenescence, and regression may be profitably discussed together.

1. Recapitulation.—All the higher organisms reveal in their development certain features which recall a distant ancestry. On each side of the neck of the embryo reptile, bird, and mammal there are branchial pouches comparable to those which have a respiratory function and may or do persist throughout life in fishes and amphibians. In reptiles, birds, and mammals these pouches are on the whole transient, like fleeting reminiscences. The first seems to persist as the eustachian tube, and the thymus gland is connected with another, but the rest pass away without persistent result. Similarly, the embryos of higher vertebrates show for a time a notochord—a primitive skeletal axis derived from the roof of the embryonic gut, and thus of endodermal origin. It persists throughout life in lancelets and lampreys, serving as the dorsal axis of the animal, as the forerunner of the backbone which, from fishes onward, develops from the notochord. The notochord does not become the backbone, though perhaps serving as a sort of tissue- scaffold for it, and every stage of the replacement of the one by the other is to be seen in fishes. Yet
2. Rudimentary organs.—The fact of recapitulation leads naturally to the occurrence of rudimentary or vestigial structures, which linger on in disused form long after they have ceased to be of use. Darwin compared them to the unsounded letters in some words, quite functionless, but telling us something of history. Some of the whales have deeply buried remnants of hip-girdle and hind-limb bones, not seen as such in the right oviduct; the skate has a minute remnant of a gill in its spiracle; man has a useless vestige of a third eyelid, occasionally with a supporting cartilage, and a large number of other historical relics of organs. In man, as in many other mammals, these definite structures which appear in the course of development in weak expression and disappear without leaving a trace. Thus the whale bone whale has two sets of tooth-rudiments which never cut the gum. But the list must not include those structures which, though not attaining their original expression or form, are diverted to some new line of development. Thus the spinnerets of spiders are morphologically equivalent to two or more independent appendages—much reduced when compared with the typical, but still there sense vestigial. The entaschiognathus tube, which leads from the tyrampanic cavity to the back of the mouth, is a transformed and persistent spiracle, but it should not be called a vestige. In fact, one of the great methods of organic change (p. 600) has been the invention of novel structures by the rehabilitation or transformation of what is really very old. The three-linked chain of ossicles which convey vibrations from the drum to the internal organ of hearing has taken on an entirely new form and has become the commonplace framework of the jaws. It is interesting to inquire whether there may not be vestigial functions and habits as well as vestigial organs and structure. Thus, according to Darwin, the dog that turns round and round on the heart before settling to sleep is making a comfortable bed in imaginary grass. Its needless activity is a vestigial survival of what its wild ancestors did to a purpose among the rough herbage. Similar interpretations may be given of "shyling" in horses and so on, but they must be considered critically.

When, because of some defect in nutrition or the like, there is an arrest of development, an organism may present an appearance which recalls that of the ancestral type. Thus the right whale, when its development, often due in mammals to some extrinsic cause affecting the mother. If, as the result of famine, war, over-work, poisoning, or other causes, infants are born markedly arrested in development, it would be justifiable to describe this as reversion. But it cannot be asserted that the offspring of these under-average individuals would in conditions of good nurture be under-average. Many reversionary conditions exhibited by individual organisms are due to modifications (indents), not to the action of new outcomes, and are not directly transmissible.

3. Reversion.—In the art, ATAVISM it has been pointed out that what may be described as a harking back to a more or less remote ancestor may not be due to the re-assertion or re-awakening of ancestral hereditary contributions which have lain for several generations latent or unexpressed, like dormant seeds in a garden. This must be emphasized, especially in the light of Mendelian experiment, for it seems probable that many domesticated races of animals (such as hornless cattle or tailless cats) have arisen by the dropping out of some item or items in the heritable complex of the wild species or its descendants. By taking advantage of the mysterious natural analysis or "unpacking" of the complex pelage of the wild rabbit, man has established many true-breeding colour-varieties or races of domestic rabbit. It may happen that a crossing of two of these races results in offspring resembling the wild wild rabbit. It is possible that this generation is the mysterious rehabilitation of a dormant "wild-rabbit character" but as a "re-packing" of what had been previously sifted out. This is the Mendelian interpretation of reversion, and it is corroborated by many experiments. On the other hand, the sudden appearance of stripes on the fore-quarters of a horse, or of a horned calf in a pure-bred hornless breed, may perhaps be due to the re-assertion of a particular "factor" which has lain latent for many generations.

4. Retrogression.—The term retrogression should be kept for cases where structures pass in the individual development from a higher to a lower grade of differentiation, or for cases where a similar reversal may be recognized, on presumptive evidence, in the development of the ascidian. It is a single-swimming creature, like a miniature tadpole, with a brain and a dorsal nerve cord, a brain-eye, and a notochord supporting the locomotor tail. In the course of the subsequent adaptation to life in the water, the nervous system is reduced to a single ganglion, the brain-eye disappears, and the tail is absorbed. As regards these structures the ascidian shows retrogression, though it must be clearly understood that the advanced organism is not the same as the larval organism than the larva. The respiratory pharynx, e.g., exhibits a high degree of differentiation. Individual retrogression is well illustrated in the life-history of many parasites. Thus the well-known Saccarinia, which is parasite in crabs,
starts in life as a free-swimming Nauplius-larva, with three pairs of appendages, a median eye, and a mouth opening, which gives the impression of the adaptation to parasitism. Similarly the thymus gland is relatively large in most young mammals, but undergoes regressive development as age increases, and this again suggests that regressive changes are influenced largely by any degeneration of the organism as a whole, but rather a re-adjustment to a changed mode of life. The gills of a tadpole exhibit regression and are entirely absorbed as the lung-breathing frog develops. But the frequency with which it is obviously on the structural plane than the tadpole. Regressive changes are sometimes exhibited seasonally, as in the swelling of the reproductive organs of birds after the breeding period; or at crises in the life-history, as in the extraordinary de-differentiation that occurs in the metamorphosis of insects; or after serious injuries when a process of dissolution and reduction often occurs before the reconstitution begins.

5. Regeneration.—Great interest attaches to the regenerative capacity exhibited by many animals and by most plants. It is exhibited in the repair of injuries, in the restoration of lost parts, and in the regrowth of a fragment into a whole. It is rarely exhibited in regard to internal organs by the removal of portions of the gills of a fish, they are removed along with a portion of the body as a whole; it is not common in relation to wounds that border on being fatal; it has a curious sporadic distribution among animals, and this, taken along with other considerations, points to its occurrence being adaptive. Weismann in particular sought to show that the regenerative capacity tends to occur in those animals, and in those parts of animals, which are, in the natural conditions of their life, peculiarly liable to a frequently recurring risk of injury, provided always that the part is of real value, and that the wound is not fatal. The facts of regeneration are very remarkable, such as a fragment of begonia-leaf or potato-tuber growing into an entire plant, a spoonful of minced sponge growing into an entire animal, one Hydra producing half a dozen when cut into pieces, a starfish arm forming a complete starfish, an earthworm growing a new head or a new tail, a lobster replacing a leg, a fish head growing a new head, a new lung in it forty times in succession, a newt’s eye making a new lens, a lizard regrowing a tail, and a stork repairing a great part of its jaw. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in the process of differentiation that goes on in normal development, the essential constituents of the inheritance are distributed throughout the body in all the cells though only a few of them are expressed in each cell. If we think of the inheritance as a bag of diverse seeds, and of the cells of the body as the thousand beds of a garden (some small beds in number that number), differing greatly in exposure or stimulation, we can imagine that, although each bed gets a representation of all the different kinds of seeds, only a few will develop in each case. Under proper conditions, it might be possible to awaken in a particular set of beds a full representation of all the seeds, and it is something like this that occurs in regeneration. In some tissues the re-awakening is easy, as in the case of the regenerative capacity of lower simple worms; in other cases it is impossible, as in the supremely differentiated nervous tissue of higher animals which cannot even replace its own worn-out elements. It is not difficult to understand that this is the reason why it is not possible, thus a lobster, instead of growing an eye for an eye, may grow an antenna instead, and an earthworm that has lost its head may re-grow an anterior tail. Particularly instructive, linking regenerative processes back to regeneration, are two facts: (1) the regenerative capacity of some animals is very different from those of embryonic development, and (2) the final result, as in the case of a lizard’s tail or an insect’s foot, may be of some what simpler pattern compared with the original— may indeed be a definite fact which is very surprising.

The wide-spread distribution of the regenerative capacity among organisms is to be thought of in connexion (a) with the continual occurrence of recuperative processes that tend towards making good the wear and tear of life, and (b) that regeneration is this in a more thoroughgoing fashion; (b) with the frequent occurrence of asexual modes of multiplication, for it is impossible to draw a firm line between the development of a piece thrown off in the spasm of capture and the development of a piece separated off by more spontaneous autotomy. Many a starfish habitually surrenders an arm when that is seized by an enemy; as the creature has not a single nerve-ganglion in its body, there can be no question of calling its self-surrender deliberate; yet this reflex autotomy expresses the fact that the creature has organically learned the lesson that it is better that one member should perish than that the whole life should be lost. But there is at least one starfish which separates off arms as a mode of multiplication, as others do to effect escape.

6. Rejuvenescence.—It has been already mentioned that the process of re-growing a lost part, or of restoring a whole from a fragment, is frequently preceded by de-differentiation—a retreat preparatory to an advance. Thus regeneration is linked back to regression. But another fact of great significance has rewarded C. M. Child’s prolonged study of Planarian worms: the process of reconstitution of a fragment separated off either naturally or artificially, or of a form greatly reduced by starvation, is preceded by a period of rejuvenescence. By rejuvenescence is here meant that the fragment or starving shows a higher rate of metabolism than when it was part of the intact organism or was untampered with by starving. The rate of metabolism is gauged by the output of carbon-dioxide (measured by Tashiro’s ‘biometer’) and by the change in susceptibility or resistance to poisons, such as mercuric chloride; such inhibitions of rejuvenescence are discovered in the sexual multiplication of hyroids and some other relatively simple animals, and it seems very probable that senescence and natural death may be in this way indefinitely staved off. On Child’s view the process of differentiation necessarily involves a retardation of the rate of life and a diminution of vigour, because of the establishment of complexities of structure in the colloidal substratum which forms the framework of the chemico-physical basis of life. This complexity, so fearful in its ability to work great efficiency, but it also increases mortality. The very simple organism has practically perfect processes of rejuvenescence; in forms like the freshwater polyp rejuvenescence is never far behind senescence and it is certainly not the case that it may be special periods for rejuvenescence; in all the higher animals even this possibility is much restricted and senescence is inevitable. It may be that one of the several reasons why sexual reproduction is so restricted in extent is because the method of reproduction (and has been added to it or kept along with it in cases, like Hydra, where it is far from being the main means of multiplication) is that it affords opportunity for re-organization or rejuvenescence at a very state of the individual life—thus lessening the risk of the organism being ‘born old.’

Looking backwards over the various processes
brieﬂy discussed in this article, we see the possi-
bility of pathological variation or modiﬁcation at
every turn. (1) The degree of development de-
pends in some measure on the fullness of appro-
priate nurture; the absence of certain stimuli in
the nurture may inhibit the full expression of
the inheritance. In man’s case we know that this
fortunately works both ways, for changes of
nurture may hinder the opening of undesirable as
well as promising buds. (2) The rehabilitation of
a long latent ancestral character may spell mischief;
its unintended existence may be a cause of the
anomalous phenomena of this sort. (3) Rudimentary organs
often show a considerable range of variability, and
a disturbance of balance may be caused by the
unequal prominence or activity of a structure which
is normally dwindling away. (4) It seems impor-
tant to recognize that a great part of what is called
disease (apart from microbiotic disease) may be
described as metabolic processes which are occur-
rising out of place and out of time. What may be
advantageous in one organism may be harmful in
another life may be fatal in another. The involution or
regression which besets the thyroid is normal,
but, if it besets the thymus, it is likely to be fatal.
The process which separates off the stag’s antlers
every summer is the nature of such involution, if
it occurred elsewhere. With what would in
other cases be a pathological product of the kidneys
the male stickleback weaves the sea-weed into
a nest. The capacity which is normalized in one
animal’s effective function may lead to a danger-
ous neophism in another.

7. Regression.— ’Regression’ is a term applied
by Galton and Pearson to the tendency exhibited
by the offspring of the extraordinary members of a
species to revert towards the mean of their
stock. It probably holds only in regard to blend-
ing characters, such as stature, and not in regard
to Mendelian characters. It works both ways,
levying a succession tax on the highly gifted and
on those unusually defective. The mean height of
the sons of a thousand fathers of 6 ft. will be 5 ft.
19 8 in., approaching the mean of the general
population; the mean height of the sons of a thousand
fathers of 5 ft. 6 in. will be 5 ft. 8 in., again
approaching the mean of the general population of
sons, and the mean height of the sons of a thousand
fathers of 4 ft. 8 in. will be 4 ft. 9 in., a figure that
the ancestry of any ordinary member of a
human community is always a fair sample of the
general population. Here again we have an illus-
ration of the past living on in the present, the
thread uniting the various subjects treated of in
this article.

See further artt. Age, Biology, Development,
Evolution, Heredity, Life and Death (Bio-
logical), Ontogeny and Phylogeny.

LITERATURE.—C. M. Child, Sensenauti~ and Rejuvenescence,
tr., London, 1911; E. Mechevski, The Proclamation of Life,
Eng. tr., London, 1919; C. S. Minot, The Problem of Age,
Growth and Death, doc. 1905; K. Pearson, The Grammar of
Sobriquetion, London, 1904; Max von der Haar, Hauptversta-
Prinzip im Werckel des organischi~en Geschehens, Leipzig, 1904;
J. Arthur Thomson, He~dity, London, 1915; A. Weismann,

RECEPTIVITY.— ’Receptivity’ is a technical
term used by Kant and those inﬂuenced by his
philosophy, and is used exclusively in our deﬁni-
tion styles of coupled. Kant always talked about
’receptivity of impressions,’ and uses this expres-
sion to describe the sensuous faculty of the human
mind. Sense is to him a mere faculty of receiving
passive impressions from without, and is not
of the same order as it; it is thus distinguished from
understanding, which is a faculty in virtue of which
the mind originates the concepts necessary for the
scientiﬁc activity of thought.

The notion of sense being a receptive faculty
is ultimately derived from the Aristotelian phi-
losophy. But the Aristotelian theory of the nature of
the sensuous faculty differs markedly from
the Kantian. According to Aristotle, sense is a
faculty, and the sense-organ is an instrument, by
which we apprehend the material character-
istics which, taken together, constitute the form
or knowable nature of material objects; but,
while receptive, sense is at the same time discrimi-
native, i.e., it is able to distinguish the different
sensuous qualities and to combine them (when
they are not antagonistic) in a single perception.
Hence, according to Aristotle, sense manifests the
characters both of receptivity and of spontaneity,
features which Kant wished to assign to diverse
faculties of the soul.

LITERATURE.—Kant, Critique of Pure Reason, tr. J. M. D.
Maclejohn, London, 1800, pt. i. ’Transcendental Aesthetic’ (at
beginning), pt. ii. ’Transcendental Logic’ (at beginning); E.

G. K. T. ROSS.

RECHABITES.—Although the very existence of
the Rechabites as a clan or community distinct
from, and yet at least to some extent incorporated in,
Judah would have been unsuspected save for the
narrative of Jer 35, it is with some assurance we
may say that the language there used that Rechabite characteristics
were well known at the end of the 7th cent. B.C.
It was maintained by Jeremiah (2nd—) perhaps not
altogether justly, insomuch as the prophet did not
make allowance for the Canaanite elements in
Israel—that his own nation had shown a ﬁtness
in religion the like of which could be seen in
no other people; and, by way of contrast, he
showed the loyalty of the Rechabites to ancestral custom.
Although the literal meaning of Jer 35 is perhaps
not to be pressed, the natural inference from this
statement is that the Rechabites were not very
numerous, since ’the whole house’ (by which
phrase we should naturally understand at least the
adult male members) were taken by Jeremiah into
the chambers of the Temple, and there, in response to an invitation to drink wine, the
Rechabites are represented as saying:

‘We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab
our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine;
either ye nor your sons shall ye build a vineyard, nor
take vineyard seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any;
but all your days ye shall dwell in your tents, as ye may do
in the place wherein ye sojourn. And we have obeyed the voice
of Jonadab the son of Rechab our father in all that he charged
us, to drink no wine nor build vineyards, nor take vineyard
seed, nor plant vineyard; but we have dwelt in tents, and have
obeyed, and done according to all that Jonadab our father
 commanded us.’

The ’Jonadab the son of Rechab’ here referred to
is evidently the same who is mentioned in 2
Kings 10 as a supporter of John in his attack on Baal
worship. From the fact that he is called by the
Rechabites ’our father’ it might be inferred that
he was either the founder of a sect or gild or the
eponymous ancestor of a clan. Such an inference
is, however, improbable, since Jonadab himself
is described (2 K 10) as ’son of Rechab’; it
seems better, therefore, to understand the word
’father,’ as in Jg 17, as used of a religious teacher
or law-giver. It is not improbable that it was in
the days of John that the primitive Decalogue setting
out the regulations for the ritual worship of Israel was drawn up (see art.
Israel), and at the same time Jehonadab may
have given to his own clan the rule of life which
thenceforth for more than two centuries they held
fast.

The term ’Rechabite’ has frequently been re-
garded as equivalent to ’teetotaller,’ but it is to
be noted that abstinance from wine was but part
of the rule which Jehonadab imposed upon his
people, the sum total of which was insistence on the continuity of a nomadic life and on the repudiation of all Canaanite civilization. Jere-
miah did not offer the Rechabites bread, which, with its Canaanite ancestry in occupation of the land, was perhaps scarcely to be obtained; but it may certainly be inferred from the Rechabites refusal to cultivate land and to sow seed that they also abstained from cereal food, living in nomadic fashion on milk. The intense interest of the episode lies in the fact that the Rechabites, having no concern with agriculture, could have had no share in the great agricultural feasts—the only feasts made obligatory in the older documents of the Pentateuch. In the tradition to which such feasts confidently appeal, sacrifice was unknown in ancient Israelite religion; and, although it may be urged that those few passages can have little weight against the vast mass of testimony both of the Pentateuch and of the historical books, the wonder is, when we consider the doctrines of the Zadokite religion and its influence on the Hebrew Scriptures, not that we possess so few passages in disnunciation of sacrifice, but rather that we possess any at all.

It is significant that the first prophet whose denunciation of sacrifice has come down to us is Amos, the sheepp-breeder of Tekoa, i.e. a man of their manner of life, though he lived in a permanent dwelling, may be supposed in many respects to have been more familiar to the nomad than to the agricultural life. Whether Amos, like the Rechabites, rejected wine is uncertain. He denounces the drinking of wine in the case of the Nazirites ($2^\text{a}$), and he certainly did not object to drinking wine in moderation at Bethel ($4^\text{a}$); but the more natural interpretation of such passages as $2^\text{d} 4^\text{b}$, $5^\text{a}$ is that he did not object to alcohol in itself; and the same is probably true of Hosea and the other pre-Exilic prophets.

But, although the Rechabites kept their nomadic customs down to the last days of the kingdom of Judah, yet even they, or at all events some of them, were finally compelled, at least to some extent, to abandon their ancestral rule; for in the days of Nehemiah ($3^\text{d}$) a Rechabite, Jelionadab, by the name, repaired a portion of the wall—a fact which implies that some members of the clan had adopted a fixed habitation. Doubtless in Israel proper the change from nomad to agricultural life was accomplished only gradually, and was more rapid in some clans than in others. Probably, as the prejudice against Canaanite civilization was gradually broken down, certain elements more definitely associated with Canaanite religion would still be recognized. In an unconsidered time. Thus Hosea, though he says that Jehovah has given the corn and the wine and the oil ($2^\text{d}$), regards raisin cakes ($3^\text{d}$) as an element of heathenism.

One thing, however, is certain: what was possible for the Rechabites was possible for other tribes also. The unity of the nation which later Hebrew writers ascribe to the period of the monarchy is not attested by the older documents. The genuine Israelites—i.e. the immigrant clans who subjected the Canaanites—brought in with them many elements, more or less superior to the nature-worship of Canaan and possessing neither sacrifice nor other barbarous rites. It is their voice that speaks in the noblest passages of prophecy and of the Psalter, and they are the true predecessors of Jesus Christ.

LITERATURE.—See W. H. Bennett, art. 'Rechabite' in HDB and bibliography there given.

R. H. KENNETT.

RECOGNITION.—1. Recognition is the psychological process by which an object presented in perception or imagination gives the impression of having actually formed part of our experience. The term 'object' is here used to include anything from a sensory quality, colour, taste, odour, etc., to the contents of a novel or a philosophical system; the most frequent cases are, however, objects of perception, as persons, animals, buildings, scenes, melodies, etc. The impression of 'already experienced' may have any degree of circularity; thus a name, a foreign word, a topic vaguely familiar without any definite thought of the previous occasion or occasions on which it affected us, while an odour or a scene may call up with extreme vividness the exact date and all the important details of the earlier experience.

2. Recognition has really two distinct stages, the second of which frequently remains unrealized. There is first the 'sense of familiarity,' an immediate awareness that the presented object is not new to us; this sense may not be formulated in words, or in any cognitive terms, but may remain a mere feeling; practically it shows itself in our adaptation or adjustment to the object; during mental abstraction a key, e.g., is grasped in a different way from a knife or a pair of scissors.

Common words, everyday objects, frequently repeated sense-qualities, etc., rarely pass beyond this stage of immediate, direct, or indefinite recog- nition. The second stage is that in which the associated ideas arise in the mind, the name of a person seen, the place where a former meeting took place, the topic of conversation, etc.; such memories circumscribe the process of recogni- tion, and verify it if doubtful. This is mediate or secondary recognition. It is of renewed cognition. It is obvious that, as a form of knowing, recognition may be true or false, correct or incorrect. An 'already experienced' may fail to be recognized, may not excite the sense of familiarity, or call up the associated ideas; a scene revisited after a term of years may impress us as quite unfamiliar; a professor of philosophy is said to have read an article in an encyclopedia with much approval, and to have been greatly surprised to find his own name at the end. Again, a 'new' idea that belongs to one that is 'old' or already experienced; an event that is being enacted before our eyes appears as if it were the repetition of some- thing we have already known, and we seem to anticipate the details that are to follow. A modified form of this error is when an imagined event, a tale read, an adventure described, or a dream is falsely recognized as a real event that has happened to oneself—the so-called 'pathological lying' which has been explained in terms of hallucination, or of subjective certainty or confidence has very little relation to the objective accuracy of the recog- nition; a correct judgment may be hesitant and uncertain, while a false recognition may have absolute confidence behind it.

3. The psychological problem which arises is
that of the analysis of the process of recognition, as it actually occurs, the conditions on which it depends, its differences and analogies.

The classical theories of recognition are those which emerged in the controversy between Höfling and Lehmann (see Literature below). According to Höfling, the typical form of recognition is the immediate one; it represents the first stage beyond pure sensation towards ideation, a half-way or transition process, in which memory is involved, a ‘tied’ or ‘implicit idea,’ as opposed to the ‘free iden,’ of the memory-image. When a stimulus which is known to the subject (of any kind, that is, of one’s own voice, colour, sound, or the like) is repeated after an interval, the new sensation will be different from the old, because of the latter’s previous occurrence.

Further, Höfling holds that this modification takes place through the re-excitation of the earlier sensation and the fusion of this element with the new or direct presentation. The revival may not be a separate or conscious one, the fusion being between processes rather than products. If A represents the direct sensation, and a its image or indirect revival, then recognition is really a complex of \( A + a + a_i + a_{ii} + \ldots \) Höfling prefers the formula \( \frac{a}{a_i} \), where a represents the one or more past experiences called up by the direct process A and a their conscious or unconscious, even the whole A.

The theory was connected, inconsistently, it may be said, with the physiological assumption that, when a sensation is repeated or revived in memory, a similar modification takes place in the same part of the brain as the original process; each time it occurs, some trace is left, by which the change becomes easier with each successive repetition. Bain had already ascribed to this supposed fact the effect of repetition in making any single impression adhesive, i.e., more firmly impressed on the mind, more easily retained and recalled. The nerve tracks become more practicable the oftener they are traversed. ‘A process,’ as James says, ‘fills its old bed in a different way from that in which it makes a new bed.’

Psychologically Bain inferred from the fact that a previous occurrence of any kind to the view recalls the total impression made by all the previous occurrences, and adds its own effect to that total. ‘Thus there is a constant re-instatement of past impressions, and a corresponding deepening of the present impression, as an experience is repeated. But for Höfling a sensation or perception acquires through this repetition a distinguishing mark—the mark or character of knownness, or familiarity, by which it is clearly distinguished from entirely new sensations, or new perceptions.

4. Lehmann’s theory takes mediate recognition as the typical form, and association by contiguity as the process chiefly involved in it. When an object is first perceived, we associate with it some of its accompanying events or circumstances—with a person, e.g., the name, the actions, or the words; with a sense-quality, its name also, or its effect upon us, some determining mark, some ‘head’ of events or circumstances. As the object is the more vividly suggested, the object tends to call up, by contiguity association, in memory the associated name or mark; this, according to Lehmann, is recognition. When the ideas are distinct (date, scene, etc.), we have definite and explicit recognition; but, after frequent repetitions, an object becomes conscious to call up definite associates; these remain below the threshold of consciousness, but are none the less active, and we have implicit or immediate or direct recognition, which is thus a reduced form of the first type. James states it clearly when,

referring to the recovery of a name which we have sought for some time, he says:

‘If tangles, it troubles on the verge, but does not come. Just such a tingling and burning of the nerves, just such a sense of the penumbra of recognition that may surround any experience and make it seem familiar, though it be not a memory.”

5. Recent experimental work suggests that the process of recognition is much more complex and varied than either of the above theories implies, and that we learn to know a repeated object by different signs or marks, just as we learn to know a client or a near, a beautiful or an ugly, object. The characters which we learn to use as signs of repetition, or of the ‘already experienced,’ vary for different materials, for different individuals, and for the same individual at different times and for different purposes. They are, e.g., (1) the facility or ease with which we perceive or notice or grasp the object, its clearness and definiteness; (2) the feeling of agreeableness or pleasure, which often accompanies this facility; (3) verbal or other determining marks attached to the object on its earlier occurrence, and recalled by ‘association’; (4) expectation or anticipation of changes or effects of the object, which are in fact realized, etc. (5) But the principal mark arises from the fact that our organic and intellectual reaction to a repeated object is a very complex oneatherwise than from that to a totally or partially new one. In the latter case, if we are interested, we make an effort to appreciate the object, ‘run the eyes over’ the outstanding points, imitate a movement with our head; but try to follow a sound with our inward voice; by this means we appreciate it, link it on to our self ‘complex.’ When it is repeated, the whole reaction, through the law of habit, runs off with little or no effort, and the attitude of appropriation is instinctively taken up.

Where for any reason the feeling is absent or weak, or where reactions do not easily take place, as in illness or solitude or in any temporary lack of attention, recognition fails; in extreme mental feebleness or degeneration the simplest everyday impressions may appear entirely new and strange; such, however, is often repeated. Conversely, in intense pathological self-absorption, the strangest and newest objects may give the illusion of ‘the déjà vu.’ In the former case recent events may be disassociated and yet fail to elicit recognition; recognition and reproduction are, in fact, distinct processes.

Recognition, says Claparède, implies a previous act of synthesis, an attachment to the personality. When the impression or image is repeated, it is coloured by the self-quality, as it were, which it received from being taken up or assimilated into our consciousness. There is accordingly a primary and immediate certainty, given by the immediate feeling or attitude of the self to the impression; this is either weakened or strengthened by the memories and associations that subsequently arise, which, if adequate, make the recognition into a definite or circumstantial one. False recognitions mostly depend on the instinctive confidence in the primary feeling, which may be made less absurd by the salient similarity between the new and some old impression.

The very interesting experimental work on the subject of recognition is summarized in Katzarro and other papers; see references in Literature below.

RECORDING ANGEL. — In all the early literatures of the world the angel is called upon to perform a motley variety of tasks. The universe was recognized to be the scene of a ceaseless divine activity. But it puzzled men to know how God, who was pure spirit and infinite, could come into actual contact with matter, which was impure, imperfect, and finite. Hence arose the notion of the angel, a kind of creature of the Deity, semi-human, semi-divine, standing on a lower rung of divinity than the Deity, mingling freely with earthly creations and exercising over them an influence bearing the strongest resemblance to that which comes directly from the Deity. The angel, in other words, bridged the yawning gulf between the world and God. It follows from this that, as the innumerable experiences of man during life and after death were subject to angelic influences, the latter had, in the imagination of the people, to be pigeonholed into separate and independent departments of activity. Each angel had its own specialized task to see to, and each religion individualized those tasks in its own way. The idea of a recording angel charged with a peculiar task of its own in bearing a distinct name or series of names figures in Judaism, Christianity, and Muhammadanism. The function which it performs is, in the main, identical in all the three religious systems, although its actual procedure varies.

In Judaism the work of the recording angel is that of keeping an account of the deeds of individuals and nations, in order to present the record at some future time before man's heavenly Maker. The presentation of this record may take place during the lifetime of the individual or nation, or, as is more often the case, after death; and upon this record depends either the bliss or the pain which is to be ascribed in the after life. In the OT there are three passages which form a basis for these ideas. In Mal 3:2 it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.' Jehovah hears what His righteous servants say and resolves to reward them at some future time for their steadfastness. The figure of speech is derived from the custom of Persian monarchs, who had the names of public benefactors inscribed in a book, in order that in after days their services might be suitably rewarded.1 In Ezk 9 the man 'clothed in linen which had the writer's inkhorn by his side,' is bidden to 'go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the slain, and not upon those who stranger and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.' This man 'clothed in linen' is one of the six angels sent to exact speedy punish-


ment upon the defunct city of Jerusalem. But the punishment must be local. While the urban defile is punished, to be sinless without mercy, the angel was to 'set a mark' on those who expressed sincere grief for their backslidings and who dissociated themselves from the sinners. This mark was, presumably, to serve as a reflexion on the day when retribution would be enacted out. The third passage is Dan 12:2: 'And at that time shall Michael stand up, and there shall be a time of trouble . . . and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.' This idea is reinforced by the succeeding verses, the underlying idea seems clearly that of some future divine judgment when the righteous classes and the wicked classes will each reap their deserts, and the record of who's who will be found written in the book, the angel Michael acting as recorder.

As R. H. Charles puts it, 'the book was 'the book of life' . . . a register of the actual citizens of the theocratic community of God's Rocks and their descendants. . . . This book has thus become a register of the citizens of the coming kingdom of God, whether living or departed' (Daniel, in Century Bible, Edinburgh, n.d. [1919], p. 189).

A rabbi of the Mishnaic epoch, Akiba ben Joseph (A.D. c. 50-c. 132), summarized and elaborated all these OT conceptions of the account between man and his Maker (without, however, introducing the idea of the recording angel) in a remarkably striking parable, thus:

'Everything is given on pledge and a net is spread for all the living. The shop is open and the dealer gives credit; and the borrowers lend and the lenders lends and whosoever wishes to borrow may come and borrow; but the collectors regularly make their daily round and exact payment from man whether he be certain to reap the harvest or they have not time they can rely in their demand; and the judgment is a judgment of truth, and everything is prepared for the feast' (Mishnah, Abod., i. 16).

The 'feast' refers to the levithian, on the flesh of which, according to a frequent idea of the Talmud and Midrash, the righteous Israelites will regale themselves in the beyond.

The rich angelologies of the Jews and Christians (as well as of the Muhammadans, who borrowed largely from the OT and the rabbinic writings) built further on these OT references to a recording angel, and transferred the work of recording to some one or other angel bearing a special name of the Deity, who keeps a record of everything in the record. In rabbinic theolgy and in the mysticism of the Zókr and medieval Kabbalah generally, the recording angel is kept particularly busy in one great department of activity viz. prayer. Metatron (Gr. aútropos, Lat. metator, 'guide') usually plays this rôle. According to a statement in Midrash Tannáhá Génesis,1 as well as in the Slavonic Book of Enoch,2 it is the angel Michael, originally the guardian-angel of Israel, who was transformed into Metatron, the angel whose name is like that of his Divine Master3—a piece of doctrine which may possibly have influenced the Christian doctrine of the Logos. So impressive was the work of Metatron that a rabbi of the early 2nd cent. A.D., Elisha b. Abuyah, confessed to seeing this angel in the heavens and thus being led to believe that the cosmos was ruled by 'two powers.'4 Of course such belief was heresy. According to a Talmudic statement, Metatron bears the Tetragrammaton written on him from Koph to Bet,5 where it is said of the angel who would in the future be sent to prepare the way for the Israelites: 'Beware of him . . . for my name is in him.

According to a passage in the Zókr (Midrash Ifa-Xvelot, on section Hagyt-Shorok), Metatron 'is appointed to take charge of the soul every day and to provide it with the necessary light

1 Ed. S. Ruber, Wilna, 1855, p. 17.
2 xxii. 6.
3 T.B. Sanh. 386.
4 T.B. Dagad lá, 15a.
REDEMPTION

Further references in rabbinical and apocalypse literature are as follows:

In T.B. Megillah, 156, the phrase in Est xxii about the sleepiness of the king is applied to God 'the king of the world.'

The angel he be R.

The Sages derive a principle from this that all excommunication of unclean domestic animals. In E, 'The Book of the Covenant' (Ex 22:23), firstborn sons are to be given unto the Lord, also firstlings of oxen and sheep. According to J, every firstling male is to be made over to the Lord, and then to the Levites. The firstling of an ass is to be redeemed with a lamb, or, if it is not redeemed, its neck is to be broken. First-born sons are also to be redeemed, but the valuation is not fixed. This custom is connected with the redemption of the first-born of man and beast (Ex 13:12); cf. 31:14).

In P all first-born of man and beast are to be sanctified to the Lord (Ex 13:14). The firstling of an unclean beast is to be ransomed.
REDEMPTION

according to thine estimation' plus one-fifth
in value. In other words, the one-fifth of the first-born of man and beast is associated, as in J, with the slaying of the Egyptian first-born, but the Levites are said to have been taken instead of the first-born of the Israelites or of those more than a month old, and their cattle instead of the other Israelites' firstlings. Twenty thousand Levites take the place of as many first-born Israelites numbered at the time, and the overplus of 275 first-born are redeemed by a money-payment of five shekels each to Aaron and his sons (Nu 31:28-32). In another passage from P the first-born of man and beast are made over to Aaron and his sons, but those of men, from a month old, are redeemed for five shekels. Firstlings of oxen, sheep, and goats are not redeemed; their blood is sprinkled on the altar, the fat burned, and the flesh eaten by the priests. The firstlings of unclean beasts are to be redeemed (Nu 18:16). Lastly in Dt 15:19 firstling males of flock and herd are sanctified to the Lord, and are to be eaten by the owner and his household in the place which the Lord shall choose. Such as areblemished may be eaten at home (cf. 12:14, 17, 14). The main differences in detail in these passages may be thus indicated: (1) Except for the deal with the firstlings: in Dt this is done by owner and household, in P by Aaron and his sons. These differing laws seem to reflect the usage of two different periods of the history. (2) The redemption of the first-born of man and the redemption of the first-born of men; in J their redemption value is left vague; in P it is fixed at five shekels; but again in P the origin of the Levites as a sacred class is referred back to a redemption of the existing first-born of men, the overplus being regarded as secular property. Here it is obviously a myth originating at a period when the redemption value of the first-born had become fixed. As to the cattle of the Levites being regarded as sacred instead of the firstlings of the other Israelites' cattle, which according to Nu 18:17 could not be redeemed, this may show that the myth belongs to a time when the legislation regarding firstlings had fallen into abeyance. (3) In E the 'giving' of the first-born of men to God is not connected, as in J, with the redemption of the first-born in Egypt. (4) Firstlings of unclean beasts: in J the firstling of an ass is to be redeemed; in P firstlings of unclean beasts, as if now other 'unclean' animals than the ass had been domesticated. In J and P the methods of valuation also differ.

We are thus confronted with legislation which varied from age to age, and which perhaps was no more than ideal at any given time. It also tended to be explained mythologically, or fictitious reasons for the sanctity of the first-born were to be given.

2. Redemption of the firstlings of the ass.—As the firstfruits of domestic animals, like the firstfruits of the earth, were sacred or made over to God (see art. Firstfruits, First-born), those of the ass, a domestic animal, were likewise. But asses and probably some other domestic animals were 'unclean', i.e. unfit for sacrifice or for eating. Hence in case arose the idea of redemption, the word used in Ex 13:3, piddah, being that which was used in the case of a renewal of redemption from death or slavery (cf. Ex 13:14, 20, 21, 40, 18). Another sacrificial animal was offered in its stead, or, if not so redeemed, it was killed, but not sacrificially; its neck was broken without shedding of blood, so that it could be of no further use to its owner. Later legislation provided for a payment to be redeemed at plus one-fifth of its value, or simply to be sold for the benefit of the sanctuary. In the


earlier legislation the breaking of the neck of the unredeemed animal shows that the firstling was regarded as having a sanctity, or saanct, or tabu, whether it was sacrificed or not.

3. Redemption of the first-born child.—There is little doubt that some special sanctity attached to the first-born. He was the first gift of God after the birth of the Israelites in Egypt, and thus the blood of the kin flowed 'purest and strongest in him.' Was he therefore sacrificed? That the Canaanites sacrificed children, and frequently the first-born, is certain, though whether all the first-born were annually regularly sacrificed has not been confirmed.

The sacrificial infants found at sacred sites in Palestine cannot be proved to be first-born children. It has also been questioned whether they were sacrificial victims.

The question of the redemption of the first-born by some rite or equivalent sacrifice or money-payment, which appears strictly as a Hebrew custom, is one which arose either (1) because of the inherent sanctity of the first-born or (2) because he ought to be sacrificed. Now the regular sacrifice of the first-born among the Hebrews in historic times is open to question. The references in the OT to sacrifices of children are frequently general (2 K 19:21; 20:9; cf. Lv 18:24, 'any of thy seed'). A son or daughter, and not even males exclusively, and not always the first-born) was sacrificed. Nor was this sacrifice, when called for, always performed in infancy. The king of Moab sacrificed his eldest son, who was thus not an infant (2 K 3:7), and so in the case of Isaac and of Jephthah's daughter. Thus even outside Israel the custom occurs not in infancy—a point not sufficiently noticed by writers on this subject—and only on occasion of some great calamity. That the Hebrews had such an occasion for sacrifice at all, or borrowed it, is not unlikely, and, no more than this need be signified in Mi 6:6, where 'thousands of rams' and 'ten thousands of rivers of oil' show that Micah is speaking hyperbolically. In Ezk 20:3 all that opens the womb is spoken of as sacrificed to Moloch in Israel, as if the custom had become general. But if, general, it need only have been so upon certain necessary occasions, when, if human sacrifice was to occur, the first-born was chosen. As far as Israel was concerned, the practice in historic times was borrowed from nations in which it had been more general or not. This is shown by the words of the prophets, who may be presumed to have known the facts.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel make this clear, but their words seem to show that the people, seeing these costly sacrifices among the Phenicians, deemed that they were due also to God in time of disaster. The practice of redeeming the first-born was regarded as merely permissive. Occasion might arise when this permission must be disregarded. Jeremiah says that God never commanded such sacrifices (Jer 11:21), and Ezekiel (20:5) regards the current interpretation of Ex 13:21 as a mistake—a pollusion.

Further, special privileges attached to the first-born, showing that he was not sacrificed (Gen 25:21; 21:16); cf. 1 Ch 5:5 [disregarding the birth-right]; and the method in which Israel is spoken of as God's first-born (Ex 42:13; cf. Jer 31:12 [Ephraim]). Ps 89:17 [Messiah as God's first-born] shows that the first-born was especially revered in the Messiah. The words of Micah (6:6) and Ezekiel (20:4) belong to the period when the Israelites borrowed the custom from their neighbours. So, too, probably does the story of Isaac's sacrifice, in which the victim is not mentioned or replaced by a ram—a far less spiritual thought than Micah's.

Why then was the first-born redeemed? (1) If the custom of sacrificing the first-born had once been general in early times, as perhaps the state-
sacrifices of the first-born among other peoples needs sĩting. Several instances refer not to sacri-
ifice but to infanticide. Not all are supported by
clear evidence, nor do all refer exclusively to the
first-born.

4. Parallel ethnic practices. - The Hebrew
custom finds an echo in folk-tales in which child-
less parents agree to give up their first-born to
some one who offers to remove the wife's barrenness.
These tales arose in some custom of dedication of
first-born to a deity. In some such stories a gift
is offered or a substitute introduced by the
sacrifice, and the offering is a substitute for
redemption. It is also remarkable that Syriac
women will vow an unborn child to a Muhammadan
saint at his shrine, yet 'in that case the child is not slain, as may once have been the case,
but is redeemed by an offering.' In Muhammadan
custom the victim—a ram or goat sacrificed
soon after the birth of a child—is called a ransom
for the child.

Reference may also be made to the
May ritual described by Ovid, in which the house-
father offered black beans over his shoulder to
the ghosts, with the words nine times repeated,
"With these beans I redeem me and mine." The
custom of redemption, if it was actually redep-
mation from sacrifice as illustrated in the story of
Isaac, has parallels in ethnic myth and practice
in which a sheik or chieftain takes the life of a
human victim, not necessarily a first-born. At
the temple of Artemis Tricia she had formerly
been the custom to offer a beautiful youth and
maid, but in the time of Pausanias this sacrifice
was commuted. Pausanias also mentions the offer-
ing of a goat to Dionysus at Poteia in place of an
earlier child. At Laodicea the annual stag sacri-
fice was believed to take the place of a former
offering of a maiden. In Babylonia the rite in
which an animal was slain for a sick man—its life
for his life, its head, neck, breast for his head,
neck, breast—suggests some species of commuta-
tion or substitution. When human sacrifices were
prohibited among the Celts of Gaul, the Druids
offered a victim symbolically, pretending to strike
him, and drawing from him a little blood. In
many quarters other commutations of human sacri-
ifice occur, often with legends attached to them
showing that they originated in more humane
feelings. The offerings, instead of human beings are
offered, as among the Villalis, Gonds, Chettis,
Japanese, and Romans; or a coconut is offered
because of its resemblance to a human head, or,
again, an animal victim takes the place of a human,
when people cannot afford the latter, as among
the Tahus. These correspond to commutations of
animal sacrifices, or in general to the offering of a
less for a more important object. For, as Servius
says, the simulacrum is accepted in place of the real
object; hence when certain animals, difficult to obtain, are demanded in sacrifice, images of them are made of bread or wax, and are received in their stead. 12

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the notes. J. A. MACCulloch.

4 E. W. Lane, Arabian Society in the Middle Ages, London, 1885, p. 191; and see ERS ii. 609.
5 P youx, etc., p. 80, et al.
6 Porphyry, de Abst. ii. 56.
7 P. Doumer, La Religion mryn-tartanique, Paris, 1910, p. 273, cf. p. 102, 110, 154, where Craies gives a young man
to the Striges in place of the new-born infant, with the words, "Take, I pray you, this child and heart, and vitals for vitals; we give you this life instead of a better one."
8 Pomp. Meli, iii. ii. 19.
Crooke, PR II. 106.
10 D. R. Ellis, The Tshik-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of W.
11 cf. AN ii. 116.

1 Miriam and Aaron were probably children by a previous marriage.
3 Cf. EBB II. 1526.
5 P. Doumer, p. 445.
6 W. R. Smith, p. 445.
REFORMATION.—See Liguori.

RED INDIANS.—See America.

REFORMATION.—The great upheaval which we call the Reformation was very much more than a religious rising of Teutonic Europe in the 16th century. We can trace its origin to the beginnings of monasticism and Northern Christianity, and watch the gathering of the storm all down the Middle Ages. The acute religious conflict lasted all through the 17th cent., and is separated by no sharp break from its secular consequence and counterpart, the great revolution of political principle which began with the English Commonwealth and the American Revolution, and now seems passing into social reconstruction. The issues of the Reformation have broadened out, but in altered forms they are the living issues of our own day, for they raise the permanent questions of the society and the individual, authority and reason, slavery and freedom, religious, intellectual, political, and social. Nor was the Reformation purely Teutonic in its origin, though it has maintained itself chiefly among Teutonic peoples. Latins and Slavs were as resive as Teutons under the yoke of Rome. Even now Protestantism can claim Slavs on the shores of the Baltic; and in France it has always been the moderates of the worldliness of the Church. It was all of all it was a purely religious movement. It was the issue of a vast complex of forces, intellectual, political, and social as well as religious, acting in different ways and with constantly varying intensity in different countries. In England the Reformation was guided by kings, in Germany by princes, in France, Bohemia, and Poland by nobles, in the German cities and Switzerland by burghers. Its first political tendency was in England to despotism, in Germany and France to civil strife, in the United Provinces to freedom. At Geneva it set up a theocratic republic, in Germany and England it gave the Church an Erastian form. Thus its first results were of bewildering diversity. The variations of the Reformation might magnify his office, there must be a direct access to God without him. Else how could hermits be saints? Yet neither was the monasteries essential, whatever help and comfort his followers might give him (for in the Eternal’s presence lay the salvation of the world); or the asceticism essential; it was only the belief of the time, and might be abandoned if he ceased to find it the more excellent way. But, though priests and monks were often at variance, they never clearly saw that their conceptions of religion were radically different. The Church made peace by taking the monasteries into the system, and allowing them services of their own which did not require the administration of sacraments. But the two most antagonistic principles were held together chiefly by the common belief of churchmen that asceticism is the higher life. If ever that belief came to be discredited, the individualism would not fail to seek expression outside the Church system. It is not accidental that so many of the Reformers, from Luther and Zwingli downwards, had once been monks or friars.

Then came the conversion of the Northern peoples. They were docile enough on doctrine, whatever their practice might be, and showed no taste for the general, more transcendental, more integrally connected with the doctrine of the Church than its apologists are willing to admit, and often too outrageous and abominable to be more than hinted at in the more decent language of modern times. If the picture is dark, the background is darker still, for much of the worst must be left untold.

1. Causes of the Reformation. — The loose organization of the apostolic churches was shaped by the needs of the next generation into a uniform system of ecclesiastical government. The Reformation was consolitated by the needs of the Christian Empire into a great confederation of churches which called itself the Holy Catholic Church, and claimed to be the sole dispenser of salvation. It was a grand system; but where was the layman? His royal priesthood was forgotten, and more and more his access to God was only through the ministrations of the Church.

Then came the monks. Their flight was from an evil world which a worldly Church had failed to overcome; but it was almost as much a flight from the Church itself. True, they were neither heretics nor schismatics, but the most zealous of churchmen, whose ascetic zeal put to shame the worldly life of the priests. They were the monks which the monks rushed in where bishops feared to tread. None the less, the principle of monasticism was ultimately subversive of the Church system. That principle was neither asceticism nor seclusion, for the monk was no ascetic, for the monk was no hermit. It was individualism. The man retired from the world, not only because the world was wicked, but also because the Church in the world could not give him what he wanted. ‘Doubt makes the monk’ was a German proverb. What he wanted was to save his soul, and to save it in his own way, because he had not found the priest’s way satisfactory. Therefore he sought out for himself a monastery of like-minded men, and in its rule he found his freedom. However the priest might magnify his office, there must be a direct access to God without him. Else how could hermits be saints? Yet neither was the monasteries essential, whatever help and comfort his followers might give him (for in the Eternal’s presence lay the salvation of the world); or the asceticism essential; it was only the belief of the time, and might be abandoned if he ceased to find it the more excellent way. But, though priests and monks were often at variance, they never clearly saw that their conceptions of religion were radically different. The Church made peace by taking the monasteries into the system, and allowing them services of their own which did not require the administration of sacraments. But the two most antagonistic principles were held together chiefly by the common belief of churchmen that asceticism is the higher life. If ever that belief came to be discredited, the individualism would not fail to seek expression outside the Church system. It is not accidental that so many of the Reformers, from Luther and Zwingli downwards, had once been monks or friars.

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shaped by Latin hands and saturated by Latin thought. The Northern peoples were as yet no more than children in the faith; but, when they grew to man's estate, they were not unlikeliest to throw off the Latin tutelage and shape their religion into Northern forms, perhaps equally

The next great step was the Hildebrandine reformation and the rise of the mediaval papacy. If the pope could bring some order into the anarchy of feudalism and the scandalous corruption of the Church, he was indeed to set St. Peter's chair above the thrones of kings. The opposition of the emperors was not a Teutonic revolt: the Saxons always held with the pope. The imperialist literature of Germany and Italy, joined for a moment by Gerard of York in England, only disputed some of the papal claims, and scarcely touched the doctrine and system of the Church. Its power was finally broken by the fall of the Hohenstaufens, and its echoes died away with the Schoolmen of Ludwig III. The last imperial coronation at Rome was performed in peace (1452), because Frederick III. was not worth a souffle in the streets.

But long before that time the Hildebrandine doctrine failed. The money governing the wicked world had faded into the light of common day. The higher the pope's power rose, the more his kingdom became a worldly kingdom, seeking worldly ends by worldly means. It was indeed a mighty power, with its thousands of priests in the parishes and chancries; with its armies of monks, Benedictine, Cistercian, Cistercian, recalling three great religious revivals; with its troops of friars prowling round the land; not to mention the novelty of world-power, the character of the Church.

It was a vast and ancient system, resting upon the twin strongholds of transubstantiation, which gave the priest a more than royal dignity, and auricular confession, which laid open to him every secret of private life, and above all upon the ancient horror of heresy. All sins might be forgiven, but the sin of heresy could not be forgiven, because it denied the only power which had authority on earth to forgive sins.

The Church was full of scandals, moral, financial, and political; and these were the grievances which in the end compelled some to face the risk of heresy by questioning its doctrines. In the first place, the Hildebrandine reformation had failed to cleanse the Church. If celibacy was supposed to lift the priest above the mire of the world, auricular confession plunged him back into it, for the priest's ear became the sink of the parish. And the celibacy itself was full of dangers, on which we must not enlarge, for the grossness of the Middle Ages cannot be told in decent language. Suffice it that in practice the vow of ' chastity ' commonly abolished nothing of marriage but God's holy ordinance. Many priests kept it faithfully, though often at the cost of struggles which hardened and demoralized them in other ways; but, unless all the evidence is false, a much larger number had fopperie, or did worse, and many of these were compelled by their flock's in the Kirk, to keep temptations of a lonely priest settled among the rustics are obvious, and gave plenty of scandal to his neighbours.

Yet, after all, more offence was caused by the worldliness of the matter than by the fluctuating viere of the moment. The wealth of the Church was enormous. In Sweden it held two-thirds of the land, and perhaps one-third or two-fifths in England, where the accumulation had been checked by the Statute of Mortmain (1279). If the bishops were generally modest in Italy, they were great lords in England, where the primate stood next to the sovereign, and the bishop of Durham ruled the Scottish border almost as a king. Still more magnificent was their state in Germany and Hungary. Men said that bishops, like donkeys and the women in the host of Christian of Mainz were more in number than Barbarossa's army. But this vast wealth was very unequally distributed. There were a few favoured pluralists, whom perhaps we least could lament, for the scandal to the laity. One of these might hold perhaps half-a-score of church prebendaries and leave their duties undone, or done after a fashion by cheap hirelings, while he spent his time in the service of pope or king, or intriguing at their courts for new and more lucrative appointments. In England the bishops were commonly the reward of success in the king's business, from Flambard and Thomas to Morton and Wolsey; and in Germany it was much the same in Frankfort and Hohenstaufen times. In the later Middle Ages we see a class of pure aristocrats, such as Courtenay and Arundel, Beaufort and Neville in England; and in Germany there was the prevailing type. The three clerical electors at the time of the Reformation were the archbishops of Brandenburg, Hermann of Wied, Richard of Greifenklau. The aristocratic character of the German hierarchy was not a novelty of the Reformation.

But many numbers of the priests were needy. Their endowments may have been sufficient, and were in some cases ample. But a great deal was 'appropriated' by the monks. A monastery took the endowments of a parish, and was supposed to live happily by spending much personal property by sending a monk to say mass on Sundays. The Lateran Council of 1179 ordered them to provide resident vicars, and earnest churchmen of the next century managed at last to enforce this. The monastery took the great tithes of corn, and left the small tithes to the yeoman. Thus many rich livings were reduced by 'appropriations' to poor curacies, while many more were impoverished by pensions granted on them by the popes. And a needy man is apt to be rapacious and ignorant. There were many who lived on much more than much rent; perhaps who were forced to wrangle over petty dues, and could hardly say his old monophysite. He had some excuse for ignorance, but sometimes it was very dense. Nor were his administrations edifying; for they were all in Latin, except parts of the marriage service. The mass was said in a low voice, and the people were not supposed to follow the service but to occupy themselves with their private devotions, and there were primers for such as were able to read. If the canonized emperor, Heinrich II. could make a fool of his unlearned chaplain by erasing from the mass-book the first syllables of the prayer 'pro (fa)numls et (fa)mulabus tuis,' we may imagine what a rustic parish would do with Sir John Jacklatin or Sir John Mumblematics. We must go to Russia for a modern parallel to the mixture of superstitions and terrors of the priest's mysterious powers with good-natured contempt for his person.

Nor were there in a similar state in the later Middle Ages. Some were rich, some very poor, many were burdened with debt, and all were impoverished by papal exactions. An abbot could scarcely get his election settled without spending perhaps two years' revenue, and the very joy to give, with fees and 'presents' to pope and cardinals. Besides this, the monasteries had outlived their
usefulness. They spent little on the poor, and learning had found a more congenial home in the universities. The monks had long ceased to labor to excommunicate landlords. The houses had been half emptied by the Black Death, and had never recovered their numbers; some, indeed, were so decayed that they had to be suppressed for want of inmates. Fious founders had ceased to build new houses, and endowed colleges and chanceries. Their property was alienated, and some were so well endowed, others as bad as bad could be, for here again the worst cases are sheltered by their very foulness. But the larger number were worldly rather than depraved, though they had more than occasional scandals. There was always an aristocratic flavour about the monasteries; and now the inmates of the richer houses lived very much as their neighbours did. They hunted and hawked, attended chapel by deputations in rotation, ate flesh, and were notorious lovers of good living. This was very far from the rigour of the monastic rule, and gave much occasion for blaspemling, but at all events it was not flagrant vice. The worst of the matter was that it was supported, and the trade of rackets carried on, but that it was hardly ever seriously punished. The rule of the order was strict enough, but the abbot was often himself the worst offender in the way of evil living, embezzelement, and even murder. The contractors and abbots were, of course, the worst offenders, and the abbots, too, often too busy with State affairs to look after his diocese; and the strongest and most earnest might well hesitate to take in hand a bad case, where he was likely to be met by a clamour and much unseemly hurry. The worst, long and entailing years of litigation at Rome, to be finally decided by bribery or by the fixed policy of the Church to smother scandals rather than amend them. At worst, a peccant priest might be removed to another parish, or an outrageous abbot induced to retire on a handsome pension.

The condition of the friars was very similar, but distinctly worse. Their beginnings were splendid, but within a century the tale was different. They evaded their corporate poverty by vesting the property of their mendicant or the poor; and, when some of the Franciscans insisted that their poverty must be real, Pope John XXII. decided against them that Christ and His apostles had property, so that poverty is not necessary for the higher orders of the Church. It is well to remember that the whole system of mendicacy, so that henceforth, while some of the most earnest seekers after God still became friars, others formed simpler societies of their own, and others again turned to mysticism or heresy. Meanwhile, the ordinary friar was little better than a vulgar mountebank, pulling his pardons and relies as impudently as any other quack of the market-place. Of all the churchmen the friar was the least respected.

Besides vice and worldliness, there was a third great scandal in the divisions of the Church. True, the Latins never sank into Irish anarchy, where a bishop would wander about the country living on his ordination fees, and a whole monastery would turn out, monks, servants, women, and all, for a pitched battle with the next house of holy men. But the quarrels were continual and bitter. Bishops and chapters wrangled and litigated for years together. Seculars and regulars had a strong natural hatred of each other, and the friars were a plague to both. If a parish priest refused absolution to some offender, the next friar was likely to sell it with pleasure. But the most repulsive quarrel of all was round a rich man's deathbed. If masses profited in purgatory, how could he be better disposed of his worldly goods than in having masses said for his soul? And they were all eager in the work of charity. So the quiet of the chamber of death was continually disturbed by an unseemly quarrel of rival orders, each struggling to get the dying man into their own habit line the one sure passport to heaven. The wicked world looked on with wonder and disgust.

The economic evils of the Church system were neither few nor trifling. The Church was a corporation which constantly acquired property and never lost it by fraudulent dilapidation and waste, so that in most countries it secured the larger part of the national wealth; and this was in itself an evil of the first magnitude. If the monks were easier landlords than the lay impro priators who followed them, their lands were not so well cultivated. Then the number of the clergy was excessive. The parish priests alone may have been half as many as we have now for a much larger population; and to these we must add the chantry priests, the monks, the friars, the nuns, and the minor orders. It is true that they were not all withdrawn from the common work of life. In the 13th cent. they were still the literary men, the founders of schools, the writers of chronicles, the composers of songs, the legal experts, the farmers, the tailors, and little to show but troops of lawyers. The charge that they were nothing but a burden on the land was too sweeping, but a burden they were, and a heavy burden. They did a good deal of trading too, particularly in the endowments of the monasteries and masses for the dead, partly in worldly things in which they were forbidden to trade. Indeed, it was not good that the parish priest should be a money-lender or a tavern-keeper, as the bishops complained. But the worst economic evil arose from the teaching that good works are an expiation (in practice often a payment) for sins, for it made charity more indiscriminate than it might otherwise have been. The good work rested to the credit of the giver, and the unworthiness of the receiver was not his business. The type of this kind of charity is a Spanish archbishop of a couple of hundred years ago, who spent a princely revenue in daily doles to an army of beggars at his gate. Medieval charity was so putrid, that, as Dr. Pusey well says, it was not until the Church festivals, which had been multiplied beyond all reason, and made a large part of the year useless for trade or agriculture, for no work was allowed on the day itself or after the noon of the day before it. Idleness was compulsory, but not sobriety, for no occupation was provided beyond the morning mass. To the abundance of holy days we may partly ascribe the marked taste of the later Middle Ages for shows, pageants, miracle-plays, and the like. But there were worse things than these. Besides encouraging drinking, revelling, quarrelling, and vice of every sort, these festivals, frequent and irregular, were a formidable hindrance to habits of steady work. They not only made serious gaps in the work, but demoralized what remained of it. The grievance was serious in the 13th cent., and was made more urgent by the growth of trade and the exhaustion of the land in the 15th. How far the holy days were observed it is not easy to tell, but the friars, and later the secular orders, were more than the Church, and there are complaints enough to show that they were enforced.

Before we come to the political grievances, we must note that the fundamental error of the Latin Church was the twofold error of the Pharisees. It mistook the gospel for a law, and again mistook the office of law. In fact, our Lord says down
principles, not laws, telling us always the spirit in which we ought to do things, never the things we ought to do, except the two sacraments. He seems to say, gratuitously, that the Church can be judged on certain right and wrong actions, except as the signs of a good or bad heart. A good deal of manipulation was needed to turn the law of liberty into a law of commands like the Mosaic. Further, it is not the office of law to teach truths, but to enforce them; and the law can make a distinction between those who do the right, and those who do the wrong. The natural law is for all, but the Christian law is necessary for all, and the secular law is necessary for the Church.

In graver cases the secular power was called on to imprison him indefinitely, or, if a heretic, to burn him; and the form of excommunication was an extreme measure. The Church, to the 15th century, was the state. The Clementines for the first time condemned by the state the saints on every act of his life; ‘As these candles stink on earth, so may his soul stink in hell.’

Some of the things which seem to us enroachments on the secular power were very rightly undertaken by the Church in times when the secular power was weak. Wills, e.g., almost necessarily came to the clergies when so few laymen could even read them. Marriage also needed some regulation in those gross and disorderly times, and the usurper was so unpopular that there could be no objection to any one who undertook to punish him. But on the whole the Church filled its trust badly, even in the judgment of its friends. Its methods, to begin with, of anonymous accusation, conscience of charges, indefinite and indefinite imprisonment, were a terror to the innocent. The soundest Catholic ran a risk of the fire if somebody reported that he had eaten meat in Lent. Then the jurisdiction of the Church sheltered criminals, and the clergy were too closely united with the religious court, which could not shed blood, and therefore had to remit an offender to the secular power when it wanted a heretic burned. The secular power, when it wanted a heretic burned, was a crying scandal, for it depended on the holiness of the place, so that it sheltered all comers without distinction, and did not even prevent them from issuing forth from sanctuary to commit new crimes. Holy places have always been chief haunts of unholy men, from the times of Diana of Ephesus to those of Our Lady of Mariazell or Loreto. So great were the disorders that strong kings like Henry vii. put down some of the worst abuses before the Reform. Nor was the Church more successful in dealing with other matters. Marriage, e.g., was conducted mainly by declaring it to be valid, and effectually degraded by forbidding it to the clergy. In theory it was indissoluble, even for adultery; in practice it was continually annulled. So many and so various were the canonical impositions that the parties to a marriage had an interest in getting it dissolved—and could pay the fees. If other excuses failed, some forbidden relation could almost always be found within the seventh degree of kindred, affinity, or gossipied. All Henry viii.'s marriages were faulty in canon law, except perhaps the last. But one mischief was mitigated by another. The Church sold dispensations for marriages forbidden by canon law, and supposed to be forbidden by the law of God. The case of Catharine of Aragon was not exceptional. This was one of the most lucrative of all the abuses of the Church, and one of those most deeply resented. Wills were in a similar state. The Church lawyers piled up mortuaries, probate, and a mutual concern for the rich and poor against them. Witchcraft was not a grievance, for all were agreed that dealings with the devil were the very worst of sins; but all that was called heresy was not equally heinous to the Church. The Erastian form of communion was set, let him be burned; and, if he disobeyed the Church, he might have punishment in due measure; but the Church had got into such a panic that it suspected heresy in every trifle, and brought the soundest Catholic into danger of savage persecution.

The majestic theory of the Catholic Church was
gathered round the pope. The vicar of Christ was supposed to be a father in God, guiding all the churches—all alike his children—in the way of righteousness and mercy; and for this purpose divine authority was given him to restrain wickedness, to snaffle the evil-doers of the earth, and to bring every soul into subjection to the apostolic see. Such was the dream of Gregory VII.; and it was at least a noble dream. But a dream it was; the facts were squalid. In the first place, given medicinal conditions of his own making, Peter himself could not have guided all the churches from Rome or Avignon. No human genius was equal to this colossal task, especially when the righteous guidance had to be enforced by continual interference with almost every act of government. However well-disposed the pope might be, he was too far off, too ignorant of foreign peoples and their ways of thinking, and too dependent on the reports of interested advisers to govern wisely. Sometimes he did good service, as when the vagaries of Honorius III. helped William the Marshal to restore order in England, or when 15th cent. popes organized wars against the Turks, though their crusades were more often mischievous, like the Allies' during the recent war, than beneficial; they were pure and simple pretexts for exacting money. But the Latin Church of the Middle Ages was not organized with modern efficiency. To put it broadly, the pope can scarcely be said to have governed much more than to meddle, and seemed to meddle chiefly for the sake of filthy lucre. Four conflicting policies—of witnessing to the world, ruling the world, renouncing the world, and making gain of the world—could lead to nothing but confusion. The scandals and intrigues of the 14th cent. were so unlitigious and flagrant, notorious and in their own time undisputed. The nine cardinals who reported to Paul III. in 1537 were in entire agreement as to facts with the most violent of the Reformers. Their very first demand was that law should be observed as far as possible, and some limit put to the sale of exemptions, dispensations, and such-like breaches of law. In fact, the whole system was very much a system of extortion. Peter was his own best subject; and the tax rates of the 16th cent. were the highest the world had ever known. Papal taxation was enormously extended. There were heavy fees for almost every business in which the pope could interfere. Among the most offensive abuses were provisions, or papal nomination to prelatures, often not yet vacant; reservations, by which the pope reserved to himself the right to fill such prelatures or to grant pensions out of them; and annates, or firstfruits, invented by John XXII., or payment to the pope of the first year's revenue by every one receiving preferment. Provisions were politically important. It was an old custom in the 7th cent. that, if a bishop died at Rome, a successor was sent from Rome for the comfort of his flock. So, when Wighard died at Rome, Bishop Viitanen sent the Bishop of Tarsus to Canterbury. In later times this custom right was enormously extended. Not only bishoprics but other prebends were reserved by the popes for nominees of their own, without regard to the rights of other kings or other bishops or pope and papal nominees were commonly Italian or French, or from foreign nations. This system of reservations at last covered almost every preferment, and the strongest kings could scarcely resist it. Thus Nicolas III. refused Edward I.'s request for Bury, and nominated Peckham, who was English; and Henry III. was limited in England by the statutes of Prouinc and Prenuninie, and in France later by the Concordat of Boursie (1438). But the popes did not consider themselves bound by statutes, or even by their own concordats, and the kings often had reasons of their own for conniving at papal encroachments.

In truth, the popes had put themselves in a false position, above the laws of God and man. The Renaissance popes broke like a hammer upon the world, and plotted assassinations at their convenience, and knew that they could do so with impunity. When they found resistance in the growing strength of nations, their foreign policy shrank back on Italy, and centred on the acquisition, by fair means or by foul, of the territories for their nephews, so each new pope had to begin the work afresh for a new set of nephews. Similarly their domestic policy was to turn everything into a source of revenue. Everything was on sale at Rome, from bishoprics and divorces downward. Juliales were proclaimed; privileges, pardons, and the virtues of relics were sold wholesale all over Europe; and even the indulgences—the theory invented for them was purely academic—were no more than the latest development of a practical system of licences for every sin but heresy. 'God will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should pay, and live.' Vanity Fair is the Rome of the Renaissance, drawn by an enemy, but drawn to the life, and in no small degree. Nor did the popes generally command personal respect. Some, indeed, were worthy men, and liberal patrons of learning and the arts. But not all were so. Paul II., who reigned during the Renaissance period the What else was to be ex harlots walked at noon and clergy! We need not refer against John XXIII.; perhaps the Council of Con to the efforts of the popes to secure tranquillity and justice when they suppressed the worst of them for decency's sake, and condemned them on the rest. Other condottieri may have been as bad, but they had not strayed into St. Peter's chair. So, too, some of the worst of the crimes ascribed to Alexander VI. seem to be society gossip; but the fact remains that he was a very bad man, and that the cardinals who chose him cannot have been much better. Such was the school from which the popes of the Renaissance came, and much of them worthily represented it.

At the end of the Middle Ages there was no dispute about the condition of the Church. From the bulls of the popes and the registers of the bishops to the inscriptions of the chroniclers and the lampoons of the profane, all the evidence of the time tells the same story of deep corruption without a hope of mending it. Two methods were imaginable. 'Heretics' might overthrow the Church system and replace it by something better; or reformers from within might clear away scandals and abuses. Both plans had been tried, and tried in vain. We need not ask whether the 'heretics' had anything better to offer, for they utterly failed to overthrow the Church system, or even to influence it—except in the reverse way, for terror of heresy hardened the Church to a savage cruelty which in the end turned every feeling of humanity against the persecutors. In fact, the 'heresiarchs' bear the mark of reaction, and, like other reactions, the Reformation itself included, took over a good deal from the Church. The Poor Men of Lyons broke up the Church to a savage cruelty which in the end turned every feeling of humanity against the persecutors. In fact, the 'heresiarchs' bear the mark of reaction, and, like other reactions, the Reformation itself included, took over a good deal from the Church. The Poor Men of Lyons, who broke up the Church to a savage cruelty which in the end turned every feeling of humanity against the persecutors, were the forerunners of the reformers within and among whom might be seen early signs of the same movement. The Cathari and Albigenenses took over the asceticism of the time, but developed it in an anti-catholic form. The Poor Men of Lyons belonged to the same movement as the friars, and were preachers like the Dominicans, but soon showed a taste for Scripture which the Church could not tolerate. Most of the sects held that the unworthiness of the minister
invalidated his services, and the later 'hereties' had a new grievance in the refusal of the Cup to the laity. By far the deepest thinker among these was Wyclif, who not only denied the Eucharist in England, but gave the tone to 'heresy' in Bohemia, for Hus did little more than copy him. Wyclif began as a political controversialist, and gradually became a religious reformer of the boldest sort. He and his followers, even of the pope, were only what many were thinking; and even his crowning enormity of denying transubstantiation as a philosophical absurdity — substance without accidents, and accidents without substance — had formidable blow that he aimed at the Church. His translation of the Bible and the mission of Poor Priests to preach it made the complete suppression of the Lollards impossible. They appealed to the same religious instinct as the early Friars, but turned it against the Church. But Wyclif's doctrines of 'dominion founded on grace' and 'no messe lords in the kingdom of God' were a deadly offence, not only to the Church, but to the ruling classes, nobles and landowners. Wyclif himself was not implicated in the Peasants' Rising of 1381, but some of his followers were in sympathy with the social unrest of the time. So the governing classes who urged Henry IV. to spoil the Church, 'Theology was heartily agreed upon by all.' The House of Lancaster, and, if Henry V. of Henry VI. was a simple-minded, yea, forsooth, Puritanical folk, treasuring stmy leaves of the forbidden Bible, and meeting secretly in the woods or the shuns, till they were merged in the Reformation. There was more trouble in Bohemia. Crusade after crusade was preached against the Hussites, and each failed more disastrously than the last, till Frederick of Hohenzollern persuaded the Council of Basel to divide the heretics by conceding the Cup. They turned against each other and at the victory of the moderates at Lejan (1438) Bohemia ceased to be the terror of Europe, though it did not cease to be troubled with heresy till it was brought fully under the yoke of the Hapsburgs by the 'discovery of the White Mountain' in 1620. The German Peasants' War came in 1522, and was more barbarously suppressed than the English; but, instead of serfdom quietly dying out afterwards, it lasted till Napoleonic times, and in Mecklenburg till 1831. Its religious bearing was partly the same, for the Romanists of course laid the blame of social unrest on the disturbers of religion. But social movements had few supporters but extreme men and Anabaptists. Luther attacked them with unmeasured violence, and the Church in Lutheran States was even more closely allied to the governing classes than in England.

Reform from within was an equal failure. The efforts of individuals, and even of popes, were always set aside by the classes in abuses. The successive monastic revivals had only partial and transitory effects, and even these had ceased to be possible since the decay of the friars. But could not the 'reform in head and members' spread by the influence of the uncrowned bishops? The idea was in the air. Philip the Fair had appealed (perhaps not very seriously) from Boniface VIII. to a General Council, and in 1414, when two popes, and latterly three, had been dividing the church, and each other even since 1378, a General Council met at Constance. When it had deposed John XXIII.,

it was faced by the question, 'Reform first, or unity?' It decided for unity, and allowed Martin V. to be elected. The mistake was fatal. The Council could not deal with a scandalous pope, and a decent pope could deal with the Council. Reform was now impossible. Martin had only to make a few vague promises in separate concordats, contemptuously rejected by France and England. The Council of Basel fell as completely as that of Constance. Men, whenever they thought it was bad, the rule of the bishops was likely to be worse. After all, the Councils were too orthodox to touch the worst difficulty—that the abuses were not simply sins of individuals or miscarriages of administration, but logical, natural, and necessary results of the teaching of the Church. Only a reform of doctrine could reach the root of the matter; and that was the last thing that the bishops desired. They burned Hus in defiance of the ejection of the reforming clergy and wars internecine by declaring that no faith was to be kept with heretics. The Council of Basel was forced by the exterminating Hussite wars to negotiate with the heretics; but it was as resolute as ever to allow no reform of doctrine. There it failed, and it vanished the last hope of real reform by a General Council. So by the end of the 15th cent. all were agreed that a drastic reform was urgently needed, but none could see how it might be made.

Something, however, had been done. In most countries particular abuses had been put down or limited by the civil power; and in Spain a real reform—of a sort—had been carried out under Queen Isabella's guidance by Cardinal Ximenes, armed with the special powers conferred on the Spanish sovereigns by the bull of 1482. Ximenes aimed at the restoration of discipline, the removal of abuses, the encouragement of learning in the service of the Church, and the merciless extirpation of heresy. He succeeded in all—witness the Spain of the 17th century.

The dilemma was only too plain. The heretics wanted drastic changes, but could do nothing; the bishops would have no reform of doctrine, and could not get it, while they would fight against the pope's opposition. Had this been all, reform might never have got beyond epigrams in Italy and growlings in Transalpine lands. The forces which made the Reformation possible were growths of the later Middle Ages. First came the rise of nations. The tribal kingdoms of the early Middle Ages and the local feudalism which followed them might well be crowned with a Holy Roman Empire and a Holy Catholic Church. But first the Crusades, then the decay of feudalism, then the growth of commerce and general intercourse, had called forth a new sense of national unity, represented in France, in England, and latterly in Spain, by national kings who could rely on the support of national assemblies for the asserton of national rights, while international intercourse was weaker or absent, as in Italy, Germany, and Scotland. The growth of nations in the 13th cent. may be measured by the failure of Boniface VIII. against Edward I. and Philip the Fair. The popes themn struck from the scene, and the whole scene idealised by the contests with the emperors, the Catholic ideal by their astute negotiations with separate nations; and now that the right divine of fallen emperors had come down to kings of nations, it was becoming possible to believe that the rights of the Catholic Church might be exercised by particular or national churches acting on their own discretion.
The intellectual position of the Church was not improved by the efforts of the Schoolmen to defend by reason a system based on an agnostic denial of the competence of reason in matters of religion. Thomas Aquinas got over the difficulty by sharply separating the kingdom of grace from the kingdom of nature, so that the two could have no contact. But this could not stand the subtle scepticism of Descartes. In his Outline of Rationalism was marked by the Ass of Buridan and other barren logomachy. It gave, however, an impetus to study; and the first discovery was that the papal claims which appealed to the False Decretals and the Donation of Constantine were based on shameless forgeries. This is when quiet learning begins. We see first an age of enthusiastic collectors—none more zealous than Pope Nicolas v. Then came an age of Christian Platonism, in Italy, often passing into frank paganism. If Greece was risen from the dead, it was not yet won by the NT in her hand. Some, indeed, of the scholars would as soon have worshipped Zeus as read the 'bad Greek' of the Gospels. In truth, the Renaissance was terribly wanting in moral earnestness till it reached more serious states of life. Alps was a sign of discontent with Latin thought; and the New Learning found an eager welcome in new universities like Erfurt and Heidelberg. England was a little behind; but in 1498 Colet was lecturing in Oxford. In 1508 and 1516 the works of Erasmus from the exclusive study of the classics to the NT and the Fathers. Erasmus' edition of the Greek Testament in 1516 marks an epoch; and the invention of printing gave the message of culture an early triumph which nothing could ever have attained. Popes like Nicolas v. and Pius ii. encouraged the New Learning; Julius ii. was a liberal patron of its art; and Leo x. was its worthy representative. Yet it was fraught with danger to the Church system. It revealed a world which was not Latin; and the romance of the Crusades pale before that of the old world of Greece. For a thousand years Europe had been moving in the Latin orbit; now it broke loose like a comet deflected by some great planet. When the Latin and Greek and ideals were compared with the older thoughts and ideals of Greece, and found wanting, and the Greek thoughts were not simply other than the Latin, but directly contrary to them. The spirit of the Middle Ages dissolved; the love of truth for its own sake—utterly foreign to a Church which had no conception of truth but as a tradition of the Church or a form of justice to our neighbours, and therefore set no value on truth of thought. The moral contrast was as great as the intellectual. The text of the Latin Church was 'De contemptu mundi,' and the sermon was more often 'Dies irae' than 'Jerusalem the golden.' To the natural man the goodness of God is always too good to be true: 'I knew that thou wast a hard man,' so the same spirit of unbelief which turned the gods of free forgiveness into a slavery of good works also refused the goodness of God in the common joys of life. When the saint denounced the gifts of God as he denounced the works of the devil, he fixed on them a brand of sin which no form of teaching could remove. They were tainted even for common men, as inconsistent with serious holiness. To men who had grown up in the Latin gloom the old Greek life and sense of order and beauty in the world came as a new light. They felt the message of goodness from the realm of truth. It might be that God 'giveth to all men freely, and upbraideth not,' but did the message of the Renaissance come alone. Feudalism was society organized for war; when a whole, through a political decay, there was more room for domestic life, for commerce, for learning, and for worldly interests in general. Then came the question whether the world was really as bad as the Church made out. The human vision shown that the higher life could be lived among the people; the Church itself had declared that poverty is not essential; and it only remained for the Reformers to renounce the asceticism and strive to live as children of God in a world which was God's world, and not the devil's. And this brings us once again to the individualism of the Reformations.

2. Principles of the Reformations. It would be a mistake to find the principles of the Reformations in the rejection of the pope or of transubstantiation, or to appeal to the moral authority of Scripture. All these are only inferences; the principle behind them is that the knowledge of God is direct and personal. Any man may help us with example and spiritual counsel, and the priest may minister to us the services of the Church; but in the end we must know God for ourselves. But this principle may be embodied in many forms. Mysticism is almost independent of history, and not even specifically Christian. But movement ever had a connexion with circumstances, as monasticism by the asceticism of the Middle Ages, the Reformations by the reaction from it.

Individualism implies the truth of the individual to judge for himself; and the Reformers invited men to see for themselves the untruth of the Roman Church. But they did not see that the principle was equally valid against their own churches. They merely limited to nations the monopoly of a mediæval Church; that is, the dissent allowed. Hence in theory they were as intolerant as the Romanists, though their practice was commonly less ferocious. There was no real advance when Germany came to a deadlock in 1555, upon the principle, 'Cujus regio, ejus religio;' and a similar deadlock is marked in France by the Edict of Nantes in 1598. These were only political compromises which ended civil wars. The real struggle for toleration was decided for Germany in 1648 by the Peace of Westphalia, for England in the Toleration Act of 1689, for France only by the Edict of 1787.

But, if the individual is to judge, by what standard is he to judge? Scripture or tradition? If Scripture must be interpreted by tradition, it is read into the script thus. The Reformers believed the Church may choose to say they mean, and the whole system rests on nothing more spiritual than an unreasoning assent to an unverified historical process. So the Reformers appealed to Scripture as a rational whole, to be interpreted by sound learning. In this appeal they are unanimous. Thus the Westminster Confession:

'The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either express set down in scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from scripture: unto which nothing may be added or taken away by any new revelation of the spirit, or traditions of men' (ch. 1.).

Yet here, too, the Reformers hardly saw the depth of their own teaching. Calvin indeed, their one great systematic genius, expressly says that 'the word, however, the freezing had is a mirror which faith may behold God;' but that age could not see clearly that God speaks, not in Scripture only, but in nature, history, and life. Rome was right in looking to history for a revelation, but the merely literal. The Reformers were right in instead of seeing all history illuminated by the living Word of whom Scripture speaks. Moreover, the Reformers carried over from the Middle Ages the conception of revelation as a code of law. This blinded them to the progress of revelation, as if everything contained in Scripture were not only
The baptism in which righteousness was declared to be "a right straith Epistle" compared with that to the Galatians; and Calvin was too good a scholar to ignore the doubts about certain books of the NT. But to their successors inspiration became more evident, as in "William Dunbar's Other Peter," and the rabbis the inerrancy of the text. The worst offenders were some of the English Puritans, who held that Scripture is a complete rule of conduct, so that no command is lawful without its express warrant. Hence the increase of infractions, and the bishops, having forgotten the archbishops; or, in more sober form, God is not the legislator of His Church, unless He has prescribed its government. This caused much straining of texts, and often led to great absurdities, as when the Puritans objected to square caps on round heads, and Laud replied by proving from Scripture that heads are square (Ls 1520, 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads'). One of the worst mistakes was about Sunday. The Reformers saw that it was more than a feast of the Church like All Souls or Corpus Christi; yet neither Luther nor the English Reformers nor even Calvin identified it with the Sabbath. But the tendency to find in Scripture a code of law made some of them have not altogether given up a Sabbath. The best excuse for it is the formal services and noisy games—themselves an inheritance from the Middle Ages—of an English Sunday under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts. It must be noted that, when the objections were met, the ger- scent of Antichrist, their scruples were commonly definite objections to definite things which in their times ministered to vice. In the stage, e.g., there is a steep descent from Shakespeare to Massinger, and again from Massinger to Dryden and other foul creatures of the Restoration. So against bear-baiting they entered the same plea of humanity as we should. They had very little of the ascetic's vague dread of the pleasure generally, as thought every creature of God were bad, and as they were very often married to each other.

The appeal to Scripture had far-reaching con- sequences. Whatever was contrary to Scripture must be reformed; and in some cases omission is prohibition. Thus transubstantiation is suffi- ciently improper, because the doctrine became impracticable. It cannot be proved by Scripture, and the silence of Scripture about prayers for the dead is significant.

Sooner or later the Reformers always came to the conclusion that the first great practical evil was the authority of the pope. On this they were all agreed, though Melanchthon added to the Schmalkald Articles a note of his own, that, if the pope would allow the gospel to be preached, his authority might be accepted for the sake of peace and unity, but humanum purum only. This, however, was an extreme concession which gave great offence, for the rest were much more disposed to call him Antichrist and the Man of Sin. We must note Melanchthon's condition—'if he will allow the gospel to be preached'—because it shows that the objection was at bottom practical. The papacy was contrary to Scripture, not simply because there were sundry texts against it, but chiefly because it was the centre of a system which had been shown to be wrong. It was an attempt to void the righteousness of God revealed in Scripture. Justification was by faith (which Luther defined as trust in God), and by faith only, whereas the whole system ruled by the pope was an elaborate scheme for setting up a righteousness of our own which was not of faith. The sacraments were not simply signs or means of grace, but channels which conveyed it. The Church gave spiritual life to the infant in baptism, nourished it with the Eucharist, consecrated it with matrimony or orders, renewed it in penance, and finally sealed it with extreme unction. And sacraments had their efficacy ex opere operato—from the due (rite) performance of the ceremonial with intention on the priest's part. They conveyed grace 'always and everywhere and to every Christian individual (sane, potest, imponemus). The Council of Trent nowhere expressly tells us what constituted a bar, though we may safely say that unconfessed mortal sin was a bar; but, if baptism conveys grace always and everywhere, the bar is the loss of faith—it is clear that want of faith is not a bar. The faith of the parents or of the Church is not the faith of the person concerned, and is therefore in this connexion irrelevant. Thus the whole sacramental system was involved in the primitive confusion of matter and spirit, magic and religion. Moreover, to put it in another way, the message of the gospel is one of free forgiveness—not that forgiveness will be given some day on conditions, but that in Christ it is already given to all that will by faith receive it. 'By grace you have been saved through faith.' Faith—trust in God—is necessary for salvation, and sufficient for salvation. Works are the outward signs, but only the outward signs, of a good or a bad heart, and in and for themselves are never works of grace. In the English Puritans, of course, assurance in the act of justification by works. Baptism indeed carried free forgiveness of past sins; but, if a man sinned after baptism, as he always did, he would have to earn forgiveness by good works and penances, and, if those penances were adequate, he paid the balance in purgatory, where accurate accounts were kept of sins and compensations for sins. But certain sins called mortal needed confession to a priest and absolution, if the sacraments necessary to salvation were not to be refused by the Church. Thus attention was concentrated on sins instead of sin, and on sins not as the signs of an evil heart—the particular answers that it gives to particular temptations—but as so many separate debts to God, which had to be paid or compound for. Indeed, it has been said that the English Church required good works and penances. Penitentials—such and such penances for such and such sins, irrespective of motives and circumstances—date back early in the Middle Ages, and commutations or remissions were known for years. The whole pilgrimage was meritorious, and a crusade atoned for all sins. The next step was that others might be paid to do the pilgrimage or to go on the crusade; and at last money was frankly accepted instead of good works. Further, a debt was cancelled in Roman law by payment, whoever paid it; so a vast system arose of vicarious satisfaction through the merits of the saints—a new application of the communio sanctorum. The climax of this was the traffic in indulgences (q.e.), which was the occasion for Luther's protest. The theory of these may be left to the canonists; in practice they were certainly understood by sellers and sinners alike as a public sale of licences for sins.

This is what made the Church system intolerable to so many persons of serious religion. Some, indeed, were content to pass lightly over its bad sides, many thought reform hopeless, a few took refuge in the detachment of mysticism; but many again were stirred to action, not simply not only that the papal claims were unfounded, or that the Church was full of scandals, or that this or that doctrine was untrue, but that the system as a whole was a practical hindrance and not a help to devotion. Luther himself was a model of ascetic piety till he found in practice that, in St. Paul's words, it was of no value,
tending only to the full satisfaction of the carnal nature. And to this conclusion the more earnest Reformer always came. The Church stood not simply in error, but in deadly antagonism to the living heart of Christ. It had returned to the principles of Pharisaism, and made the Saviour's work of none effect. 'If righteousness come by law, then Christ died in vain' (Gal 2).

3. Outward forms of the Reformation.—Form being something which clings to the external, it might be superficial too. Apparently similar principles may issue historically in different forms, while apparently similar forms may conceal different principles. But form is the outward and visible sign which the world understands, and it always expresses a principle, though not always the deepest, so that we shall find it convenient to use the familiar classification of the Reformed Churches as Lutheran, English, and Reformed, meaning by the last the Zwinglian and Calvinistic Churches of the Continent and Scotland. Only we must not take for granted that their deeper affinities are precisely what their outward forms may seem to indicate. Each of them in different ways came nearer than the others to the Latin, though the Continental Calvinists had at times brunt battle with Rome, it does not follow that their deeper principles were more unlike the Latin. The importance of the English Church and the difference of its government require for it an independent and original scheme of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The doctrine, however, laid down especially in the Articles, is entirely that of the Reformed Churches, and was fully recognized as such on both sides, though predestinarian and antinomian as do not exclude Arminianism. It is simply said that man 'is very far gone (quam longitudinal) from original righteousness,' and there is nothing about reprobation and irresistible grace. Thus it takes off the edges of the stricter Calvinistic doctrine. In addition to these three branches and their offshoots, we have the Arminian reaction from Calvinism, while Moravians and Quakers form an appendix of mysticism, and we cannot entirely ignore Socinians and Deists, though they pushed some of the Reformation into a denial of its fundamental doctrines.

On some great doctrines all the Reformed Churches were agreed; and these we shall review before we come to their differences. They were agreed that the revelation of salvation through Christ is contained in the Bible to the exclusion of tradition, and that the meaning of Scripture is determined by reason and scholarship, and not by any Church authority. Every Church must of necessity declare the terms of its own communion, but there is no infallible authority declaring truth. The chief exceptions are the Socinians, who limited the authoritative revelation to the NT, and the English Carolines, who spoke much of antiquity and general councils. In this, however, they had no intention of setting up tradition in the Romish way as a continuous inspiration which practically superseded Scripture; they were only giving to times of 'primitive purity' a weight which it never had. The English Reformation Churches were also agreed, except the outliers, in the full orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The only peculiarity is the Lutheran Communia communicatio. Theories of a Real Presence consistent with a reception which is not a communicatio communes, but a 'communicatio minuta' had before them the difficulty that the divine element of Christ is not carnally pressed with the teeth, while the human is not present everywhere, and 'the flesh proflieth nothing.' Rome calls transubstantiation a mystery, and leaves it a contradic-

tion of reason; but the Lutherans had to reconcile their consubstantiation with reason, and did it with their peculiar doctrine of the Incarnation, that the properties of the divine nature (ubiquity in particular) were communicated to the flesh. This is practically Monophysite, and carries the important consequence that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken, not only by the faithful, but by all who eat and drink in the Church. In the Reformed Churches, while they acknowledge the consubstantiation, they are generally agreed on the sacraments, accepting Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and denying the sacramental character of Confirmation, Orders, Matrimony, Penance, and Extreme Unction, and the confirmation of the Lutherans and the English has little more than the name in common with the Romish sacrament. The Calvinists have generally replaced it with some form of admission to communion.

The Reformed Churches are further agreed that the work of Christ upon the Cross is complete and final, in the sense that there can be no more sacrifice for sin or priests to offer it, and also that no good work of man can have any way contribute to salvation. Of the whole Church system there is nothing that they denounce more fiercely than the doctrine that the Mass is a true propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead. Thus, when the Council of Trent anathematized those who called the sacrifice of the Mass blasphemies, the English Church replied in deliberate and direct defiance that such sacrifices 'were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.' With the sacrifice went the sacrificing priest. The minister of Christ was restored to his true dignity and office, to preach the Word and offer with his people the higher sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving—'with them,' not 'for them,' for all the Reformed Churches use the vulgar tongue, and invite the people to take their part in the services. And, if the work of Christ upon the Cross is complete, then, as the Augsburg Confession points out, nothing can be added to it by any good works of our own. All that we can do is to receive it, and be thankful for the justification which is God's act for Christ's sake, and the faith by which alone we can receive it is its result and not its cause. And, if faith itself is not a merit which claims reward from God, still less are good works, which are no more than the natural expression of faith before men. Least of all is it possible to acquire merit by doing more than God commands. Any such teaching directly contradicts the plain words of Christ.

The most conspicuous cause of the differences among the Reformed Churches has been the action of the secular power. That action was entirely favourable only in Scandinavia. The favour of the princes in N. Germany and of the cities in the south-west was partly balanced by the hostility of France. The English Reformation reactions before the Reformation was settled by Elizabeth. The secular power was hostile in Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Bohemia, and Poland; and in Spain and Italy it suppressed the Reformation. In many of the other countries there were long struggles, but in the end the Reformation was finally defeated in France, Bohemia, and Poland; in the United Provinces and Scotland it prevailed. Where the princes favoured it, they commonly had tried it—and shaped it—for political ends; where they were
hostile, it took its own course. Thus England would certainly have declared for Puritanism if Elizabeth had not, with political advantage in a show of Lutheranism. Few, indeed, of the sovereigns had much personal zeal for the Reformation—Edward VI. of England and Christian III. of Denmark excepted. In England and Scandinavia the Reformation was a revolt of the laity, headed by the king, against the overgrown wealth of the Church and the vexatious claims of the priests; and this could not be carried through without a great reform of doctrine, for the pope's bishopric had become a German court in the very end of the Middle Ages. George III., was bishop of Osnabrück from his infancy till 1602, the commentator Bengel was abbot of Alpirsbach, and a sister of Frederick II. closed the long line of abbesses of Quedlinburg. In some countries the old Church was swept away.

In Sweden Gustavus Vasa could plead dire necessity; and the Recess of Westerås (1527) placed in his hands the whole property of the Church. He took the castles of the bishops and some of their estates. The monasteries were partly taken by the king, partly granted to the nobles, and those founded since 1454 were resumed by the heirs of the founders. But there was no violence. Monks and nuns were free to stay or leave; and one or two houses were left on till 1565. In Denmark the estates of the bishops were given to Christian III. in 1536, but the royal power was not strengthened as in Sweden and England. The gain fell to the nobles, as in Scotland.

In England the monasteries fell first. They were granted to the Crown, the mayor houses in 1536, the larger in 1539. Some of the property was used for six new bishoprics and other foundations, or for the defence of the realm; but the larger part was granted or sold on easy terms to men in favour at court. Thus a new nobility was formed, pledged to the new order of things. But the monasteries had appropriated the tithes of many parishes on condition of providing for the services; and this right and this obligation came to the new owners. So far then the parishes lost nothing; and, if the new proprietors were laymen who frankly treated the tithes and advowsons as private property, they did no more than the monks had done before them. It was the same with the chantries, which were dissolved by the Ten Articles of 1536 that masses cannot deliver souls from purgatory, and were suppressed in 1547. The parishes, however, lost much by the suppression of pilgrimages, relics, and other lucrative superstitions; and the churchwardens, who defended the chancels against the younger Wittelsbachs from 1583 to 1761. But in the reformed states the sovereign rights of sees were abolished, and the titular bishops were laymen and lived as laymen. The case was similar in the Empire. Wherever the emperor, under the old system, had granted a bishopric to a prince, the emperor took it back when the prince became a Protestant. Thus the sees of Osnabrück and Minden were commonly held by younger sons of Brunswick and Brunswick-Lüneburg, and other princes were not allowed to lay claim to them. Certain half-ecclesiastic, half-secular cadets of the Wittelsbachs from 1583 to 1761. But in the reformed states the sovereign rights of sees were abolished, and the titular bishops were laymen and lived as laymen. The case was similar in the Empire. 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belief round predestination and election. The English Church made no such distinctive doctrine avowedly central, but the central place was practically held by the supremacy of Scripture. Now this means that Lutheranism was in fact intensely conservative. It removed practical hindrances to true religion—and they were many—but had no special interest in further changes. Luther's was the genius of vivid insight, not of systematic thought, and the other Reformation leaders were of the same mind. So, once was enough. Or, as he was obliged to change. The English Church was conservative too, but more logical and systematic; and by its emphatic disavowal of any reception in the Lord's Supper which is not 'only after an heavenly and spiritual manner,' it was enabled to deal more boldly with the Mass and the ceremonies generally. Calvinism stands apart from the others, for the individualism which to them was fundamental was to the Calvinists only an inference from their really fundamental doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God. On that doctrine their whole system was moulded, and everything that seemed to conflict with it was ruthlessly swept away. The older the error, the more dangerous it was; and the more innocent the 'vulgar' the stronger was the reception of its thesis and the more resisted. Hence the Calvinists were much less conservative than the Lutherans or the English. If the old system went about to establish the righteousness of man against the sovereign grace of God, as it attempted to do, they would not Count it not only false in principle, but bad in all its details. The farther from Rome, the nearer to Christ.

These different ways of thinking were reflected in the different forms of Church government which always seem the chief things to the natural man. In the Church of the Middle Ages there were priests to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead, and these priests were ordained by bishops, who were themselves consecrated by other bishops who were supposed to trace their spiritual descent in an unbroken succession to the apostles. Thus ordination, consecration, and apostolic succession (three legal questions) were vital. The Reformers cut through all this; but even the Quakers had a regular call by the lawful authority of the Church, usually with admission by prayer and laying on of hands—for elucidation and solemnity, not as impressing any sacramental or indelible character. But here again Calvinism stands apart. To the Lutherans and the English Church government was a matter which every Church must determine for itself. No form of government and no ceremony of worship is officially held to be ordained of God. However ancient or edifying it may be, it is still only an ordinance of men, which may by men be altered or abolished. So they used their discretion in various manners. But, as it is usually the case, that what is done without the sanction of the State implied the sanctity of the State, so that the civil ruler was the natural representative and ruler of the Church also. Thus Lutheran churches have commonly been Erastian, seldom giving serious trouble. Catholics who did not go into Romanism or Calvinism. The old services and ceremonies (e.g., altar, vestments, etc.) they generally retained, only translating them into the vulgar tongue, and removing or explaining superstitious allusions. As regards Episcopacy they had no objection of principle to it. But, when the bishops refused, the results were various. In Germany the spiritual office was abolished, and the princes took over the general government of their churches. The bishops had consisted of courts where lawyers and divines vied together; and these, with extensions and modifications, became the chief subordinate authorities. In Denmark the bishops were equally intractable, and played a great part in the civil war after the Reformation. When Henry VIII., III. had captured Copenhagen in 1536, he arrested the bishops, and set them free only after their jurisdiction had been abolished by the National Assembly and the goods of the Church given up to the king. Thus Christian appointed seven superintendents to work under himself as summi episcopi, and these were consecrated, not by bishops, but by Luther's friend Bugenhagen, and soon took the title of bishops. There was no consistency. Sweden was more conservative. There the bishops were intractable, but Gustavus Vasa mastered the Church once for all at the Riksdag of Westerås in 1527; and Brusk of Linköping, the champion of the old order, left the country in despair. The vast estates of the Church were as a matter of course placed at the king's disposal. But the change was gentle and gradual: there were no martyrs on either side. The Mass was translated into Swedish and the ceremonies were explained. 

Function, e.g., was only a matter of a change in the interpretation of the Spirit. The forms of Church government were very little changed. The old bishops were gradually replaced by Lutherans, chosen by the clergy and consecrated by other bishops. Even if the episcopal succession were not observed (though this is disputed) by the unwilling hands of Petrus Magni of Westerås, though the Swedish Church leaves its spiritual value an open question. There was no central consistency—Gustavus Adolphus tried in vain to establish one—but parish priests are appointed by the bishops, and all dignitaries must have ring the king's approval.

The English Reformation took generally the same course as the Swedish, though the changes and the reactions were much the Ving's. The Tudors were stronger than the Vasa, and the antagonisms between Papalists and Nationalists, and between Catholics and Reformers, were much sharper than in Sweden. The English Church was Erastian because it was national, and therefore fifty represented by the civil power, and because the further the dangerous political situation after the separation from Rome induced the English people to give Henry VIII. a practical dictatorship. Thus the strong monarchy of the Tudors was raised to its height by the Reformation. Henry VIII. mastered the Church once for all at the 'Submission of the Clergy' in 1532. The king was acknowledged as Head of the Church—Supreme Head; convocation was not to make or even to suggest the laws. The Church was a state, and, if the election of bishops remained with the chapters, they could elect none but the king's nominees. The king's supremacy was not exercised through a consistory, but in a harsher form by direct orders from the crown. There was nothing less offensive to title of 'Supreme Governor,' though she claimed the same powers as her father, and exercised them through the Court of High Commission (not fully organized till 1583), which was as it were an established National church. As regards Episcopacy it was preserved not only the rite of consecration but the apostolic succession. She may have cared for it as little as Gustavus Vasa, but its political value was evident, especially when it suited her to pose like a Lutheran prince prescribing the religion of his subjects according to the Peace of Augsburg.
Thus the English Church has it as a matter of fact, but has nowhere officially declared it to have any other than the civil privileges of the other Church, to have any before the rise of the Carolines, which is commonly dated from Bancroft’s sermon in 1559. There is no mention even of Episcopacy in the English definition (Art. 19) of the Church; and, though no one has been allowed since 1662 to minister without episcopal ordination, this is given simply as a domestic rule ‘in the Church of England,’ and passes no censure on churches which otherwise ordain. In Church government then the English Gardiner passed a great deal of local independence in public worship they took a bolder line. The various books and the local uses were consolidated into the single national Book of Common Prayer in English for congregational use. The services were generally simplified, and the excessive number of the ceremonies was much reduced. Morning and Evening Prayer in 1549 contained little that was not in the Hours, and the Marriage Service is even now nearly what it was in the Middle Ages, nor was the Mass itself entirely changed. It was translated and much simplified; but it was still said by a priest in a vestment at an altar, and still provided for private confession and absolution. Its doctrine was upon the whole a spiritual Presence, but it was quite consistent with consubstantiality, though English Gardiner made a good deal of pleading to get transubstantiation into it. But in 1553 the Prayer-Book was ‘godly perused’ and revised. Invocation of saints and prayers for the dead were entirely removed. The ‘Service of the Lord’s Supper or Holy Communion’ was now to be said by a priest or minister in a surplice at the Holy Table. It provided for spiritual help and ghostly counsel, but individual confession was limited to the visitation of the sick, and even then it was neither private nor compulsory. Moreover, the whole structure of the service was changed for the deliberate purpose of disavowing every sort of Presence that is not purely spiritual. Every passage quoted by Gardiner was altered. The Canon of the Mass was broken up into three parts. The prayer for the whole state of Christ’s Church was limited to the living, the prayer of consecration was brought close to the administration in order to prevent ‘eucharistic adoration,’ and the obligation of the elements was turned into an optional text. The Church of England is still a Church, and the elements had been consumed. Thus in public worship the English made greater changes than the Swedes.

It will be noted that in N. Germany in Sweden, and in England the new churches were or soon became national, not simply as independent of Rome, but as true expressions of national character. Luther was so intensely German that his influence continued to dominate the North, even after the end of Calvinism in the latter half of the 16th century. In Sweden the new religion owed its consolidation to the services of Gustavus Vasa, the reaction against John III. and Sigismund, and the work of the great kings of the 17th century. Dissenters were few and anathematized, and the per cent. of dissenters are less than one per cent. In England the transition was during the peace of Elizabeth. A nation which in 1538 was hardly more than disquieted with the fires of Smithfield had become firmly Calvinistic in the latter half of the 16th century. By 1558, and never wavered afterwards. Even the Carolines (except a few creatures of Charles I.) were heartily opposed to Rome. But from the beginnings of Christianity in England there was a party which, while it was never the majority, yet was usually a majority, and which was always dominant, except in the time of the Civil War, preferred the regular and stately services of a national Church. The other, represented in successive ages by friars, Lollards, Puritans, and Dissenters, leaned to the freer ministrations, but in order to win the good graces of the Reformers and, for a moment successfully, to bring the whole nation into a single Church. That hope was wrecked by the tyranny of Bancroft and Laud; and, if the tyranny of the Caroline princes was as alien and as unpopular, the tyranny of the Restoration shut out men who stood for one whole side of the religious life of England. It condemned the Church to be a sect, yet a sect in which the other side is not for the necessary limitation of grace, so that the Caroline doctrine is shown at once by its powerful influence on English Dissenters and by its conspicuous failure to win the Celts of Wales and Cornwall.

Unlike the Lutheran and the English Churches were the Reformed. This marked historic difference is that they had the secular power against them everywhere but in the cities of the southwest—roughly, from Frankfurt and Lindau to Geneva. Where that power was friendly, they were guided and controlled by burgheers instead of princes; where it was hostile, they had to form their churches as the early Christians did, according to their own conceptions of doctrine and expediency. As the Romish sacerdotalism created an aristocracy of priests who alone could dispense the necessary ministrations of grace, so the Calvinist doctrine of predestination created an aristocracy of the elect, for whom alone Christ died, who alone received saving grace and alone properly constituted the Church. This aristocracy was created not by some visible rite of ordination, but by God’s eternal counsel secret to us, so that it could not form a visible class in the Church. The chief of sinners might be of the elect, and an apparent saint might prove a reprobate. So, while the distinction of priest and layman was denied, the acknowledged difference of elect and reprobate had to be ignored in the organization of the churches. Calvinism is indeed an inspiring creed—that God has foreknown me from all eternity, and sent me forth to do in His strength and not my own work predestinated for me before the foundation of the world. It is the creed of the strong, as asceticism is the creed of the weak, when neither the one nor the other can rise to the higher faith, that Christ died for all men, and not in vain. It is only half truths, and if it were not for the necessity, it must be treated in practice as if the limitation were false. As every Calvinist in his right mind believes himself to be elect like the boy in the English Catechism, he must presume that his neighbours also are elect, though he believes that some of them are not. It was like our own very necessary convention that our neighbours are honourable men, though we know that there are knaves among them. Only, a knave can sometimes be found out, a reprobate never. Hence a Reformed Church was in theory a democracy, with all spiritual authority deriving from the people. This principle was extended to civil authority by the English Independents in 1647, though the Commonwealth could not long outlast the Puritans vailed in America, where it was favoured by colonial conditions, and from America it was brought back to France, and became the basic principle of the Liberal movement of the last century. It created a series of new Churches and a free Church independent of the State; and to this ideal the Reformed doctrine pointed almost as clearly as the Romish. But the condition of freedom is persecution. The State cannot refuse to be a republic of opinion. This is clearly what is tolerated, and cannot decide them without judicial interpretations of its confessions and deeds of settlement. Hence the Reformed Churches
became subject to the State the moment they had mastered it. The burghers of Zürich or Amster-
dam might be the stoutest of Protestants; but they were determined to keep the ministers in their place, and allow no such clerical rule as that from which the Reformation had delivered them. They had none now, and the English had none then—to what we should consider a most vexatious interference with private life. They were used to it. Every town was full of sumptuary laws and minute regulations, and the wardens and authorities enforced them with the severity of law or less made little difference. But there was more than this. Calvin's high estimate of the Lord's Supper and of the primitive Church led him to demand the restoration of the primitive discipline and its enforcement by the secular power; and in this the Reformed Churches generally, including the English, were more or less inclined to agree with him. They had some reason. Public morals were in a dreadful state, and this was keenly felt, now that the new preaching had roused the public conscience, which the medieval Church had so debauched with formal righteousness and easy payments for sin that the foulest crimes passed with no more censure than in the old pagan times.

The new discipline was hideously severe and did inflict much moral pain, but in the end it proved more salutary than the old would have been, if the Church had not preferred to make a traffic in sin. It was at least impartial. Magnates and even ministers had to do their public penance like other sinners. Neither the ministers of Geneva, nor the Scottish Kirk, nor the High Commission in England showed any respect of persons. None the less the system hardened the saints with formalism and spiritual pride, and drove the sinners to hypocrisy or despair. It was long before the Reformed Churches could shake off the belief taken over from the Middle Ages that it was their duty to punish sin as with spiritual censures enforced by temporal penalties. But laymen were jealous of this dangerous power of excommunication, and modern churchmen like Bullinger disowned it. In Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland it was not allowed at all; in French Switzerland (even in Geneva) and in Scotland it was not permitted to purely clerical authorities. In England the frequency of excommunication and its effect were both much greater, particularly the censure against the early Stuarts; and the endeavor of the Presbyterians to introduce the Scottish discipline was foiled by the lawyers, the Independents, and the nation generally.

On the other hand, there was a doctrine which partly counteracted the natural dependence of the dominant sect upon the State. The holiness of the Church was nowhere more of a living truth than in the Reformed Churches, for they believed as any Romanist that it was ordained of God and guided by His Holy Spirit. Eternal preservation was a still mightier inspiration than the August tradition claimed by Rome, and there was no double standard of priests or monks and laymen, as in the Church of England. If the ministers could stand up as boldly as any bishops against wickedness in high places, they did so with a courage which, though not wanting, was less often seen in the more courtly life of the Roman Church. The Reformed Churches brought much more trial of persecution than the Catholics, for the Peace of Augsburg left them free to fight the hardest of the battle against the encroachment of the savage Catholic revival. Small regiments of freemen and narrow, quarrelsome and overscrupulous, but they were not fully represented by such extremists as Puritans, Covenants, and Camisards, who were more or less demoralized by Stuart or Bourbon tyranny. If we look to more peaceful churches like those of Zürich or Strasburg, or to the early stages of the Reformation in Scotland, we shall find greater moderation. Calvin himself charged the English Liturgy of 1552 with nothing worse than tolerabilia ineptias, and the one light—preached from the pulpit, and none omitted and some freedom to the minister—till they were disgusted with all forms of prayer by the attempt of Laud and Charles to force an English form upon them. Bucer and even Laski 

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be followed by something lower still. If there was much honest ignorance in the Middle Ages, there is much organized falsehood now.

Of all these evils the Reformation was the occasion, and of some the cause; and to these we may add the Reformation in its influence on the monasteries and in the corruption of the upper classes by the plunder of the Church, the mischiefs caused by the too great subservience of the Lutheran and English Churches to the State. We now look at the other side. The abolition of a mischievous and sometimes unfriendly foreign authority gave the nations freedom to develop themselves, and made better order possible in both Church and State. What were scandals in the 18th cent. were matters of course in the 16th. National character became stronger and more earnest, and gained a new sense of duty from the new responsibility laid on every man when the new teaching abolished auricular confession, swept away a vast amount of superstition, and turned the superintendence of the monks to the removal of the poison from family life by its emphatic rejection of the ascetic ideal; and all this was summed up in a rational worship constantly challenging comparison with an open Bible.

Yet all these were the side of the mighty evolution. The depth of meaning in the principles of the Reformation was reached slowly and through many conflicts, and is not exhausted yet. The Reformers were men of their own time, and took over from the Middle Ages many beliefs inconsistent with their own principles. They took over the old imperial conception of God as a despot in heaven, the old view of the gospel as a law of commands, the old belief in a rigid visible Church which could allow no dissent, and the old reliance on penitential disciplines of the State. All these are finally inconsistent with the indefinite character of the Reformation. A God who calls for freedom and democracy proclamation by the Reformation meant freedom first for heterodoxy. Persecution on the large scale was made impossible in Germany by the Peace of Westphalia, in England by the Revolution, in France by Voltaire and the Constituent Assembly. It meant also political freedom, and the growth of freedom is bringing the whole conception of government into better accord with the divine ideal of goodness and unselfishness. All Protestant states except retrograde Germany were saving nations, and the Catholic states nearly in proportion to their independence of Rome. The freedom won for criticism and science has been the occasion for many excesses; but the broad result emerging is confusion to the truth of the dissent done in the spirit of the Christian Church. Above all, the free appeal to history has shown that the gospel is larger and more varied, freer and more loving, than our fathers knew. The Reformation opened the way to a vision of God and the vision of God is the inspiration of men.

LITERATURE.—Dr. Gwatkin had finished this article, but had not added the literature, before his death. The following list has been prepared by the Editors.

The writings of the Reformers and the works of leading Church historians may be consulted for the history proper of the Reformation. Exhaustive lists of authorities will be found in the bibliographies attached to The Cambridge Modern History, I., II., Cambridge, 1902-04. In vol. I., The Renaissance, the section by W. Barry, describing 'Catholic Europe,' may be referred to, and that by H. C. Lea, on 'The Eye of the Reformation,' is also valuable. Vol. II., The Reformation, gives the history of the movement in the different countries of Europe. Vol. III., entitled The Wars of Religion, deals with those international and other conflicts which gave their origin to the Reformation.


See also H. G. Knoop, Calvinism, Hucbets, Luther, Papacy, Protestantism, Western Church, and H. M. Gwatkin, Cremoniius,

In 1579 the title, 'the Reformed Dutch Church in North America,' was given. The min Synod at the adoption of the Constitution term, 'the Dutch Reformed Church in America.' But the name on the title-page of the first edition of the Constitution, printed in 1819 is 'the Reformed Dutch Church in the States of America.' The same title appears in the second edition of 1815. In subsequent years it is 'the Reformed Dutch Church of America.' The act of incorporation of the church in 1819 gives the name as 'the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church.' In these terms the name Aked and geographical position of the Church is defined. It was 'Protestant' in contrast to Roman Catholicism. It was 'Reformed' because it belonged to the school of Calvin rather than that of Luther. It was 'Dutch' because Holland was the country of its origin. The expression 'American,' 'North America,' and United States in its title, as its designation of time the title was considered cumbersome the word 'Dutch' inappropriate, since the church had become thoroughly American, the name was therefore changed to 'the Reformed Church in America.'
The Dutch colony in America was established in 1624. The colony was chartered by the Dutch West India Company, which was founded in 1621. The company was the first European company to establish a colony in America. The colony was located in the Caribbean and was intended to be a source of wealth for the company. The company was governed by a council of governors, who were appointed by the Dutch government. The council was responsible for the administration of the colony.

The colony was founded on the principle of religious freedom. The Dutch were known for their tolerance of religious differences, and this was reflected in the colony. The colony was divided into two parts, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Dutch Presbyterian Church. The Dutch Reformed Church was the established church of the colony, and it was supported by the government. The Dutch Presbyterian Church was a separate church, and it was not supported by the government. The two churches were allowed to operate independently, and they were free to conduct their own affairs.

The colony was also characterized by a strong tradition of free speech. The Dutch were known for their love of freedom of speech, and this was reflected in the colony. The colony was a place where people could express their ideas without fear of persecution. The colony was also a place where people could practice their religion without interference from the government.

The colony was also characterized by a strong tradition of education. The Dutch were known for their love of education, and this was reflected in the colony. The colony was home to a number of schools, and it was a place where people could receive a good education. The colony was also home to a number of colleges, and it was a place where people could receive a good education in higher learning.

The colony was also characterized by a strong tradition of commerce. The Dutch were known for their love of commerce, and this was reflected in the colony. The colony was home to a number of businesses, and it was a place where people could engage in commerce. The colony was also home to a number of banks, and it was a place where people could conduct business.

The colony was also characterized by a strong tradition of politics. The Dutch were known for their love of politics, and this was reflected in the colony. The colony was home to a number of political institutions, and it was a place where people could engage in politics. The colony was also home to a number of political leaders, and it was a place where people could interact with them.
Yet they realized the necessity of theological education, and Domine Ritzema evolved the plan of a Dutch Divinity professorship in the newly-organized King's College, in New York City. The plan was adopted, but the chair was never occupied.

In 1732 the Conference addressed its apologies in an 'Assembly subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam.' The next year by special permission they ordained one young man.

The Classis of Amsterdam did not understand conditions in America. At first they favoured the Congregate, but in time they perceived that the freedom usurped by the Coetus was necessary to the life of the American Church. John Henry Livingston, sometimes called 'the father of the Reformed Church,' was influential in enlightening them. A well-informed American, he studied theology at the University of Utrecht in 1765-70. He took every opportunity to explain conditions in the American Church to members of the Classis of Amsterdam. In Livingston's return to America he became pastor in New York City, and the next year (1771) under his influence a peace conference was held. At this a plan of union, proposed by the Classis of Amsterdam, was presented. Both parties were then disposed to strike, and peace was obtained with surprising ease. The freedom desired by the Coetus was secured, and the feelings of the Congre- gate were soothed by the adoption of names not connected with the old disagreements. An organ- ized body, with wide power to ordain, and five 'special bodies' were grouped under it. The Church, now acknowledged independent, was about to enter upon a full ecclesiastic and religious life.

But in the Revolutionary War the church of New York City received constant appeals for aid from weak churches. To these she seldom turned a deaf ear. Several Domestic Mission Societies were organized at different times, and the Board of Missions, with such aid as was born in 1831. Its chief work is to aid feeble churches and to organize new ones in proper places.

Many of the strong churches of the denomination have received aid from it in their infancy. The first year of its existence its income was $6,400. In the year 1915 it received $197,555.55.

Foreign missionary work has received unusual attention. The first society for this purpose was organized in 1786. From 1826 to 1832 the Reformed Church in America Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, from 1832 to 1857 their relation with that board was that of co-operation. Since 1857 the Reformed Church has conducted its foreign mission work independently but with hearty co-operation with other Churches in the foreign field. The receipts of this board in 1915 were $300,752.51. The board at present maintains five missions, viz. Amoy, China, 1842; Aracot, India, 1853; N. Japan, 1859; S. Japan, 1859; Arabia, originally an independent mission, under the board in 1894.

The women of the Church also maintain foreign and domestic mission boards.

Other boards of the Church are: the Board of Direction, which has charge of the property of the Synod; the Board of Education, which aids men studying for the ministry and assists in the support of certain educational institutions; the Board of Publication and Bible Work; the Disabled Ministers' Fund and the Widows' Fund.

In 1915 there were reported 716 churches with 190,847 communicant members, served by 759 ministers.

3. The doctrine and polity of the Reformed Church in America.—The Constitution of the Netherlands Reformed Church, decreed by the Synod of Dort (1618–19), was formally adopted by the Reformed Church in America in 1771. That Constitution then contained the following elements: the Belgic Confession of Faith, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Tridentine Councils of the same; the liturgy, the Canons of the Synod of Dort, and the rules of Church government.

The standards of doctrine have remained unchanged, but the Church has been little troubled with heresy. It has been conservative and progressive in the interpretation of these standards. The Constitution and the liturgy have been revised in 1833, 1874, and 1916. Certain portions of the liturgy are optional. Some of these have fallen into general disuse. But certain portions are required; they are generally admired and perhaps
are the most distinguishing feature in the services of the Reformed Church.

The form of government is that of the Presbyterian type, first proposed by Calvin and adopted by the New York Synod of 1688. It requires four classes of officers in the church: ministers, teachers (of theology), elders, and deacons.

The unit of the government is the Consistory ruling the individual church. A group of churches forms a Classis. Of this body Robert College, New Brunswick, N.J., 1766; its name was changed from Queen's to Rutgers in 1825; it is the State college of New Jersey and since 1865 is no longer under the control of the General Synod; (2) the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J., 1784; this is perhaps the oldest institution of its kind in the United States; it has been located at New Brunswick, N.J., since 1810, when Livingston, who had been both pastor in New York and professor of Theology at Princeton, was invited to New Brunswick to devote his entire time to teaching; (3) Hope College and the Western Theological Seminary, 1866, both located at Holland, Michigan. Besides these the Church has several schools of lower grade in America and important institutions upon its mission fields.


Charles E. Colvin.

REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.—This religious denomination, which was formerly known as 'the German Reformed Church,' is derived from the Reformed Churches of Germany and Switzerland. In government it holds to the Presbyterian system. Its confession of faith is the Heidelberg Catechism. It developed the 'Mercersburg Theology,' one that has a marked influence on American theological thought.

Individual members of the Reformed Church emigrated to America early in the 17th century. The first pastor of the Swedish colony which in 1638 settled on the land at New Sweden, near Philadelphia, had been a ruling elder of one of the Reformed churches of the German city of Wesel. Among the Huguenots who founded New York there were not a few Germans, but these generally identified themselves with the Reformed Church. In the southern colonies there were German and French Reformed among the earliest settlers. Wherever Episcopalians or Presbyterians had occupied the field, they rarely attempted a separate organization. In Pennsylvania Reformed families on the frontier who had settled before the arrival of William Penn.

About 1700 German Reformed people began to arrive in America in great numbers. Most of these were natives of the Palatinate on the Rhine or of neighboring districts. With them came also many Swiss. The principal cause of this extensive migration was no doubt a desire on the part of the immigrants to better their worldly condition. In the Palatinate great distress was universal or at least very great, and these were the wars which had devastated the land. Even after peace had been declared there was no immediate improvement. Finally came the terrible winter of 1708-09, which greatly increased the distress. It was reported that Queen Anne had invited the suffering Palatines to emigrate to the British colonies.

'Then,' says F. Löher, 'men looked into each other's faces and said: 'Let us go to America, and if we perish, we perish.'

The condition of Switzerland was hardly more encouraging than that of the Rhine country. The people could not bear any longer the oppression of the foreign refugees who had crowded into Switzerland; and, as many of these were skilled labourers, they unintentionally deprived the natives of their means of subsistence. As early as 1665 Peter Fabian, of Bern, sent out by the English Carolina Company, visited Carolina in the hope of establishing a settlement, but he does not appear to have been successful. In 1710 Christoph von Graffenried and Michell, natives of Bern and sailing from England, founded Newbern, in N. Carolina. About 1720 the stream of Swiss immigration turned northward, and in E. Pennsylvania the Swiss became especially numerous. There were no doubt some of them among the Palatines who went from Amsterdam to London in 1709; but the Swiss generally sailed directly from Rotterdam to America, and purchased land soon after they reached their destination.

The estimates of the extent of the German and Swedish immigration to America in the 18th cent. differ. Isaac Edwards, Historian of Pennsylvania, and there from Canada to Georgia, and for a long time there was little communication between them. Theodor Poesche, a careful authority, puts the number in America before the Revolution of 1776 at 200,000, and in the next period, about 1776, the stream of Swiss immigration turned northward, and in E. Pennsylvania the Swiss became especially numerous. There were no doubt some of them among the Palatines who went from Amsterdam to London in 1709; but the Swiss generally sailed directly from Rotterdam to America, and purchased land soon after they reached their destination.

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1. 1709-46: Isolated congregations. — This period is characterized by the founding of congregations and the beginning of missionary activity. The earlier portion is very obscure. Religious services were held in private houses, or in other places in the open air. In the absence of regular ministers, sermons were read by schoolmasters or other intelligent laymen. Among the best known of these schoolmasters was Thomas Schley, the inventor of the New York Dutch Bible. He was the founder of Frederick City, Md. He was singled out by Schlaeter as the best teacher he had found

in America, defining 'the congregation on every Lord's Day by means of singing and reading God's Word and praying together.'

John Frederick Haeger (1684–1722) was the earliest missionary. He was ordained by the bishop of London on 29th Dec. 1709, at the solicitation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 'for serving among the Palatines, New York.' He laboured in the settlements on the Hudson and began to build a church, but did not live to complete it. His father, John Henry Haeger, an ordained minister who had been rector of the Latin school at Siegen, in Nassau-Dietz of the Palatinate, arrived in America in 1714, and became pastor in Virginia at a village, named Germanna, which had been built by certain miners who had been brought over by Governor Spotswood.

In Pennsylvania the earliest missionary labour appears to have been performed by a Hollander. At Neshannock, in Bucks county, there was a Reformed Dutch church—the only one in the province—and from its records it appears that its pastor, Caleb Vreug, on the 25th Day of June, visited the (German) settlement at Skippach, where he baptized several children, and on 4th June of the same year ordained elders and deacons at White Marsh. These were probably the earliest German Reformed Churches in Pennsylvania, though it is possible that some sort of organization may have been almost simultaneously established at Germantown and Falkner Swamp.

Samuel Guldin (1664–1745) was a Swiss minister who arrived in Philadelphia in 1716. He had been associate pastor of the cathedral church at Bern, but was removed from his charge for Pietism. In America he seems to have lived in retirement, though he preached occasionally in Germantown. He published three small volumes, treating principally of his unhappy European experiences.

In 1725 the congregations at Falkner Swamp, Skippach, and White Marsh, after seeking in vain for a regular minister, extended a call to John Philip Boehm, who had previously served as their 'reader.' His ministry proved successful, and after communications with the Classis of Amsterdam, he was ordained in 1729 by Dutch ministers of New York. John Philip Boehm (1683–1749), whose indefatigable activity and great importance for the welfare of the church, were the witness of the church which had recently been established by W. J. Hinke,1 had been a parochial teacher at Worms, and came to America about 1720. He prepared for his congregations a constitution, which was approved by the synods of Holland and was long regarded as a model. He was the author of several vigorous controversial pamphlets and founded many congregations, his missionary journeys extending from the Delaware river almost to the Susquehanna. Profoundly impressed by the helpless condition of the churches of Pennsylvania, he appealed for aid to the synods of Holland, and it was greatly by his influence that the European churches were awakened to a sense of their duty towards their brethren beyond the sea.

In 1727 George Michael Weiss (1700–63), an ordained minister, arrived at Philadelphia. He had been commissioned by the Ober-Consistorium of Heidelberg to accompany 400 Palatines to America as their leader and guide. In the year of his arrival he organized the Reformed Church of Philadelphia. In 1730 he accompanied Jacob Reiff on a journey to Europe, to collect money and books for several destitute churches, returning to America the following year. He, subsequently served a charge in the province of New York, but finally returned to Pennsylvania.

John Peter Miller (1710–96) and John Bartholomew Rieger (1707–60), both natives of the Palatinate, arrived in 1730. After serving in the Reformed Church for several years, Miller joined the Seventh-day Baptists and became the head of a monastic institution at Ephrata. Rieger subsequently studied medicine, and, though he was at times a 'reader,' the work of the Church, was in later years best known as a physician.

The name of John Henry Goetschius (1718–74) frequently appears in early congregational records. His father, Mauritius Goetschius, who had previously been pastor at Salez, in the canton of Zürich, was brought to America by his father, who had been ordained at Dornach by his family. He died not long after landing in Philadelphia, and his son, John Henry, soon afterwards began to preach with great acceptance, though he was only seventeen years old. In 1736 he claimed to be pastor of twelve congregations. In later years he became an eminent minister in the Reformed Dutch Church. His brother-in-law, John Conrad Wirtz, also became a minister, and is regarded as the founder of the Reformed Church in New York under the name of Vliet.

In 1742 several Reformed ministers joined with Count Zinzendorf in the organization of the 'Congregation of God in the Spirit.' It was proposed to unite the German denominations (Lutheran, Reformed, and Methodist) and to organize them without destroying their identity. Until 1748 this organization laboured earnestly, especially among the Reformed and Lutherans, but the movement finally proved unsuccessful, and most of its adherents identified themselves with the Methodists.

The most eminent of the Reformed ministers who belonged to the 'Congregation' were Henry Antes, John Bechtle, Christian H. Rauch, Jacob Lisy, and John Brandmiller.

2. 1746–93: Denominational organization. The leading event of this period was the founding of the 'Coeetus,' by Michael Schaller, in 1747. For eighteen years the Church of Holland had been directly interested in the German churches of Pennsylvania; but nothing had been done to secure their union. It was believed that the American churches were not ready for the establishment of an independent Synod; and it was, therefore, suggested that an advisory body, composed of ministers and delegated elders, should be organized as soon as possible, since they have been able to set before the synods of Holland, and were convinced that the 'Coeetus,' or 'Convention'—a term which was first applied by John à Lasco to a weekly conference of ministers which he established in 1544 at Emden, in Germany. There were certain difficulties which may at first have appeared almost insurmountable. The Germans of Pennsylvania were not of Dutch speech or nationality; they had not been trained to acknowledge the national Confessions of the Netherlands, and it would have required much labour to bring them into full accord with their new ecclesiastical relations. A man was needed who could speak the language of both nationalities, who was willing to be the confidential agent of the Dutch Synods, and might serve as a personal link between the Old and New World. Such a man was certainly not to be found among the 'Coeetus,' or 'Convention.' Michael Schaller (1716–90), a native of St. Gall, belonged to a prominent family and was thoroughly educated. Having during the greater part of his youth in Holland, he was familiar with the language of that country. After his ordination to the ministry he preached for several years in his native country; but, having heard of the necessities of the American churches, he went to Holland and was commissioned by the synods of Holland to undertake the work of organizing them. Nine days after receiv-
ing his commission he set sail for America, where he arrived on 1st Aug. 1746. In his American work he manifested extraordinary energy and perseverance. He made extensive missionary journeys, organized thirteen pastoral charges, and convened the first Coetus in Philadelphia on 29th Sept. 1747, with four ministers and 28 elders in attendance. The ministers, besides Schlatter, were John Casco, Casper Stoy, John Franklin, and John Reily, who had been sent to Holland for revision and approval. At that time the Coetus met annually, its proceedings being sent to Holland for revision and approval.

In 1731 and 1734 Schlatter visited Europe in the interest of the American churches. His first mission was remarkably successful. In one year he wrote and published a book, attended many conferences in Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, induced six young ministers to accompany him on his return to America, and collected £12,000, the interest of which was to be applied to the destitute churches of Pennsylvania and schools. The ministers who accompanied Schlatter to America were Philip William Otterbein, John Jacob Wissler, John Waldschmidt, Theodore Frankenfield, Henry William Stoy, and John Casco, Casper Stoy, and John Franklin.

Schlatter's enthusiasm proved contagious, and David Thomson, pastor of the English church at Amsterdam, went to England to plead for the establishment of schools among the Germans of Pennsylvania. He led the Methodist church in this effort, and it was said that the king gave a personal contribution of £1000. A number of so-called 'Charity schools' were founded in Pennsylvania, and Schlatter was made superintendent of this educational movement. He was also invited by General Schuyler, for some years a chaplain in the Royal American Regiment of infantry, and subsequently lived in retirement near Philadelphia.

The Coetus increased slowly. 'The fathers' in Holland sent a number of missionaries, who had, almost without exception, been well educated in German universities. They refused, however, to grant to the American body the privilege of conferring the rite of ordination, and this led to frequent disagreements. As a result, a considerable number of ministers failed to become members of Coetus.

Among the most prominent members of Coetus were the following: J. Conrad Steiner (1707-63), author of several volumes of sermons; Philip William Otterbein (1726-1810), pastor in Baltimore, who later served in the Synod of Pennsylvania; John Casco, who founded religious societies from which the denomination of 'the United Brethren in Christ' was developed; J. Daniel Gros (1737-1812), professor in Columbia College, New York, and author of an important philosophical work (in English); C. D. Weyberg and William Henders, two ministers who united, in 1787, with several Lutheran pastors in founding at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Franklin College, so named in honour of Benjamin Franklin, who was the largest individual contributor to its endowment.

The leading independent minister was John Joachim Zabli (1724-81), of Savannah, Georgia, an author, and elected in 1775 a member of the Continental Congress. In 1787 the Reformed ministers of S. Carolina joined with several Lutheran ministers in forming a union which received the double name of 'Corpus Evangelicum' and 'Unio Ecclesiastica.' This movement is interesting to note in that it practiced the Prussian Church union of 1817 in some important particulars.

During this period the Coetus remained warmly attached to the Church of Holland. In 1770 an attempt to unite the German and Dutch Reformed elements in a General Synod was defeated by the Germans on the ground of gratitude to 'the fathers' in Holland and particularly to the Classis of Amsterdam. In the war of the Revolution, when communication with Europe was much interrupted, the American churches had to depend upon their own resources. In 1792 the Coetus abstained from sending its minutes to Holland for revision. The period of dependence was at an end and the Coetus by its own act became an autonomous body.

3. 1793-1820: The independent denomination.

The independent denomination.—About twenty ministers united in the organization of the Synod which met at Lancaster, Pa., in 1793. The condition of the Church at that time could hardly be called encouraging. Congregations had grown but the poor financial condition of the parishes and the apathy of the pioneers had passed away, and the younger ministers were imperfectly educated. No provision had been made for higher education, and the number of candidates for the ministry was small, so that extensive districts were left without pastors. Important congregations called pastors, without much discrimination, from other denominations, and the people were in danger of being alienated from the faith of their fathers. The introduction of the English church system, which was hostile to that of the older generation and led to serious conflict. Pastors generally laid stress on catechetical instruction, but the establishment of Sunday schools was viewed with suspicion, as were all so-called free thinking movements. The American churches were, however, mainly traditional, and the prevailing theology was that of the Cocceian or Federalist school. The Church, however, grew by natural increase, and a new and brighter era was ahead of it.

4. 1820-1853: The consolidation period. Religious institutions, educational institutions and liturgical worship.—At the beginning of this period the number of ministers had increased to 70, and it was found difficult to bring them together at synodical meetings. It was, therefore, determined to divide the Synod into eight Classes, which held their earliest meetings in 1820. From this time onwards the Synod was a delegative body chosen by the Classes. The Classis of Ohio, on account of the Synod's refusal to grant to the Classes the privilege of conferring the rite of ordination, became a separate body, known as the 'Synod of Ohio.' In this position it remained until the organization of the General Synod in 1863. Heidelberg College at Tiffin, Ohio, was founded in 1850. In 1829 Grant's plan was adopted for establishing a Theological Seminary, which was opened at Carlisle, Pa., 1825, with Lewis Meyer as the first professor of Theology. Meyer wrote A History of the Reformed Church and valuable monographs.

In 1829 James B. Reily, one of the zealous friends of the Seminary, visited Germany to solicit contributions towards an enterprise that was so intimately related to the welfare of emigrants from the fatherland. He secured a good library and a considerable sum of money. Among the most liberal contributors was His Majesty Frederick III. of Prussia. In 1829 the Seminary was removed to York, Pa., and in 1837 to Mercersburg, Pa. Two years before (1835), this small town, afterwards to become famous, was made the seat of Marshall College.

Frederick Augustus Ranch (1806-41), the first president of Marshall College and associate professor in the Theological Seminary, had served a long time as professor extraordinary at the University of Giessen, had just the right qualifications to fill a full professor at Heidelberg when, on account of political troubles, he was compelled to leave his fatherland. He had been a favourite pupil of the great eclectic philosopher, Carl Daub, and, though a Hegelian, many elements of his thinking were derived from Schelling and
others of his great contemporaries. In theology he was a man of thought and he had been ordained to the ministry. At Mercersburg he wrote his Psychology (New York, 1846) and had begun a treatise on aesthetics, when he died suddenly on 2nd March 1841.

In 1833 Mayer retired from his professorship and in 1840 John Williamson Nevin was elected his successor. He was at that time professor in the (Presbyterian) Western Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh, Pa., and was already known as an earnest student of German philosophy and theology.

Nevin was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, on 20th Feb. 1803, and died at Lancaster on 6th June 1886. He graduated at Union College, New York, and studied theology at Princeton. Before going to Pittsburgh he had been assistant teacher of theology at Princeton, and had published his Summary of Biblical Antiquities (Philadelphia, 1829). In accepting the invitation to Mercersburg he was convinced that he was called to perform an important task, and his transition to the Reformed Church was fully approved by his Presbyterian associates. For many years Nevin was the head of the institution at Mercersburg. The books which he wrote, though few in number, had their influence, and in his History of the Church of the Antiochans, or the Anxious Bench (Chambersburg, Pa., 1843) aroused wide attention, and his book The Mystical Presence (Philadelphia, 1846) presented the real spiritual presence in the Lord's Supper. He was a thinker and a powerful controversial theologian. From 1849 to 1853 he edited the Mercersburg Review, and most of his theological articles appeared in that periodical.

In 1843 the Synod, convened at Lebanon, Pa., elected F. W. Krummacher, of Elberfeld, Prussia, to become Banci's successor at Mercersburg. Benjamin S. Schneck and Theodoro L. Hoffeditz went to Germany to present the call, and their visit attracted much attention in Berlin and other cities. When Krummacher declined the call, the attention of the commissioners was diverted by Neander, Tholuck, Julius Müller, and Krummacher to Philip Schaff (1819–93), who was at that time a private lecturer in the University of Berlin. This recommendation Schaff was elected professor of Theology at Winchester, Va., on 10th Oct. 1845, and came to Mercersburg in the following year.

Schaff's inaugural address, The Principle of Protestantism, published with an Introduction by Nevin (Chambersburg, Pa., 1846), defended the doctrine of historical development, a theory at that time considered dangerous by many German Reformed ministers. For this reason and on account of alleged Roman Catholic tendencies, the inaugural was made the ground of a charge of heresy. Schaff was tried before the Synod and acquitted by a practically unanimous vote.

Through the teachings of Nevin and Schaff Mercersburg became widely known as the seat of the 'Mercersburg Theology.' Misrepresented as a Romanizing movement in sympathy with the Tractarianism of Fox and with the strong realism of Protestant, but stood for a high view of the Church and her ordinances and not for any peculiar system of divinity. Stress was laid upon the liturgical element in worship, the real spiritual presence in the Lord's Supper, and the importance of the early Church Fathers. Nevin's articles on 'Early Christianity' and on 'Cyprian' in the Mercersburg Review (1851, 1852) helped to increase the unrest which Schaff's inaugural had stirred up.

Schaff was active in literary labour as well as in the class room. He stated his views of historical development in What is Church History? (Philadelphia, 1846), and published his History of the Apostolic Church (first in German, Mercersburg, 1851, Leipzig, 1854, Eng. tr., New York, 1855) and his History of the Christian Church, 1 A.D.—600 A.D. (2 vols., New York, 1855–67), a German Hymn-book (1859) still used in the worship of the German Reformed Church in the United States, and others. Nevin resigned his professorship in 1851, subsequently becoming president of Franklin and Marshall College, the chief literary institution of the Church. Schaff remained at Mercersburg till 1863.

Influenced by the example of these teachers, many younger men engaged in literary work and became prominent as authors and Church leaders—H. A. Bomberger, E. V. Gerhart, Henry Harbaugh, Thomas C. Porter, George W. Williard, and Jeremiah I. Good. In 1851 Catawba College was founded at Newton, New, Carolina. In 1853 Marshall College was removed to Lancaster and consolidated with Franklin under the title of Franklin and Marshall College. In 1871 the Theological Seminary was removed from Lancaster, where both institutions have since been successfully continued. During this period also the Church was greatly disturbed over the preparation and use of a Liturgy, Schaff being one of the leaders in the preparation of the book (Philadelphia, 1857).

Missionary work in the West was successful, especially among the Germans. In 1860 a colony of emigrants from Lippe-Detmold founded the Mission House at Franklin, Wis., which has become an important centre of missionary activity.

5. 1863–1918: The peaceful growth of the Church.—The year 1865 was distinguished by the tercentenary celebration of the Heidelberg Catechism. There were several largely attended conventions, at which essays were read which were afterwards published in English and German in the Tercentenary Monument (Chambersburg and Philadelphia, 1863). A memorial edition of the Heidelberg Catechism in three languages was also published (The Heidelberg Catechism in German, Latin, and English, with Intro. by J. W. Nevin, New York, 1863), Bonn, 1864, and Der Heidelberger Catechismus, nach der ersten Ausgabe von 1563, etc., Philadelphia, 1863, rev. ed. 1886).

In 1866 the General Synod was organized by the union of the Eastern and Western Synods. During their long separation these bodies had developed local peculiarities, and there were disagreements on the general subject of cultus. As early as 1847 a Liturgical Committee had been appointed by the Eastern Synod, and several proposed orders of service were published. During the heated controversy over the subject Ursinus College was founded, in 1868, by Bomberger. In 1879 the controversy was concluded by the establishment of a Peace Commission, which also prepared the order of worship now generally used. There is no disposition to abridge the freedom of worship, and the use of the Liturgy is not compulsory.

The Church is connected with the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding to the Presbyterian System,' and is greatly interested in the establishment of a closer federation. There have been several efforts for an organic union with the German Reformed Church in America, but these have hitherto proved unsuccessful, principally on account of a difference in doctrinal standards. A movement for the union of the Church with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. A. came to an end in 1915; 203 congregations had voted in favour, but the majority of the Classes was against it. In 1869 the foreign paternal adjective, 'German,' was removed from the official
title of the Church. In spite of difficulties and trials, the Reformed Church in the United States has greatly increased in numbers and influence. In 1916 there were, in connection with the General Synod, 9 districts, with 13,459 congregations, 329,459 communicants, with contributions for congregational purposes of $2,201,545 and for benevolence $860,450. There are missions in Japan and China, with 6 schools. Of the pulpits 6 are exclusively English, and 3 wholly English. The Reformed Church in the United States has 14 theses and 26 recognized periodicals. Five orphan homes and a deaconess home are maintained.

The Reformed Church is sincerely attached to its ancient standards, but also believes in the principle of progress. Its theology is Christocentric—an attitude which has found elaborate and systematic expression in E. V. Gerharz's Institutes of the Christian Religion (2 vols., New York, 1909), and in Letters of the Conservative Reformed Church, three volumes (Philadelphia, 1916). Religious services are conducted according to the general order of the Church year. Confirmation is practiced, not as a sacrament but as an appropriate rite attendant upon admission to the Church. Its attitude towards other Christian denominations is fraternal.


JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS.

**REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH and FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.**—The Free Church of England, and, as its title indicates, the Reformed Episcopal Church of the United Kingdom, otherwise called the Reformed Church of England, claim, each separately, to possess the historic episcopate, indirectly from Canterbury, to which the old-fashioned, unemotional English Churchman, in his cautious self-guard and conservative ecclesiasticism, attaches supreme importance. In the Reformed Episcopal Church three orders of ministers are recognized: bishops, priests (i.e. presbyters), and deacons. The Free Church of England, in its published Declaration of Principles, says:

"Guided by the New Testament and by the ecclesiastical polity of the Church, this Church recognizes only two Orders of Ministers, Bishops and Deacons. Nevertheless, the first order is divided into two classes, i.e. bishops and presbyters. The attitude of both the Churches is very clearly expressed about their view of episcopacy. The Reformed Episcopal Church says:

"This Church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity."

The Free Church of England expresses the same belief in similar words and adds:

"But for the avoidance of any possible misunderstanding, it hereby emphasizes its recognition of the Roman dogma of Apostolical Succession in the Ministry as involving the transmission of spiritual powers."

Both Churches in similar terms condemn and reject the following erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word:

"First.—That the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity.

Second.—That Christian ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are a "royal priesthood."

How the Free Church of England came to be possessed of the historic episcopate, of which the founders were so desirous, may be briefly stated. We are dealing with the history and polity of the Free Church of England before that of the Reformed Episcopal Church in England because of the two Protestant Episcopal Churches outside the Establishment. The Church of England is the established Church of the United Kingdom, and the Free Church, or Reformed Episcopal Church, was the first formed. In fact, the latter grew out of the former, withdrawals having quietly taken place from the Free Church of England on the question raised by Churchmen in the religious press concerning the historic episcopacy. Four of those who thus seceded, one of whom had been episcopally consecrated as a bishop in the Free Church of England, became subsequent bishops in the Reformed Episcopal Church. As three out of these four seceders had been at one time Congregational ministers, it may fairly be assumed that none of them was personally hampered by any deep conviction that, in order to secure valid orders, the 'laying on of hands' must be by a bishop in the historical succession, but that they took the important step they were then doing in order to avoid the objections of rigid Church people to a purely elective episcopacy.

**I. The Free Church of England.**—The Free Church of England is a Protestant Episcopal Church, which, regarding its polity, as its form of worship, takes outside the Established Church a position similar to that of the Evangelical party within. The Oxford Movement (q. v.), as it is generally called, which, according to Cardinal Manning, had a stronger influence in England than in Scotland and Ireland, in order to arouse the clergy of the Church of England from the cold, apathetic condition into which they had fallen, led to the formation of the Free Church of England, as an effective antidote to the advanced sacerdotal teaching of the pioneers of the ritualistic campaign—the eminent clergyman of the Church of England who had dived deeply into early Patristic teaching and pre-Reformation practices—

and the materialistic exaggerations of their immediate successors, who did not possess the scholarly, sound, and personal character of such men as Keble, Pusey, Ward, and Faber, who far surpassed them in zeal.

For a decade there had been simmering among the loyal Evangelical clergy an opinion, which gradually deepened and widened in larger and in even outside circles, that something effective should be done to counteract the rapidly spreading sacerdotal movement. In 1843 matters were brought to a head, and precipitated the formation of the Free Church of England.

The see of Exeter was presided over by Henry Phillpotts, who was a strong High Churchman, a strenuous controversialist; and, holding Cyprianic views as to the Divine authority of the episcopal office, to which he did not hesitate to give effect in his diocese, he was at times thought that by setting one or another of his clergy, in Church history (1847) he is well known by his attempt to stretch ecclesiastical law by imposing an unheard-of test upon George Cornelius Gorham, a third wrangler and a Fellow of Balliol, who by the statutes instituting him to the vicarage of Brampton-Speke, Exeter, to which he had been appointed by Lord Chancellor Cottenham. James Shore had for ten years been the esteemed minister of Bridgeton Chapel-of-ease, who was brought before the Free Church by his congregation, informed him that his nomination to the Episcopal chapel could not be renewed; and the bishop withdrew his licence and declined to state his reasons for so doing; The Duke of Somerset, on being memorialized by 500 inhabitants
of the congregation, decided to re-open it, but this time without the bishop's licence. Shore wrote formally, and, as he thought, distinctly, his objections to the Church of England; and on 14th April 1844 he again preached in the chapel to his old well-beloved congregation; but this time as a clergyman in the Free Church of England. The bishop of Exeter, believing as the High Church men believed, that the liberty of Holy Orders was not conferred, when they are conferred, a special spiritual grace, mysteriously handed down from the apostles, is ez opere operato then imparted by the ordaining bishop, which can only be sinned away by the real sinner, and it is quite impossible for Shore to discharge, and then imprisoning him for not paying them, the Free Church of England spread, and new churches in different parts of England were opened—among others, St. James's Free Church of England, Grosvenor Place, Exeter, and Christ Church, Portland Street, Ilfracombe, the congregation of which had as its minister Benjamin Price, who was at one time a member of the Countess of Huntington's Connexion, and who subsequently became the first bishop of the Free Church of England.

For three years in succession Price had held the high office of president of the Countess of Huntington's Connexion, and in that capacity he had acted as its representative at ordinances and similar functions. But, as it was observed by one of the members of the conference to be simply a distinguished officer, no service of consecration was held or deemed to be desirable. But the president of the Connexion was also at the same time the bishop of the Free Church of England, and among the members themselves the demand grew that the head of the Church should bear a more thoroughly ecclesiastical title than 'president'—one which would convey to outsiders the idea of episcopacy. This informal desire found expression when, in 1858, St. John's Church, Tottington, Bury, Lancashire, was opened, and public announcement was made that it would be consecrated by the Rev. Benjamin Price, 'Bishop Primus' of the Free Church of England. On that and on several other occasions the title was used for the first time—against Price's knowledge or desire, it is true. It was felt that the term 'president' did not appeal to Church-people, whereas 'bishop' was thoroughly understood by the man in the street. But Benjamin Price, he found himself was that, as executive officer he had to perform episcopal duties, without having been consecrated 'by men who have publick authority given to them' to do so. Many evangelical clergymen, nevertheless, became warmly attached to the new movement; and their adhesion gave it a more distinctly Church character. This was emphasized by the following manifesto, which in 1873 was signed by over 50 influential clergymen:

1.—We, the undersigned Clergymen of the Church of England, hereby declare our solemn conviction that it is essential to maintain the distinctive Protestant character of our Church.

2.—We have noticed with alarm the tendency of late on the part of denominationalism to evolve a compromise unworthy of our old Reformers and their traditions. The adoption of the principle that what we ordain for ourselves we must be considered to allow, points to the conclusion that those who hold the doctrine of the Church of England, in its essence, spirit and in its outward forms, are in a minority. They must be satisfied with the compromise, and in that sense, if they are satisfied, the Church of England is lawfully extinguished. Otherwise, a compromise unworthy of our old Reformers and their traditions is evolving,

3.—We hold firmly that Romish errors, against which some of the colonists of 1690 stood, are still held by us, and emphatically protest, may not on any account be sanctioned.

4.—We lament exceedingly that Romish and Ritualistic practices and ceremonies have now again been introduced in spite of all efforts which have been put forth to check them.

5.—We regard it as indispensable that objectionable passages in the Book of Common Prayer, which have been found to promote such practices and doctrines, should be removed.

6.—We look in vain for any sign of Liturgical Revision by authority in the Established Church.
7.—We have, therefore, determined, at this grave crisis, to express our sentiments to those of your5 countries in England and Ireland which have made Revision of the Prayer- book a leading question. We allude to the Dissenters Church of England and the Church of Ireland. While we shun pledging ourselves to the details of their respective arrangements, we shall be glad hereafter to act in concert, and co-operate with both these bodies for the propagation of the Gospel. We fear that many of the late events may practically fall away from our Church, as sheep without a shepherd.

The above declaration was drawn up by Edward Vesey Bligh, son of the Earl of Darnley and vicar of Birling, Kent.

As the movement spread, it became more imperative that Price should be consecrated, according to Church order, with the appointment of "laying on of hands," according to apostolic custom. In March 1784 the Free Church of England made a friendly suggestion to the Reformed Episcopal Church of America, which had lately been organized, that the two Churches, inasmuch as their principles and doctrines were identical, should be united. The proposition was warmly entertained, and a federative union was arranged—the bishops and clergy of either Church to be eligible to attend and vote at all meetings. Of the bishops of the American Church, Edward Cridge, of British Columbia, an Englishman, and at one time a dean in the Church of England, came to England to visit his friends; and, at the special request of the Reformed Church of America, supplied a which seemed to orthodoxy, was enabled to be lacking in the episcopacy of the Free Church of England by publicly consecrating Bishop Price, by prayer and the "laying on of hands," to his sacred office. In time this union was allowed to lapse, and the Free Church of England is not now affiliated with any American Church.

The Free Church of England is free (1) to go into any parish to preach the gospel, although, as a matter of practice, she does not do so, unless invited; (2) to ordain ministers, to which all passages which are interpreted to confer "absolving and retaining" powers on the clergy have been expunged; (3) from State control, under which ecclesiastical questions are surrounded with restrictions; and (4) to consecrate bishops publicly, with other denominations, on the ground that the Church of Christ is one. 'Multi illi unum corpus sumus in Christo' (Ros 129).

In its uncompromising Protestantism the Church denies (1) that the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity; (2) that Christian ministers are 'priests' in another sense than that in which all believers are a 'royal priesthood'; (3) that the Lord's Table is an altar on which the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father; (4) that the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of bread and wine; and (5) that regeneration is inseparably connected with Holy Baptism.

2. The Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom, otherwise called the Reformed Church of England.—The earliest settlers in the United States of America (Virginia) in 1607 were members of the Church of England, and therefore naturally desired of having a bishop in canonical Church order for ordinances, confirmations, etc., but their applications for the privilege were courteously declined, or postponed, by the English archbishop. In 1743, however, their wish was partly met by the consecration at Aberdeen of Samuel Seabury, rector of St. Peter's, New York, by three bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland (Robert Kilmour, Arthur Petrie, and John Skinner). The colonists thus had a bishop of their own; but nevertheless they were not completely satisfied, for they were the last of the first English emigrants, that a colonial clergyman, whom they might elect, should be consecrated, so that the union with the old country might be strengthened and the Church revered of their fathers followed by their children's children, was favourably entertained; and on 4th Feb. 1787 the archbishop of Canterbury (John Moore), assisted by the archbishop of York (William Markham) and the bishops of Bath and Wells (Charles and George, sons of John Hinch- life), consecrated in York bishop of Maryland, by bishops White, Provoost, Seabury, and Madison. The co-operation of Seabury invested this consecration with an importance which, with three orders, the Scottish and English, in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. On 15th Nov. 1866 George David Cummins, rector of Trinity Church, Chicago, was consecrated at Christ Church, Louisville, by the presiding bishop, John Henry Hopkins, of Vermont (who was assisted by six other bishops of the American Church), and appointed suffragan bishop of Kentucky. In the autumn of 1873 the Evangelical Alliance held in New York its annual Convention, which was terminated by a united communion service in the Presbyterian Church in Madison Square, in which Bishop Cummins, the dean of Canterbury (R. Payne Smith), and Canon Fremanl took prominent part. The bishop of Zanzibar (W. G. Tozer) and other bishops of the Church of England, and eminent clergymen, and charged them with infringing ecclesiastical law in participating in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered in a Non-conformist church. Keenly sensitive to the attacks on the Church of England made on the Reformed Episcopal Church, at the spread of ritualistic innovations in his own diocese, which, with the limitations imposed upon him as a suffragan bishop, he was unable to stem, he resigned on 10th Nov. 1873 his position in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America; and three weeks afterwards organized the "Reformed Episcopal Church of America." On 14th Dec. 1873 he consecrated Charles Edward Cheney as a bishop in the new Church; and on 24th Feb. 1874 he consecrated William R. Nicholson to the same high office, both at Kentucky. Generally speaking, these Church incidents would hardly have passing interest, and the record of them might be considered merely trifling; but to a Church claiming to possess the historic episcopate they are of supreme object.
REGALIA

No good purpose would be served by reviving memories of the objections made as to ‘form of service’ at the consecration of Bishop Cummins, and ‘intention,’ and other trivialities, which marred the discussions in the first instance; suffice it to say that the Reformed Episcopal Church of Great Britain, although it posits that equally with the Church of England, all that, from the extreme Churchman’s point of view, is necessary for valid episcopal orders, yet in strongest terms repudiates the teaching that the sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion are means operatively as channels of spiritual grace, when administered by a ‘priest’ ‘lawfully called and epiocopiically ordained.’ It declares for three orders of ministry, i.e. bishops, presbyters, and deacons, that fully recognizes that the ministry of the Word and sacraments of Nonconformist Churches is of equal value with that of the Episcopal. It was founded to maintain the Evangelical principles of the Protestant Reformation; the Holy Scriptures form its sole rule of faith and practice; the Book of Common Prayer being used at divine service, it is liturgical in its worship; the government, although episcopal, is vested in a General Synod, composed of bishops and presbyters, together with two lay representatives from each of the Established Congregations; it is a refuge for members of the Established Church who are distressed by unauthorizable ritual in their parish churches; and, being free from State patronage and control, it is legally able to hold fellowship with all Evangelical Churches, and delights to do so.

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G. HUGH JONES.

REFORMED PRESBYTERIANS.—See
PRESBYTERIANISM.

REFORM JUDAISM.—See LIBERAL
JUDAISM.

REGALIA.—The word ‘regalia’ is not found in
classical Latin bearing its present meaning. We meet with it, however, in the 12th cent. in the work of the monkish chronicle, William of Malmsbury, de Gentis Regnum Anglorum,1 in which, after describing the coronation of Emperor Henry v. by Pope Paschal II., he says that after the ceremony the pope laid aside his suardoratul and the emperor his regalia. In English the words ‘regale’ and ‘regalia’ at first bore the meaning of royal preroga-
vatives. The word ‘regale’ in particular was used of the privileges enjoyed for centuries by the kings of France of receiving the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys and of presenting to benefices which were dependent on them. By the 17th cent. the monarchs had already become attached to the word ‘regalia,’ while the singular ‘regale’ had fallen into desuetude. The articles which have formed a part of insignia of kingship in all the different stages of human culture have of course been considered as chimerical in origin; it would be impossible within the scope of an article like the present to attempt to state the significance of each of them. This article is therefore restricted to a brief discussion of their religious symbolism and, more ambitiously, to an outline in general of the term ‘regalia’ will not, however, be limited exclusively to objects worn and carried by kings, but will be extended to cover such material objects as confer upon their possessors the right to the throne.

1 Royal fetishes.—More than twenty years ago J. G. Frazer, in his Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship, called attention to the sacred character of the clothing of the chief in primitive society, and, in a lesser degree, civilized peoples; and he inferred that, if it could be traced to its ultimate origins, it would be found to be identical with that of the priest, shaman, or medicine-man.1 In its many forms it is regarded as a fragment of the royal scepter, and, as such, is regarded as fragable. We must then expect to find among primitive peoples a resemblance between the royal insignia and the magical apparatus of the medicine-
man. In this quest we are not disappointed, for we find that among the Malays the magician possesses insignia analogous to the regalia, both in fact bearing the same name (kobosaron).2 In the Northern New Hebrids, according to R. H. Cod-
rington, chieftainship is not in theory hereditary, but becomes so in practice through the chieftain’s hands on to his chieftainship. The dependence of the royal authority on the possession of certain fetishes is found in its most extreme form in S. E. Asia and the Malay Archipelago.

As to S. Celebes it is said actually to reside in the regalia.

1 In short, says Frazer, ‘the regalia reign, and the princes are merely their representatives. Hence whoever happens to possess the regalia is recognized by the people as the prince, or king. For example, if a deposed monarch contrives to keep the regalia, his former subjects remain loyal to him in their hearts, and look upon his successor as a usurper who is to be obeyed only in so far as he can exact obedience by force. And on the other hand, in an insurrection the first demand of the people is to seize the regalia, for if they can only make themselves masters of them, the authority of the sovereign is gone. In short, the regalia are the fetishes, which confer to a title to the throne and control the fate of the kingdom. Houses are built for them, altars are set up to them, they have their own instruments, furniture, weapons, and even lands are assigned to them. Like the ark of God, they are carried with the army to battle, and on various occasions the people propitiate them, as if they were gods, by prayer and sacrifice and by smearing them with blood. Some of them serve as instruments of divination, or are brought forth in times of public disaster for the purpose of staying the evil, whatever it may be. For example, when plague is rife among men or beasts, whoever there is a suspicion of a ill omen arising from the regalia, smear them with buffalo’s blood, and carry them about. For the most part these fetishes are heirlooms of which the origin is forgotten; some of them are said to have fallen from heaven. Popular tradition traces the foundation of the oldest states to the discovery or accumula-
tion of these regalia objects, as a fragment of the royal scepter, in some case of wood, a fruit, a weapon, or what not, of a peculiar shape or color, or endowed with a certain sacred degree, but the characters, it is said, have been lost through time, but their place is taken by the various articles of property which were bestowed on them, and to which the people have attached their pious allegiance.’

2 In Locowo, on the south coast of the Celebes, two toy cannon, and in Bima a sacred brown horse, formed part of the regalia. Among the Malays the regalia are of the nature of talismans on which the safety of the State depends, and are clearly bound up with the sanctity as the central idea.2 Not only is the king’s person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is believed to communicate itself to his regalia; and even to those who break the royal taboos. Thus it is firmly believed that any one who seriously offends the royal person, who touches (even for a moment) or who imitates (even in the king’s permission) the chief objects of the regalia, or who wrongfully makes use of any of the insignia or privileges of royalty, will be kena daulat, i.e. struck dead, by a quasi-electric discharge of Divine Power,2 which will deprive the person to reside in the king’s person, and which is called ‘Daulat’ or ‘Royalty.’

Similar tabus on the wearing of royal robes are found in various parts of the world. In Japan any one who wore the emperor’s clothes without his leave was supposed to suffer from swellings all over the body. Similarly, in Fiji, disease is
supposed to result from wearing a chief's clothes. Among the Baganda so sacred were the king's clothes that, when he renewed them at the cere- monial change, he cut out for himself a new set of clothes. In the course of his life, he deposited the old ones in a shrine of the god Mukaña.1

The articles comprising the regalia of Malay kings are of a very miscellaneous character. In Malacca the book of genealogies contained a code of laws, a vest, and some weapons, among which there was generally a spear. In Perak and Solongor the regalia consisted largely of instruments of music.

The regalia of the 'fire-king' and the 'water-king' in Cambodia—two mysterious individuals whose authority is of a purely spiritual character—are talismans, which would lose their efficacy if they were to leave the family, and for this reason the king is wont to have a duplicate, and one of these, which is kept in the house of the king, is a magic sword. If it were drawn from its scabbard, awful cosmic catastrophes would ensue.2 The king of Cambodia, who occupies the position of temporal ruler within the country, sends an annual gift to the 'fire-king' of rich stuffs to wrap up the magic sword.3

Royal and public talismans were well known in the ancient world. The most famous instance of a public talisman is of course the Palladium, an arca or image of Athene on which the safety of the city of Troy was supposed to depend.4

'In antiquity the Scythian kings treasured as sacred a plough, a yoke, a battle-axe, and a cup, all of gold, which were said to have fallen from heaven; they offered great sacrifices to these sacred things at an annual festival; and if the man in charge of them fell asleep under the open sky, it was believed that he would die within the year. The sceptre of King Agamennon, or what passed for such, was worshipped as a god at Oeaerone; a man acted as priest of the sceptre for a year at a time, and sacrifices were offered to it daily. The golden laburn of Mycenae, on the possession of which, according to legend, the two rival Atreus and Thyestes had to assert their claim to the throne, may have been a royal talisman of this sort.'5

It is said that in Japan the imperial crown was formerly a sort of palladium. In an account written about two centuries ago by Engleman is Keunumper, physician to the Dutch embassy at the emperor's court, we read:6

'In ancient times, he (the Emperor) was obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the imperial crown on his head, and in his hand either like a statute, or girded with rings either hands or feet, head or eyes, not indeed any part of the body, but the crown thereof; and this meant this, that the emperor could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire; for, if unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked down, the head would strike against the part of the crown he had apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune was near at hand to desolate the country. But it having been afterwards discovered, that the imperial crown was the palladium, by which its immobility could preserve peace in the empire, it was thought expedient to deliver his imperial person, consecrated only to idleness and pleasures, from this burdensome duty, and therefore the crown is at present placed on the throne for some hours every morning.'7

The Mogul emperors, who were never crowned, used at times to sit with a crown suspended over their heads.8 A native historian of India in the 15th century narrates the prevalence of a somewhat similar idea in that country, where the throne rather than its occupant was the chief object of veneration.

'lt is a singular custom in Bengal, that there is little heredi- tary power, that one sovereign may have no successor. Whoever is allotted for the king; there is, in like manner, a seat or station assigned for each of the Amirs, Wazirs, and Munibads. It is that station, or place where the sovereign sits alone, that constitutes the representative of the people of Bengal. A set of dependants, servants and at- tendants are annexed to each of these situations. When the king's person is absent, in the station is placed the seat of the one dismissed is immediately attended and obeyed by the whole establishment of dependants, servants

2 G. Philip, Cambodge, p. 53.
3 Ul. art. IND.OCH.VI, VII, p. 228.

and retainers annexed to the seat which he occupies. Nay, this rule obtains even to the throne itself; for the king is said to succeed in placing himself on the throne is immediately acknowledged as king. . . the people of Bengali say, the king's throne is the throne of his subjects; whoever this throne, we are obedient and true to it.'9

The Egyptian kings also claimed a divine charac- ter, being incarnations of Horus and Set.10 They were said to hold their authority directly from heaven.

'The sacred character of the royal house extended also to its insignia and attributes. The various crowns especially appear to have derived their importance partly from the ancient kings, and partly from their power in charge of the royal jewels serves it in the character of priest.'11

The crowns of the two kingdoms possessed a mystical character, the white crown, which was the symbol of the king's dominion over the upper kingdom, being identified with the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, and the red crown, which symbolized his dominion over the lower kingdom, being iden- tified with the serpent-goddess Ituto. In other parts of Africa the regalia also possess a fetichistic character. Among the Yorubas, a people of the west coast, the royal crown is believed to be the residence of a spirit which requires the payment of a yearly tribute of silver to it.4 The crown is a fetish among the Ashantis and sacrifices are offered to it, while among the Hosc, an Ewe-speaking tribe in Togoland, the king's proper throne is quicl small box is bound with magic cords and kept wrapped up in a sheep's skin.12

The ideas underlying these facts are of course quite foreign to modern and even medieval Europe. Nevertheless we may perhaps find dim reflections of them in the mysterious atmosphere of sanctity which has attached itself to the two most cele- brated crowns of Europe—the holy crown of St. Stephen, and the Iron Crown of Lombardy. The former, which is compounded of two crowns, one sent by Pope Sylvester II. to St. Stephen, the second king of Hungary, in A.D. 1000, and the other sent by the Byzantine emperor, Michael Ducas, to King Geisa in 1073, has throughout Hungarian history been a kind of national symbol, the kingdom itself being known as the 'Land under the Iron Crown,' and a Hungarian magnate as 'membrum sacro corone.'16 When it was returned to Pres- burg in 1790 by Joseph II., who six years earlier had caused it to be removed to Vienna, it was received with such joy that it was being erected in its honour. It occupies a position distinct from the king, who cannot exercise his constitutional prerogatives before his corona- tion, and, if he should die before the ceremony, his name is struck off from the roll of kings. Though less famous than the Crown of St. Stephen, the Iron Crown of Lombardy, which is kept at Monza, is received with royal honours on the rare occasions on which it appears in public. After the corona- tion of Charles V. it was not placed again till the time of Napoleon I. On its way to Milan Cathedral for his coronation it was accompanied by an escort of the Old Guard, and a salvo of artillery was fired in its honour. Similarly on its way to Rome to accompany the funeral cortège of Victor Emmanuel II., in 1878, it was received with royal honours on its journey through Italy, on which it was escorted by the cathedral chapter and the municipal council of Monza.

2. Relics of dead kings as regalia.—Corporal parts of deceased rulers often form the most important article of royal insignia. Since the

1 H. M. Elliot, Hist. of India as told by its own Historians, London, 1867-77, iv. 369.
3 A. Ermann, Handbook of Egyptian Religion, Eng. tr. p. 35.
5 A. Vamberg, Hungary (Story of the Nations), London, 1897, p. 374.
king is the repository of the mana, or ‘luck,’ of his people. It is necessary that there should be a kind of psychic continuity which must not be broken by the death of a ruler. In S. Celebes portions of the bodies of deceased rajahs actually confer the right to the throne.

Another case occurred in south central Madagascar, a vertebra of the neck, a nail, and a lock of hair of a deceased king are placed in a crocodile’s tooth and carefully kept along with similar relics of his predecessors in a house among the people for the purpose. The possession of these relics constitutes the right to the throne. A legitimate heir who should be deprived of them would lose the right of the gods and the people. Contrary to a usurper who should make himself master of the relics would be expected to die. And it sometimes happened that a relation of the reigning monarch has stolen the crocodile teeth with their precious contents, and then had himself proclaimed king.

When a king of the Panesian Lybians died, his head was cut off, covered with gold, and deposited in a sanctuary. It is the custom among the Masaai for a chief to remove the skull of his predecessor’s body a year after burial, and to secrete it, at the same time offering a sacrifice and a libation. The possession of the skull is understood to confirm his authority.

When the Atake or king of Aboebotta in West Africa dies, the people would bathe and anoint his body, and placing the head in a large earthen vessel deliver it to the new sovereign; it becomes his fetish and he is bound to pay it honours. Similarly, when the aga of Acre departed this life, an official extracts a tooth from the deceased monarch and preserves it, and is supposed to collect the teeth of former kings in a box, which is the sole property of the crown and without which no aga can legitimately exercise the regal power.

It is said that among the Guanches of the Canary Islands the femur of the dead king constituted an important part of the regalia, and that the oath of allegiance taken by the chiefs to the new ruler was sworn upon it. Frazier believes the theory was that the body of the deceased king is transferred to the new ruler. A somewhat different theory has been maintained by Westermarck, who believes that it is not the soul of the dead ruler which becomes transferred, but his mana, or holiness. The sultan of Morocco is enabled to transfer to another his baraka, or sanctity.

3. Election of a king by means of the royal insignia.—In view of the great sanctity of the kingly office in the lower stages of culture, and the belief that the body of the dead king is bound up with its holder, it is of course of vital necessity that he who is most suitable should be elected to fill it. In order to obtain supernatural ratification for the choice of a king, divination has often been resorted to; sometimes the actual symbols of royalty themselves serve as a medium, and sometimes a particular object is kept for this purpose, which may not improperly, therefore, be termed a part of the regalia. This practice, though reflecting a very primitive phase of thought, has remained in vogue even among peoples who have attained to a considerable measure of civilization.

In an Old Transylvanian Mereg, when the people assembled to choose a new ruler, they placed a hillock of earth from whence it rose, floated into the air, and descended on the head of the future monarch.

Another interesting example is found in ancient India. It is said that in Benares, when a king died, four lotus-coloured horses were yoked to a festive carriage, on which were displayed various symbols of royalty (a diadem, the battle-axe, slipper, and fan). This was sent out of a gate of the city, and a priest or official proceeded to him who had sufficient merit to rule the kingdom.

The Lia Fail, as the stone on which the early kings of Leinster were crowned was called, which legend has identified with the English Coronation Stone brought by Edward I. from Scone, is said to have recognized the destined king by roaring when he stood upon it. It seems not impossible that similar animistic or animatistic beliefs may have once been attached to the ‘King’s Stone’ at Kingston-on-Thames on which the Anglo-Saxon kings were crowned, and to the Coronation Stone of the kings of Sweden at Upsala. A curious story of the power of a sacred stone to determine the succession to the throne is related of a certain Scythian tribe.

When a chief died, a tribal assembly met on the banks of the river Tanais to determine on a successor to the throne. In the river was a stone like a crystal, resembling in shape a man wearing a roebuck and producing it in the assembly became king.

The following story from Africa shows the prevalence of similar ideas in that continent:

When Bunga, the king of Raragwe, on the western shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, died, he left behind him three sons, any of whom was eligible to the throne. The officers of state put before them a small mystic drum. It was of trilling weight but, being loaded with charms, no one could lift it, save he to whom the ancestral spirits were inclined as the successor.

4. Symbols of kingship.—As soon as social distinctions began to reveal themselves in human society—which was of course at a very early stage in its evolution—they would quite naturally be indicated by the wearing of certain ornaments. Intermittents of the Paleolithic Age show the widespread use of bone and ivory ornaments for cultural purposes, but it is impossible to draw any certain inferences from them as to the wearer’s rank. Among the remains of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Europe we find torcs, rings, and bracelets of gold, silver, and bronze, some of which are of ornaments and we may perhaps assume with some degree of safety that they were made for the chiefs. We know, of course, very little of the dress of the pre-historic peoples of Europe, though a few fragments of woven stuff have been found among the remains of the lake-dwellings (G.e.) of Switzerland. Probably the costume of chiefs differed little from that of ordinary persons, apart from their more solid ornaments. A royal costume may indicate that its wearer is the representative of a god. Nararnin carried two horns on his helmet, signifying his divine character.

The vestments of early kings of England, says J. R. Planche, on state occasions do not appear to have differed from their ordinary attire; likewise occasionally the materials may have been more costly.

In some parts of the world a certain colour is emblematic of royalty. Among the Malays the royal colour is yellow, the privilege of wearing which is shared by the magician. In ancient Persia the Great King wore a robe of purple. This colour was adopted by the Macedonian kings after the conquests of Alexander the Great. Purple was also a royal colour among the Etruscans. The paludamentum of the Roman emperor, a military mantle analogous to the Greek chlamys, was of purple, and the expression amour purpurare became equivalent to mounting the throne, while the attendant of the emperor’s accession was called natalis purpurare.

At the present day an ornamented club, a girdle of feathers in the Pacific, a string of boar’s teeth in New Guinea, throughout S. Asia the umbrella, and in Aschanti a gold axe, are insignia of chieftainship. A gold axe was also a symbol of respect for officials in ancient Egypt. Among European peoples they usually include the following ornaments: crown, sceptre or staff, sword, and ring. The regalia may gradually acquire a special
sanctity as the reliefs of some kingly saint or national hero. Thus the ancient regalia of England, which were destroyed under the Commonwealth in 1649, were venerated at the Restoration of 1660. The Royal Regalia were formerly intended to have been worn. The regalia of Hungary are regarded as reliefs of St. Stephen. The imperial and French regalia were to some extent reliefs of Charlemagne.

The English regalia consist of St. Edward's crown, a sceptre, a sword, and three crowns. The English crown is of the form of a dove, the sceptre with the cross, St. Edward's staff, the orb, the gold spurs, the sword of State, and the second and third swords, and the curtsana, or sword of mercy. The regalia of the Holy Roman Empire consisted of the Holy Roman emperor's crown, his dalmatic embroidered with large crowns, the golden apple or globe, Charlemagne's sword, his golden sceptre, the imperial cloak embroidered with eagles, the buskins, gloves, and the hereditary crown of Rudolf II. The French regalia included the crown said to have been given by Pope Leo III. to Charlemagne, Charlemagne's sword, called 'Joyeuse,' a sceptre six feet high, the hand of justice, and Charlemagne's spurs, vestments, damask mantle, and a gold and pearl crown. The Scottish regalia included a crown, sceptre, and sword.\(^2\) It seems to have been the custom for the English kings to be buried in their coronation robes, as was shown at the opening of Edward I.'s tomb in 1703. The fact that Edward I.'s regalia existed, of course, no hereditary royal robes in England as in some other countries.

The most important regalia of the khallafs were the supposed relics of the Prophet—his striped cloak (burdah), his ring, his staff, and his sword. They are said to have been dug up at A.H. 132, and to have been brought to Constantinople in the reign of Selim I. (1312-21), who on his conquest of Egypt forced the last of the 'Abbasid khallafs to make over his rights to him. There seems, however, little chance that they are genuine, as, even supposing that the story of their being dug up is true, they would probably have perished when Baghdad was taken by the Mongols in A.D. 1258. As the origin and symbolism of the crown have been discussed,\(^1\) it is not necessary to repeat any further discussion here, but something may be said of some of the other more prominent insignia of royalty.

5. The sceptre.—John Selden, in his Titles of Honor,\(^2\) says:

> For the sceptre, some testimonies make it an ancient Ensigne of a King than the Crown or Diadem is. Justin (or rather Trogus Pompeius) seems to desire that the old Kings of Rome and many Idumas; but that instead of them they carried Scepters. So I conceive him in those words spoken of the age of those Kings, "Per ea adhibe temporae reges hastas pro Diademate habitant, quas Graeci Scutera dixero." For their Diadems, enough already. But it is most clear that both in prophan and holy writers the scepter is much anointer (as it was attributed to a King) than either Crown or Diadem.\(^1\)

It is probable that the ancestor of the sceptre is far older than even Selden imagined. Possibly it is to be found as early as the old Stone Age. A shaft of reindeer's horn perforated at its broader end by one or more cylindrical holes has been found in certain Aurignacian and Lower Magdalenian deposits in France. In its later form it is decorated with incised designs. Gabriel de Mortillet, believing it to be a ceremonial object, gave it the question-begging name of nätom de commande-ment.\(^4\) Among the chiefs and medicine-men of the Plains Indians of N. America carried batons


\(^3\) See art. Coat.


\(^7\) *Ibn. Sarratore* (Leipzig, 1756-77, i. 140.

\(^8\) II. II. 56.

\(^9\) Darenberg-Saglio, s.n. "Litnus."


\(^12\) Smith, *Dict. of Gt. and Rom. Antiquities*, London, 1890-91, s.c. "Sceptrum."

\(^13\) OF XL. [1895] 302.


\(^15\) Puls. X. XI. 111, ed. Frazer, i. 469 f.

\(^16\) Ho. X. 321, 324.

\(^17\) Ho. I. 234.
The war-clubs of celebrated warriors, *auna*, in Samoa were venerated by their families. It was regarded as indispensable to the chief to perform certain rites in their honour. A Mexican merchant carried a smooth black stick representing the god Yacatecutli, who was believed to protect him on his journey.

In the South Pacific, there used to be a sacred staff, made of iron-wood, rather longer and thicker than an ordinary walking-stick. It had been kept for ages in the family, and was regarded as a sacred relic or representative of the god. When the priest was sent for to see a sick person, he took the stick, and with it anoint or gargle the patient, whose eyes always brightened at the sight of the stick.4

In the OT the word 'sceptre' is frequently used as a synonym for royalty. The Hebrew *shlahb* may stand either for a short ornamental sceptre, such as Assyrian kings are sometimes represented as having, or for a long staff.5 The Roman emperors adopted the *sceptrum eburneum* of the triumphant general. When the empire became Christian, the sceptre often served as a symbol of an eagle. In some countries two sceptres came into use at an early period. In a 9th cent. English Coronation Order, which is said to be a copy of the Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, 732-706, a sceptre (sceptrum) and a staff (baculum) are mentioned. The word *baculum*, *baculum*, was not applied to staffs of a ceremonial character in Rome, but merely to ordinary ones. The Coronation Order of Ethelred II. mentions a sceptre (sceptrum) and a rod (baculum), and Ethelred, the first English king on whose coins a sceptre is represented. Since the time of Richard I. the two sceptres have borne a cross and a dove respectively. The sceptre with the dove was a reminiscence of the peaceful part of Christ's reign after the expulsion of the Danes.6 Of the French sceptres one bore a *flour-de-lys*, and the other a hand in the act of blessing. The latter was known as the *main de justice*. It was put into the left hand of the king. The human hand as an amulet is common in Greece, and in the south region an outstretched human hand is often painted on houses as a protection against the evil eye. A bronze relief at Copenhagen represents Zeus-Sabazios in Phrygian costume, holding in his right hand a phallic sceptre tipped with a votive hand.7 In early Christian art a hand was a symbol representing God the Father. As to the cause of the duplication of the sceptre, Lord Bute makes the following plausible suggestion:

'This may possibly have arisen from the words, "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me," in Psalm xxvii., which was treated as a Regal Psalm on account of the passage "Thou hast anointed mine head with oil," and was additionally appropriate in the Latin, from commencing, "Dominus regit me" as an acknowledgment of the Divine Sovereignty over earthly Princes."8

In the English Coronation Orders the sceptre is especially the sign of regal power, while the rod is more the ensign of the paternal authority of the sovereign.9

6. The orb.—

"As the Scepter," says Selden, "is the ornament of the right hand, so in the left the Globe or Mound, with the Crosse Inclin, in Statutes and Pictures (and in some Coronations) of Kings, is a Musick [Music], and a Criterion of Sovereign Power. And in the solemn use of this in several kingdoms begun, is not so easily found, nor perhaps worth the inquiry. It shall suffice here to say that the Emperor, whences the use of it was by example taken into all or most of other kingdoms of Christendom, and afterwards by some of them also sometimes called an Apple, sometimes a Ball, and it is observed by learned men that it was frequent in the state of Rome before the Emperors. As it was among Christians, and to be used by their Ensigns in the field and in their monies the Ball or Globe, the beginning whereof is dole elsewhere refers to Augustus. 16

V. G.," Selden, 1612, a Latin, and as a proper attribute of Royall Nobility, to signify a discovery of the earth, and of the treasures in it.10

At the imperial coronations the orb was carried by the Counts Palatine of the Rhine, under the name of *pomum imperiale*. The apple was sacred to Aphrodite, and is a token of love in S.E. Europe at the present day, but does not appear to have been a token of kingship in the ancient world. In its origin, however, the orb appears to have symbolized the vault of heaven. Zeus is frequently represented as holding an apple.11 The Caracalla represents Jupiter Capitolinus holding a globe in his right hand and a sceptre in his left.12 Sometimes a globe rests beside the god's feet.13 From being a symbol of the sky-god the globe becomes one of the imperial insignia. Imperial coins of the 3rd and 4th centuries show the emperors holding a globe.

These representations imply on the one hand that the emperor has stepped into the shoes of Jupiter, and on the other hand that the duties devoured in unknown succession from occupant to occupant of the imperial seat. Frequently from the time of Commodus to that of Diocletian we find Jupiter delegating the globe to his human representative.14

Both in Roman mosaics and in Pompeian paintings the globe is coloured blue or bluish-green, which indicates that it signified sky rather than earth. It is uncertain whether the cross was first added to the globe by Constantine or by Valentinian.15 Julian the Apostate replaced it by a figure of Victory. Under the name of *globus cruciger* it was a part of the Byzantine regalia. Though the orb formed a part of the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire in England, it was not used in France. In the English coronation ceremony it is treated as a symbol of the dominion of Christ over the world. On placing the orb in the sovereign's right hand, the archbishop addresses him in an exhortation containing the following words:

'When you see this orb set under a cross, remember that the whole world is subject to the power and Empire of Christ our Redeemer.'16

7. The sword.—The symbolism of the sword is of course self-explanatory. The girding of the new monarch with a sword is a practically universal feature of coronation ceremonies. It is a reminiscence of the days when the king was not merely the titular but the actual war-chief of his people. So intimate a part have weapons played in the religion of a warlike people that deities have been worshipped under their forms. A spear kept in the Regia was worshipped as an image of Mars; the Scythians sacrificed sheep and horses to an iron sword, and the war-god of the Alans was worshipped as a naked sword stuck in the ground.17

Indeed, in the case of the sultans of Turkey, the girding of the imperial sword of Osman on the mosque of Eybey on the Golden Horn is the formal ceremony of inauguration. At the coronation of the king of Hungary an impressive ceremony is connected with the sword of St. Stephen. After the coronation the king rides on his charger to a

5. Ibid., p. 211.
7. Cook, 165.
8. ibid., p. 45 ff.
11. Frazer, Paus. v. 311.
15. Daredberg-Selig, Appendix, p. 419.
16. Wickham Legg, English Coronation Records, p. 31 ff.
17. Daredberg-Selig.
18. Wickham Legg, Loc. cit.
22. Wickham Legg, p. xiii.
mound made of earth brought from all the provinces of the kingdom and waves his sword towards the four points of the compass, indicating his deter-
mination to defend his kingdom against surround-
ing foes. The tendency of the various royal
ornaments to become multiplied is also apparent
in the case of the sword. No fewer than five swords
now adorn the gold crown of Scotland. (3) The special
sword of State which is carried before the king on
various occasions; (2) a small sword which is
substituted for it during the coronation ceremony,
and with which he is ceremonially girded; (3) the
sword of spiritual justice; (4) the sword of temp-
oral justice; (5) the sword or of mercy, which is
blunted at the end by the removal of the point.
Such swords were in ancient times carried by heralds.
A similar idea is found in Japan, where certain officials such as
doctors wore in their garments a wooden ornament
resembling a short sword.

8. Bracelets and rings. It is not unlikely that
bracelets, anklets, and rings may have at one
time been amulets, and have participated in the
inexorable tendency of amulets to degenerate into
ornaments. As emblems of kingship bracelets
seem to have been more prevalent in the East than
in the West. They were worn by the kings of Persia,
and also formed part of the royal insignia of
Sparta.8 These bracelets and rings even in the
period of the ancient empire were made by the
famous jewelers of Alexandria.8 They were
formerly in use in England, and a pair belonging
to the regalia was ordered to be destroyed under
the Commonwealth. They have not been used in
England since the Restoration. The use of the ring is,
however, almost universal. Though at an early
period it may have been an amulet, yet before
degenerating into a mere ornament it passed through
a period of usefulness as a signet. The
Spaxtan magistrates had a public seal with which
they sealed everything that had to be
sealed. 4 That rings were royal ornaments from an
early period we know from the curious legends
surrounding the rings of Minos and of Pyrrhus,
tyrant of Samos. In Rome the gold ring was often
confers were as a military distinction. The jewels
awere limited its use. The emperor's ring was a kind
of State seal. In the Liber Regalis, which repre-
sents the fullest development of the medieval
English coronation ritual, the ring is referred to as
the signet of the regal wizag. In the ceremony of
the coronation use of rings is of course most familiar
in connexion with betrothal and marriage. The
coronation ring symbolizes the marriage of the
monarch to his people, just as the episcopal ring
symbolizes the marriage of the bishop to his see.
The English coronation ring is indeed sometimes
called the wedding-ring of England.6 The doge
of Venice used to cast a ring into the Adriatic,
symbolizing the marriage of the city to the sea.
The ceremony was called epousitio del mar ('the
wedding of the sea'), and was celebrated annually on Ascension Day.

A curious legend attaches to St. Edward's ring.
It is said that he once bestowed it upon an old
man. Some years later two English pilgrims in the Holy
Land met the old man, who restored it to them,
revealing himself as St. John the Evangelist, and
bade them return it to the king. There is also a
supposition that the closer the ring fits the king's
finger the longer he will live and the longer
will be his reign.7 Royal rings have served various
symbolic purposes. Alexander the Great on his death-bed bestowed his ring upon Perdiccas,
symbol of his intention to entrust the government
of the empire to him. The Anglo-Saxon king Offa
is said to have appointed his successor by send-
ing him his ring. The bestowal of a ring may symbolize a pledge, as in the case of Elizabeth's
gift to Essex, or it may symbolize a royal command.
In the book of Esther Ahasuerus gives his ring to
Haman as a warrant for massacring the Jews.
Adrian IV. confirmed Henry II. on the throne of
Ireland by sending him a gold ring. Mary Queen
of Scots, by sending her ring, pardoned two
burgesses who were about to be hanged.8

9. The umbrella.—Throughout Asia and parts of
Africa the umbrella is one of the most instru-
mentary of the regalia of royalty. It is or has been in
use among the Malays, in Burma, Siam, India,
and among the Seljuk sultans and the Mogul
emperors.9 An umbrella is shown on the reverse
of a coin of Herod Agrippa I. It also forms part
of the regalia in Madagascar. In one of the Jabelas
takes a prince who wishes to dispossess his brother
of the throne says, 'Give the royal umbrella up to
me, or give battle.'10 In 1855 the king of Burma,
addressing the governor-general of India, spoke of
the umbrella as being a sacred symbol of the
umbrella-wearing chiefs of the Eastern Countries. It
seems most probable that the ceremonial char-
acter of the umbrella is due to the tabu which
prevents certain sacred persons from being exposed
to the sun. This recommendation is a counterpart
of the common tabu which prevents their feet from touch-
ing the earth. The Mikado and the high-priest of
the Zapotees of Mexico were forbidden to expose
themselves to the rays of the sun. Pope Alexander
the Great, according to St. Jerome of Venice, the right
of having a canopy or umbrella carried over him as a
symbol of sovereign power.

Umbrellas appear to have been sometimes used in ritual
for the purpose of preventing the sunlight from falling on sacred
persons or things. . . . At an Athenian festival called Semeia the
priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon, and the priest of the
Sun walked from the Acropolis under the shade of a huge white
umbrella.11

10. Investiture with the regalia.—Whether a
monarchy is elective or hereditary, it is usual for
some ceremony to be held for the purpose of
inaugurating a new reign. This ceremony usually
takes the form of investing the sovereign with the
royal insignia. The inauguration of the
king of Tahiti consisted of his being ceremonially
invested with a sacred girdle of red feathers in the
presence of the image of the god Oro. By means of
this ceremony he was formally invested into
divine rank. After describing the girdle, the
officiating priest would say, 'Parent this of you, O
King.'12

Among the Baganda, when the period of mourn-
ing for the dead monarch was over, the new ruler
and his consort were ceremonially invested of their
bark clothes and invested with new ones. This
ceremony was called 'confirming the king in his
kingdom.'13 In Madagascar the object of the
inauguration ceremony was to secure for the king
the quality of an imperial sovereign and the grand
virtue, which renders an object good or efficacious.14

For this purpose the new ruler mounted a sacred
stone, and exclaimed, 'Masina, Masina, masina
v'alo? The assembled people replied, 'Masina.'

The word 'masina' is derived from the word 'tana,' which means to acquire the powers of 'hasina?' Am I holy?'

1 Among the Ba-Thonga the inauguration of a new

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2 J. A. G. Frazer, Pausana, III. 329.
3 Wickham Legg, p. xiv.
4 Wickham Legg, p. 97.
5 Wickham Legg, p. xliv.
6 Stanley, p. 49.
7 Stanley, p. 49.
8 Stanley, p. 49.
9 Stanley, p. 49.
10 W. Ellis, Polytechnic Researches, London, 1832—36, iii. 103.
11 W. Ellis, Polytechnic Researches, London, 1832—36, iii. 103.
12 W. Ellis, Polytechnic Researches, London, 1832—36, iii. 103.
13 W. Ellis, Polytechnic Researches, London, 1832—36, iii. 103.
chief is a purely military affair, and no religious ceremony takes place.1

The coronation of the Egyptian kings was supposed to take place in heaven. In a description of the coronation of Ramesses III, we read:

"...crowned with the crown of Re, Atum, and Ishtar, beautiful of face, crowned me as Lord of the Two Lands on the throne of him who begat me; I received the office of my father with joy; I crowned with the sixteen diadems of the eight-headed god Ptah, I assumed the double-plumed diadem like Tatenen. I sat upon the throne of Harakhte. I was clad in the regalia, like Ra.2"

Another inscription speaks of Ramesses III, assuming the regalia of Horus and Set.3

The inauguration ceremony of a new emperor of Japan containing its ceremonial taking possession of the three chief articles of the regalia. The principal one is a sacred sword which is called Kusanagi no Tsangii.

1This sword (so legend goes) was found by Susa-no-o in the tail of an eight-headed serpent, which he intoxicated with sake and then slew. Having been brought down from heaven many centuries ago by the first ancestor of the Mikados, he came into the possession of Yariko-toke, and assisted the prince in the conquest of Eastern Japan. This treasure is never shown, but a great festival is held in its honor on June 21st. The sword (which is a mirror and a jewel) is kept at Kyoto and the inauguration takes place there, after the period of mourning for the dead ruler is over.

In Europe, with the exception of Hungary, to which reference has already been made, a coronation ceremony has usually served rather to ratify the election of a king than actually to create one. Before set forms came into use, it was often of a more or less spontaneous character. When Julian the Apostate was proclaimed emperor at Paris in 360, a standard-bearer named Maurus took off the tore which he was wearing, and placed it upon the head of the newly-elected ruler.4 The earliest known account of a coronation in Great Britain is that of King Aidan of Columba, which is found in St. Aidan's life of the saint.

Throughout the Middle Ages the position of the Church was that of witness to a contract between the ruler and people at the crowning of a king. The Pontificale Romanum provides a special Mass for the coronation of a king.5 It prescribes the newly-elected monarch with his investiture.

One of the bishops who are presenting the king to the metropolitan says, 'Reverendissime Pater, postulat Sancta Mater Ecclesiae, in praesencia pontificum, coronetur regnum sui Regem regnati summus.6' The metropolitan says, 'Scitis esse dignitatem quae ad hanc dignitatis? The bishop replies, 'Ex novissimis et continuis, et secundus dignitum, utilem Ecclesiae Dei, et ad regimen hujus Regni.'7

W. Stubbs's view of the ceremony is as follows:

The ceremony was understood as bestowing the divine ratification on the election that had preceded it, and as typifying rather than conveying the spiritual gifts for which prayer was made. That it was regarded as conveying any spiritual character or any especial ecclesiastical prerogative there is nothing to show; rather from the facility with which crowned kings could be set aside and new ones put in their place without any objection on the part of the bishops, the exact contrary may be inferred.8

The same view is taken by the French writer Menin, who says that in his own day (reign of Louis XV) kings were recognized independently of all ceremony of investiture. No formal recognition of the king, however, is found in the French constitutional charters.9

1. Le sacre des Rois, he says, 'est une ratification publique du droit qu'ils ont de succéder à la couronne de leurs aïeuls, et une confirmation du premier acte qui les a mis en possession du


4. IV. xvi. 62.


9. Trône ; c'est une espèce d'alliance spirituelle du Roy avec son Roysse qu'il épouse, pour ainsi dire, qu'il s'engage de le maintenir, en tant que de protéger, en même temps que sa Roysse, par la voie des peuples, lui promet solennellement fidélité et obéissance.1

Nevertheless a wide-spread belief seems to have grown in the Middle Ages that the anointing of kings was of a sacramental nature, and that no coronation was complete without a mark or character on the soul of the recipient. At all events a king was widely held to possess a quasi-sacerdotal character. The emperor was permitted to read the Gospel at his coronation Mass, and the French king took divine service under both kinds at his coronation. These facts led to the conviction that an anointed and uncrowned prince was no true king. The French kings until the 12th cent. began their reign on the day of their coronation.2 Le Bel dorniert,3 said the old chroniclers, speaking of the period before a coronation. This belief had not completely died out even in the 19th century. Renan mentions the fact that some Bretons held that Louis Philippe, who had been neither anointed nor crowned, had no more right to exercise the functions of a king than any one who was unordained would have to exercise those of the priesthood.4

Precedent for the crowning of a prince during the life of the monarch who wore the dressing and anointing of Solomon by order of David, and which was frequently resorted to in order to ensure the stability of a dynasty. The survival of a coronation ceremony in Europe at the present day is not necessarily associated with the possession of great monarchical prerogatives. The German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria are not crowned, though the 'hereditary presidents' of England and Norway are. In Spain the coronation ceremony has been discontinued. In England its discontinuance was formally announced at the accession of William IV. In most of the monarchies founded in the 19th cent., such as Italy, Belgium, Greece, it has never been introduced, and the king merely takes an oath to observe the Constitution. One of the oldest coronation ceremonies in Europe is the crowning of the pope, who is crowned by the youngest cardinal-deacon with the tiara or triple crown, an ornament ultimately derived from the consolamentum, a head-dress worn by high Byzantine officials, and the turgia, a Greek religious crown. The papal coronation has no religious significance.

No definite rules can be laid down with regard to the crowning of queens-consort. In England, if the king is married at the time of his coronation, the ceremony has usually been performed, and sometimes it has been performed separately if he married afterwards. In France it was usually omitted, and, if performed, it generally took place at St. Denis and not at Rheims with the king. The coronation of a queen-consort merely typifies her participation in the royal dignity. Sometimes this is indicated in the coronation ritual; the king of Hungary holds the Crown of St. Stephen for a time on the right shoulder of the queen during the coronation ceremony, and the Tsar of Russia used to touch his tunic to the forehead of his crowned wife during her crowning.

When a ruler has abdicated voluntarily and without pressure, he has often symbolized this act by publicly laying aside the royal insignia. Societies have been formed of himself and his property. In the media in 305 in the presence of his assembled troops, and in more recent times the eccentric Queen Christina of Sweden laid aside her crown in the presence of the Swedish senate.
REGENERATION. — Through all theology and religion there runs a clear antithesis between outwardness and inwardness. In theology this shows itself in the opposition between transcendence and immanence, anthropomorphism and anti-animism. It asks, Is God a glorified man or an indwelling potency? Does He operate on Nature from without or from within? Should we concentrate our thought and faith on Jesus as the risen Lord, the ascended Mediator of a Divine and a Human, or on Christ as Spirit, operating in His Church and in us as believers? Sometimes the contrasts are accentuated, and the opposing views are polemically contended. Sometimes men are content to accept both as the two poles of an unsolved antinomy. A similar antithesis occurs also as to the nature of religion, causing men to ask, Is religion doing or being? Is the vital matter what a man does or what a man is? Ought my great concern to be, What am I to do? or: What ought I to become? E.g., as to the nature of sin, it is disputed whether sin is transgression of a commandment moral or ceremonial, or is perversity and pollution. Again, as regards reconciliation with God, the two queries arise: Is this effected by having sin pardoned, or by having perversity rectified and pollution cleansed? Is the favour of God to be secured by righteously obeying the precepts of His law or by being inwardly changed and sanctified by a Power other than that by which we are united to Him? Further, this change to be studied as manifesting itself in outward life and conduct, or as a spiritual and psychological phenomenon? In the former case we are engaged with the subject of conversion, in the latter, with that of regeneration.

1. OT conception. — Kirzopp Lappke considers the antithesis between outwardness and inwardness to be characteristic severally of the Jew and the Greek. The Jew asked, What am I to do? He required a code of life and action to tell him definitely what to do. The Greek asked, What am I to be? He wished to become something different. What distressed him was the feeling that his very being was corrupt, and he wanted a religion that would help him to become a new being.1 There are two criticisms which one would like to make on this: (1) instead of the word 'Greek,' the word 'Hellenist' would be more accurate—the orientalized Greek; and (2) it is unfair to the Jews to suggest that they were not sensible of the inwardness of religion. Both views find expression in the Jewish Scriptures. It is true that outwardness is prominent in the O.T. We have much external morality and external observance of ceremonial regulations. There are also forms of inwardness in statutes and precepts. Restoration to divine favour is secured by sacrifices offered in accordance with a meticulous ritual. But this is not the only conception of sin that meets us in the O.T. Sin is also disorder. It is 'irr., desolation,' 'chaos.' It is 577, 'restless agitation.' It is diadem, making men unfit to commune with God. It is 729, 'abomination.' It is 729, that from which men flee, because it is a burden. It is 729, the coming of an internal remedy—a remedy which man himself cannot administer. There is a distinct vein of O.T. teaching which is very pronounced as to man's inability to cleanse himself (Jer 19:2, Pr 20:9). Man's will is powerless to effect the needed change. Something must be done in man and for man, which divine intervention alone can accomplish (Is 6, Ps 51, Job 19:15-19). This is apparent from the way in which the best of men plead for divine help and appeal (Ps 25:11-11, 41:6), and from the way in which God promises to render the needed help (Jer 23:3, Ezk 30:1). Sin is not something to be merely pardoned, atoned for, taken away, or forgotten. So long as the propensity to sin remained, the OT saint groaned under its tyranny and pollution. He cried for cleansing (Ps 51) and for healing (41). But even this could not satisfy him. He longed for thorough renovation. Regarding the heart as the seat of the collective energies of the personal life, if the heart of a man is depraved and its sin then has thus banefully affected the very formative sources of character, he cries, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a steadfast spirit within me' (61). Saul was also told, 'Now turn to me and I will turn to you' (19:10). And God says, 'I will give another heart' (I S 4.6), but, alas! he fell away; and so the Psalmist prays that the clean heart, imparted by a new creation, might, by constant renewal, be kept 'steadfast.'

2. The Greek and its synonyms.—The word 'regeneration' occurs twice in the NT; in either case for the same Greek word πανεποιησις = ἀφέναι γένεσις (ἀφέναι), a becoming new again, a reconstitution. The Greek word which would most accurately represent the ideas that we associate with regeneration would be αφέναι (ἀφέναι): but this does not occur in NT, though the verb is found in 1 P. The word πανεποιησις first appears in Greek literature to represent the great Stoic conception of world-cycles, according to which every generation would come to an end by conflagration—to be followed, however, by a renovation or reconstruction, a πανεποιησις of everything just as it now is. Then, after a definite period, will come another conflagration and reconstruction, the third of which would be a new world and a new catastrophe and another being termed a 'great year,' a περίοδος. Hence Marcus Aurelius 1 speaks of 'a periodic πανεποιησις of the universe.' Being a high-sounding phrase, it was used hyperbolically to denote any extraordinary change; as when Cicero 2 describes his restoration to rank and favour after exile as πανεποιησις nostram; and when Philo speaks of the birth of Seth as the πανεποιησις of Abel, 3 and of the sons of Noah as 'founders of a πανεποιησις,' since they were 'pioneers (ἀρχαγγελοι) of the second period of the world'; 4 so Josephus 5 speaks of the restoration of the Jews after the Exile as a πανεποιησις. With a nearer approach to the original Stoic meaning, Matthew (19) describes the new heavens and the new earth, which will bring conflagration and new outward form (Is 657; En, lxxii. 1; Jud. i. 29) were looking forward, in these words: 'In the πανεποιησις, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye which have followed me shall sit,' etc. The same meaning is found in Tit 3, where πανεποιησις has an ethical or religious sense: 'According to his mercy he saved us, through the washing (marg. 'laver') of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.'

2 aed Att. vii. 7.
3 De Postcr. Calvi, § 36 (Mangey, i. 249).
4 De Vita Moisio, li. 12 (Mangey, ii. 144).
5 Ant. xii. 4.
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Other Greek words with kindred meaning found in NT are:
1. ἀφορίσις, ‘begot’ (Mt 1:16, Lk 3:23) and also ‘bear children’ (Mt 16:21, Gal 4:4, John 16:21). In a religious sense it occurs in
1. Phil 2:15;’
2. διαφοροέζω, ‘begotten’ (Gen. 49:26). 3. In 1 Jn the perf. pass. occurs eight times, and in Rev
3. it is used in the same relative sense as I Cor 1:39 f.; Acts 26:20; Mt 19:27; Lk 12:17; and in five of these instances AV ‘has been’—e.g., ‘Every one that loveth is begotten of God’ (1:3); ‘Every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God’ (1:12); ‘by faith and not by works of the flesh’ (2:19); ‘he that believeth on the Son of God, it is so
4. in Jn 3:18 Rev everywhere retains ‘be born.’ (5) διαφοροέζω (and is repetitive), ‘begot again or anew’ (1 Pet 1:8). ‘Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.’ The noun διαφοροέζων is not found in NT, but is found in Vulgate. (6) ἀναποίνωμος, ‘make alive,’ ‘quick’en:’ Eph 2:5. God . . . quickened us, together with Christ, when we were dead in trespasses. (4) ἐπαναφέρω, ‘revert to’ (in the sense, return to the original state or condition): ‘In sin brought forth death;’ 1 Cor 15:22. ‘He having so will’d, brought us forth (or ‘gave us birth’) by the word of truth.’ (6) ἀναποινίζω
5. to demand or impose such a change. Such an experience can be expressed only in figures; and ‘regeneration’ is but one of many metaphors occurring in the NT, all of which are designed to express the change wrought in the soul which the fact that God, a profound change must be wrought in him, which God alone can effect.
The early Christians were so amazed at the change in disposition and character which had suddenly come over them that they framed all sorts of theories to account for it, describing their new experience in terms and conceptions of their own age.

A. Repentance.
The simplest metaphors meet us in the Synoptic Gospels. (a) Emphasis is laid on repentance (Mt 4:17; Lk 13:3). The Aramaic word for ‘repentance,’ סתרפ, is derived from סתר, ‘to turn’ (cf. Mt 18:5); and hence we may safely affirm that the repentance (q.v.) which Jesus insisted on was a practical one—turning the back on one’s former life.
6. (b) ‘Becoming as a little child’ (Mt 18:3). The context discloses what our Lord intended by this. It is the abandonment of pride and ambitious self-seeking, the attainment of meekness, lowliness, and sovereignty—(as a father), ‘and whosoever shall deny himself away from the lowliness, and shall take up the cross, and follow me, the same shall save his life.’ 7. James 4:8.
8. The need of divine grace for the attainment of this great ethical change is not so much explicitly taught as implied in the importance attached to prayer.

B. Baptism. The effect of the Divine Word and the need for co-operation between the human and the divine are taught very clearly in the Parable of the Sower. ‘The seed is the word of God’ (Lk 8:11); but three of the four kinds of soil are unproductive; there is only one which is far receptive of seed as to yield the fruit of a new life within the natural heart of man.

C. New birth. This appears under two aspects, both contained in the word ἐκπερίζεται: (1) the original

(1) De Inser. Nunci, 3 (Mangen, ii. 490).
5. Lake (Inaugural Address at Leiden, 27th Jan. 1904) and F. B. Burkhart, The Epistle to the Ephesians (1909) advocate that ἰδιὰς should be translated as ‘an interpretative gloss,’ because it is sometimes omitted in the Fathers; to which an answer is given in the case of the variant reading of the early Fathers, given in A. Reisch, Paralleltexte zu Johannes, Leipzig, 1897, p. 73 ff., seems to dispose of this theory: for, though the omission of the variants in the Text of the New Testament of ‘the Spirit’ is omitted, and several in which ‘the Spirit’ is emended, there is not one citation from the Fathers in which ‘the Spirit’ is inserted and ‘water’ omitted.
2 Co 5* there is a new creation (as Irv), implying that man’s entire outlook on earth and heaven, man, and God seems changed. Many Christians think it only significant how particular experiences are able to change one’s centre of gravity so decisively. We speak of ‘motor efficacy’ but such efficacy is not possible in a new natural motor efficacy. Starbuck: ‘Who can tell what really happens in one’s consciousness when one terms regeneration as union with one’s deeper self?’ What happens below the threshold of consciousness must, in the nature of the case, evade analysis. 

4. Nature of the change.—(1) The change is new. All are agreed as to its newness.

As a new divine Principle, says I. A. Dorner, ‘the Holy Spirit creates, although not substantially new faculties, a new trend, a new condition—knowing with a new consciousness. In brief, He produces a new person.’ All things are new, says Storace Bushnell, ‘Life proceeds from a new centre. The Bible is a new book. Duties are new. The very world itself is revealed in new beauty and joy to the mind.’ And of course he is in thorough agreement here, as he says, ‘This new life, therefore, manifests itself in new views of God, of Christ, of sin, of holiness, of the world, of the gospel, and of the life to come.’

(2) The change expressed in terms of metaphysics.

The Puritans expressed themselves very largely in terms of Aristotelian metaphysics.

Stephen Charnock (1626), whose discourses on regeneration were for many years the great authority on our subject, defines regeneration as a ‘powerful change, wrought in the soul by the efficacious work of the Holy Spirit, so that it becomes a new habit, the law of God and a divine nature are put into and framed in the heart enabling it to live holyly and pleasingly to God.’ The sinner is drained of all that is enticing.

We note that ‘a divine nature is put into the heart’. God’s word is expressed to him, the only thing new, an addition to nature, or ‘a change in the substance of the soul.’ ‘As in the cure of a man, health is not added to the disease; but the disease is extinguished and the healthy part set in its place. Add what you will (we are told), without introducing another form, it will be of no more efficacy than flowers, scents, and perfumes wear away the dead corruptions of the soul and remove the rottenness.’ We learn, then, that, though regeneration is ‘not an addition to nature,’ and ‘the new creation gives no new faculties,’ yet ‘a vital principle is put into the heart’ and ‘a new form is introduced.’ In regeneration there are new principles; ‘all new,’ says Charnock, ‘there are new principles’; and from him we obtain a definition of the word ‘principle,’ which we seek in vain in Charnock. ‘It is that foundation which is laid in nature, either old or new, for any particular kind or manner of exercise of the faculties of the soul.’ In other words, a ‘principle’ is ‘a new foundation laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercise of the same faculty of understanding.’

(3) The change expressed in terms of psychology.

The great Christian consciousness is causally and subjectively, is called regeneration and, when viewed in its manifest results in life and character, is called conversion (p. v.) is a psychical fact and therefore can be expressed in terms of psychology. Metaphysics is the treatise of the universal consciousness, entity, possessed of substance and faculties, form and principles. Psychology pursues the humbler path of analyzing consciousness and interrogating experience.

E.g., E. F. Scott describes regeneration thus: ‘It is like another and higher will sustaining ours, and gradually subduing the whole nature to itself—till the natural life becomes “spiritual” life.’ R. Rees describes it as ‘an abdication of our own individuality, allowing the Holy Spirit to evoke a complete metamorphosis of our human nature.’ J. Strachan speaks of it as ‘a new life which turns all the forces of one’s being into a new channel. All the energies that formerly made a man sin are now employed to make him holy.’ Paul, as though newly and radically changed in a man’s life, as those of Paul, says Percy Gardner, ‘may often be led up to by any experience which may beget in him something which may be called a violent spiritual and emotional tempest, which which raises the whole being to its utmost depths.’

4 Co 5. the metaphysical nature is left a mystery.
5 James has been much disputed by theologians, how particular experiences are able to change one’s centre of gravity so decisively.
6 We speak of ‘motor efficacy,’ but such efficacy is not possible in a new natural motor efficacy. Starbuck: ‘Who can tell what really happens in one’s consciousness when one terms regeneration as union with one’s deeper self?’ What happens below the threshold of consciousness must, in the nature of the case, evade analysis.

5 Varieties, p. 1901.
6 Ps. 106, 107.
9 Charnock’s Works, Edinburgh, 1864-65, iii. 87 f.
10 Princeton Theological Essays, 1st ser., Edinburgh, 1856, p. 316.
13 RER iv. 1906.
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... says of conversion (though what he says is much more true of regeneration) that it is "the birth of new powers." It is "as if there had been the liberation of fresh energy, or as if new streams and currents had been brought into human life in a new plane." "It is a process of realising the possibilities of growth; of making a draft on the latent energies... which might otherwise be insensible to our awareness," says S. Vernon Hartley. 1

The psychological expression of regeneration may well be subdivided as follows:

(o) In terms of personality. — The new personality is formed, says Dorey, "by a change in the nature of the soul's resistance to the several powers and activities..." 2 Thus, "the soul is not there to begin with, but must be gained." 3 Accordingly, says S. Vernon Hartley, if one asks, "Unite my heart to Thy name," 4 he answers, "You have thought aright in the Lord, and you have not shamed your hope on the day of your strength." 5

(2) Unification. — Every man, says Percy Gardner, "finds himself divided into two or sometimes many, intersecting, intersected, intersecting,..." 6 P. W. Headlam says, "If we are divided, we are divided in the sense that we are divided against ourselves." 7

(3) The change expressed in terms of physiology. — There seems to be a parallelism between cerebral and psychical processes, but modern psychologists have long abandoned the attempt of David Hartley and his school to maintain that mental acts can ever be divided into the simple and divisible, as brain currents or vibrations, or indeed by any physical terms. While aware of the inadequacy of physiology, it seems a fascination to some of our scientific theologians to throw their account of their cases in psychological terms.

E.g., Starbuck says: "What happens below the threshold of consciousness must, in the nature of the case, evade analysis. It tends to fill the chains in our knowledge, however, to explain it in terms of the nervous system and its functioning." 8 And again: "If we turn to the crude analogy of nerve cells and connection... we may get definite picture, at whatever cost of accuracy." 9 Accordingly, we find him describing "the phenomena which cluster about the birth of a new self as the occasion of new powers and activities as 'born of the Spirit,'" but he immediately adds: "It is as if brain areas which had hitherto dormant had now been awakened, or as if new powers and activities had been liberated, and now begun to function." 10 Starbuck insists strongly that conversion is an adolescent phenomenon; that we may not say, "The new powers and activities of the period, when the vast majority of conversions occur. In these periods

the life-forces tend upward toward the higher brain centres," 11 and biologically the new birth is "coming to live on the highest level of cerebral activity." 12 Various scholars thus symbolically, thus: that a 'new centre of personal energy has been subconsciously incubated'; 13 and Luke attaches so much importance to it as a symbolical event that he says that the really serious controversy of the future will be to determine whether religion is merely 'communion of man with his own true self consciousness, which man does not recognize as his own, but hypostatizes as some one exterior to himself.' 14

5. The efficient cause of regeneration.—(1) The power of the Spirit. — The teaching of the NT is emphatically that man needs a drastic inward change as a condition of salvation (Mt 18, Jn 3), and in the Acts and Epistles it is everywhere implied that the primitive Christians had experienced such a change (1 Co 6, Eph 2, Col 1, 1 Jn 2). It is equally clear that man is unable to effect this change by himself. There is need of the inworking of a power other and holier than himself. This power is the Holy Spirit. The NT teaches that man is to a greater or less degree controlled by an evil spirit (Ac 6, 2 Co 4, 1 P 5), and when man in his sin and weakness there stands a Divine Spirit, endowed with creative energy; and into hearts which are opened to receive Him He enters, vivifies latent faculties, and supports men in the struggle of the Christian life, so that man in him and on him, the sign, the seal, the evidence of that Divine energy, and what was once dead, animates the human spirit, ennobling, dignifying, purifying it. As A. Sabatier expresses it, "The Spirit of God identifies itself with the human Me into which it enters and whose life it becomes. If we may so speak, it is individualized in the new moral personality which it creates." 15

2 When we come to inquire more minutely what is the divine power which the Christian receives, there are three terms which are used in NT interchangeably—'Christ,' 'the Spirit of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.' The same verbs are used with each, and the same functions are attributed to each (cf. Ro 8, 1 Co 3, 1 Th 4, 1 Co 3, 1 P 11). But doesn't identity of function necessarily imply identity of person or agent? That is a question much discussed.

There are not a few scholars who maintain that the 'Holy Spirit' of the Christian dispensation is the spiritual, sanctified Christ; e.g., A. Thouck 16 and Reuss 17 both maintained that the Holy Spirit in the NT is not a self distinct from Christ, but is Christ Himself glorified into a spirit, or the spiritual presence and manifestation of Christ in the disciples after His departure from earth. Franz Delitzsch also maintained that all communications of the Spirit, since the Ascension, are effected through the Spirit of the Son of Man. 18 G. A. Deissmann says: "The living Christ is the Spirit..." 19 The last Adam became a life-giving Spirit, "..." 20

Other scholars express themselves more cautiously. E.g., R. C. Moberly says: "The Holy Ghost is, to us, immeadiately

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The matter is important to insist that, since the resurrection and ascension of Christ, there has been a new potency on the earth. Whether we seek to parallel this matter metaphysically, in terms of the Church's Creeds, or, more wisely, are content to leave it unexplained, the truth is that the Spirit, which, under the Christian dispensation, regenerates and sanctifies believers, is endowed with the properties of the God-man. At Pentecost, and ever since, the Church has been animated by a new power—not the power of the Logos, but a theanthropic power, the power of the glorified Christ. 'The Holy Spirit was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified' (Jn 7:39). The Holy Spirit of the Christian dispensation has the value of the ascended Christ, and has become in the Church a new moral, religious, personal force—the efficiency of Him who 'became in all things like unto his brethren' that we may be 'transformed into the same image.' To quote Wordsworth:

'The Spirit of God is the πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ. As the Spirit of Christ, He carries in Himself the power to diffuse the divine-human life. In fixed historical continuity, the divine-human personal unity... is employed for the purpose of propagating the life of the God-man... Through the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, humanity is possessed by God, appropriated by Christ's theanthropic life; and this is the Church.'

(2) Human co-efficients.—The co-efficients of regeneration, on the human side, are repentance and faith.

(a) Repentance.—It has been an error on the part of some Calvinists to maintain that at the time of regeneration man is passive or perhaps even antagonistic. It is very true that no man can come to Christ 'except the Father draw him'; that God always takes the initiative in man's salvation; that 'we love him because he first loved us.' But, before the new birth can be effectually wrought, and the doors of unrighteousness and self-disatisfaction. It is not the first touch of the Spirit upon a sinful soul that regenerates. There are preparatory dealings of God with the soul. Christian experience often testifies to convictions, pleadings, drawings, remorse, and self-accusation, which may perhaps be compared to birth-pangs preceding the new birth. There are, it is true, many cases all down the history of the Church in which the new birth seems to occur very abruptly and suddenly, but the modern mind distracts the sudden and catastrophic in all departments of life. Accordingly, the modern method of accounting for apparently sudden conversions is to assume that in such cases there is a much richer, inherited subliminal self than in others, and that the uprush of latent fountains of unrest and self-taking place beneath the threshold of consciousness. Most modern psychologists very properly raise a protest against the procedure of some denominations which seem to recognize the sudden, restrained, and unexpected change of position, as if only genuine one. They do this on the ground that such experiences are entirely a matter of temperament and that some constitutions are incapable of developing psychosocially.

(b) Faith is the second antecedent to the new birth (Eph 3:17, Ro 8:9, Gal 2:9)—faith in its double meaning of (1) appropriation of a message and trust in the person whom it declares; and (2) self-surrender to a power other and purer than we, which seeks to control our life (see art. in F.R. [Christian]). (1) It may be quite true that there are ethnic phenomena which resemble conversion, but Christian regeneration can be effected only by contact with Christ—on the divine side, dynamically, by being put upon the heart of the God-man upon the heart of man, and on the human side by hearing of Christ and by trusting and loving Him. Regeneration is conditioned by personal trust in Jesus as Saviour. Every true Christian can say, 'For me to live is Christ.' (2) Self-surrender finds an important place in all religious psychology. It is compared to 'relaxation of effort' on the verge of discovery, when, after hours or days of research, the solution comes unexpectedly, perhaps immediately after awaking from sleep. Many of Starbucks' cases confessed that, after long and weary efforts to conquer sin and to secure, with the much- coveted suddenness, a sense of pardon and regeneration, they found themselves at last to desire the presence of God and to struggle, and to yield themselves up into Christ's hands. When the surrendeter is made, then often the new birth—the emergence from darkness to light, from bondage to freedom—takes place.

6. Subsidiary causes.—(1) The word.—Divines often call this 'the instrumental cause.' The efficacy of the written or spoken word as the expression of the mind and heart and will of God is often taught in Scripture. When we read that man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' (Dt 8:3), we are to read 'the word of God is living and powerful' (He 4:12), when Jesus says, 'My words are spirit and they are life' (Jn 6:60), and when Paul reminds the Corinthians that 'in Christ Jesus' he had 'begotten' them 'through the gospel' (1 Co 4:15), we cannot escape the conviction that a word was believed to be endowed with potency. Certainly the rabbi held this view; and, when they read in the story of Creation that God said 'Let light be,' and light was, they considered that the very words were a vera causa, operating in the physical realm, and effectuating 'that whereunto they refer' (259), as, when they repeated 'Jehovah sent a word into Jacob and it alighted upon Israel,' and as in Zec 5 we read of a curse that should 'enter a house and consume its timbers and its stones.' In a similar manner the causality of a divine word is taught in the NT, where we read that we are 'begotten again... through the word of God' (1 P 1:23), that 'God gave us birth through the word of truth' (Ja 1:18), that 'the word of the message worketh in those who believe' (1 Th 2:13), and that the gospel is 'God's σώματα' (Ro 1:16). Evidently the 'word' is superimposed as having the efficacy to regenerate and sanctify; and, when those of us who have listened to the recital of Christian experience recall how often the decision for Christ—the entrance into joy and liberty—is embodied in the effect of the spoken word, embodied in some hymn or passage of Scripture, we cannot but feel that there was some ground for the peculiarly Semitic conception of the potency of a word.

(2) Thoughts or beliefs.—The psychology of religion strongly emphasizes that thoughts are forces, that one phase of regeneration is enlightenment, and that ideas have psychical, if not indeed physical, potency.
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'Every idea that is relevant to our condition moves us,' says Steven, and James dwells on 'the regenerative influence of optimistic thinking' and on the doctrine that thoughts are forces. 'One's thoughts produce forth-thoughts,' says James, 'and each successive thought is a generation of one's original one.'

Undoubtedly thoughts are forces, whether they originate from our own cogitations or from suggestion by others, though persons differ very widely as to their imprescriptibility to suggestion. Hypnosis is just the focusing of suggestion. We may not enlarge on this; but it enables us to realize how efficacious it is to centre the thoughts on God, to have a firm belief in His wrath or His love as one's despair is greater and one's hope the severer, during the period which elapses when the time is spent by the Divine Spirit and the time when, more or less suddenly and joyously, the soul enters into the liberty of the sons of God.

7. Ethnic and Jewish parallels.—(1) Hindi.—In ancient India there were three castes of Aryans—the Brahmans, the Ksatryias, and the Vaishyas—who were believed to have the spiritual capacity for being twice-born. The second birth was fore-shadowed, however, by the incumbent of a intermediate stage known as aparayaana, which took place at various ages between eight and sixteen, according to caste.

The boy was brought to his guru (spiritual preceptor), and, after a prayer in ancient Sanskrit, he was given a sacred harp, which consisted of three slender cotton threads—thre, by type purity—and tied in one place by a sacred knot.

The cord was placed over the left shoulder and under the right arm and worn perpetually. It was of course usually blessed by Brahmans, consecrated by the recitation of Vedics texts, sprinkled with holy water. The ceremony was accompanied by the ten-times-repeated prayer, 'Let us meditate on the excellent glory of the Divine Vivifier (i.e. Regenerator).'

After this act of investiture the novice commenced his study of the Vedas, and by and by, according to his period of study, he became qualified to teach and expound the Vedas, to recite prayers, and to take part in religious services and sacrifices. The discipule was taught very early in a profession; indeed, in the Institutes of Menu it is enjoined:

'Of the two, the one who gives natural birth and the one who gives knowledge of the whole Veda, the latter is the more valuable of the two. The second one, however, is the divine birth itself; not only in this world, but hereafter eternally' (II. 140). ‘The true Brahman, who succeeds his master as a scholar, shall ascend after death to the most exalted regions and no more again spring to birth in this lower world' (g. 249).

8. Talmud.—In the Talmud, at an early period applied to its proleutes the ideas of birth and creation, as we see from P's 87', 'Behold Philistia and Tyre; this one was born there,' and 102'.

'A people that shall be created shall praise Jehovah.'

Similarly in Prakrit Kabbah, xxviii. 14, on Gn 140, R. Eleazar ben Zimra says: 'If all who come into the world were not together to create one, they could not impart to life; but he who induces a man to become a prosecty is as if he created him.'

Skir, L. 3 says: 'Every one who gathers one creature under the wings of the Shekinah, as soon as he creates and formed him; vii. 2 reads: 'The house of my mother'—i.e. Sinai. R. Barzachiah says: 'Why do they call mount Sinai my mother? Because there Israelites were made, infants a day old.'

Rabbah Mos., ii. 11, teaches that a man ought to reverence his father who has only brought him into this world. His teacher who taught him wisdom brings him into the life of the world to come (cf. above, 11).

Palm, notes that the name is given to one who was like a child who is newly born, because he must break away from his former teachers and principles and customs and habits, as well as from those who have influenced him. He is not a whole new being, aside his vicious habits and comport himself as he were born that very day.'

Philosophy often dwells on the necessity of a radical change before a man can secure the favor of God. He employs the figure of regeneration in a more psychic way than the Palestinian Jews and contemplates the change as a profound religious experience.

What time of life could ever transform the harlotry of a soul trained in early and habitual incontinence? No time could do this, but God alone, to whom all things are possible; even those which among us are impossible. I have learned to appreciate my own inutility (αὐτοπάθεια) and to gaze at the uncertainties of one's manifest existence. I recognize myself to be "dust and ashes" or something worse... I am so elementally changed (ἐνεργοτροπία) that I do not even try to exist. Again: How could I have known God, If He had not breathed into it and touched it extant? Or is it that sons good seed in human souls but who is the Father of them to whom begets entirethings? Our next quotation reminds us of the one-bearer of man of W. James, when Philo calls αὐτοτόκος, 'every self-taught man is one who does not grow better by struggle and conflict, but from the outset found wisdom ready prepared for him, showered down on him from above.' Of such men Philo says further on: 'The αὐτοχθωνός is everything new, surpassing description and really (συνεργής) divine, subsisting without aid by his own conception but by inspired frenzy.' And once more he says: 'If a divine thought (ζητέω) enters the διάσωσις of man, his body and heart become a new spring.'

(3) Stoicism.—Stoicism had before NT times become a religion quite as much as a philosophy, announcing its ability to free men from the domination of evil and to bring them into union with the divine. It appealed strongly to the noble and heavenly character and had a deep influence on the best men in the early Roman Empire. S. Dill speaks of Senecca as 'the earliest and most powerful apostle of a great moral revival,' and as 'one of the few heathen moralists who warn moral teachers of the perils of hatefulness'—an opinion which, I think, is justly founded. Senecca speaks of multitudes stretching out hands for moral help; and there is evidence that he himself was seized with a passion to win souls to goodness and truth, and seriously regarded it as his mission. It is surprising, however, to learn that he had taught clearly that 'no mind is good without God.'

'God comes to men, say, nearer still he comes unto men.' Divine seeds are sown in human bodies, and will grow into likeness to their original right intelligently. God is within us, inspiring good resolves and giving strength in temptation. He is with us, bestowing on us His gifts and challenging us in His wisdom.

Many Stoics taught a doctrine of instantaneous regeneration. Goodness is brought about not by addition but by the removal of evil through change. There may be a progress from folly to wisdom, but the rapid change is the actual passage from one to the other must be momentary and instantaneous. It may be a long preparation, but the sudden passage from evil to good is a sudden change of character, as, e.g., Polemon, the dissolute son of a wealthy Athenian who was thoroughly changed by listening to a discourse by Xenocrates.

(4) The mystery-religions.—In the 6th cent. B.C. a remarkable change in religious thinking took place, the cause of which was largely personal, being due

2 Quod erit, 7, 6.
3 Leg. alleg. 1, 13.
4 De Corp. Dei, 30.
5 Leg. alleg. ili. 76.
7 Quod erit, 14 (49).
8 Ep. to Con. 1, vii. 1, quoted by Mayor, St. James', p. 127.
9 Dialogues, p. 547.
to the influence of such men as Pindar, Hesiod, and perhaps Orphei—men who were at once poets and prophets. The period was marked by (1) a more serious appreciation of right and wrong; (2) a recognition of the material world as something to be respected, and the wicked after death, and a conviction that the wrongs of this life will be righted hereafter; (3) a deeper sense of the turpitude of sin and its defiling influence; (4) a growing belief in henotheism; and (5) a longing for fellowship with God. All this was accompanied by a disposition to give to religious beliefs a visual, scenic form and dramatic representation. Foreign rites and ceremonies were appropriated, old rustic symbols and mystic plays—in fact anything that could evoke intense religious feeling. Into these weird symbols men read new meanings, and used them to mediate a crude sense of communion with the divine—everything appealing quite as much to their highly-sensitized organs as to their physical or moral nature. Men in the distant past were far more truly ‘children of Nature’ than we are; and they experienced real pain and joy in the changes of the seasons, bemoaning the apparent death of vegetal life and rejoicing in its return again. They were keenly sensitive to the parabolic significance of Nature. Their life was en rapport with the life of Nature. Their soul was believed to be a fragment of the great World-Soul. The annual renovation of vegetation in springtime fostered two anticipations: (1) that, as Nature puts on her beautiful attire in April, after months of ugliness and deformity, so there must be a possibility, if one could only enter into thorough union with the World-Soul, of renovating, cleansing, and beautifying the human soul, and absorbing any pollution they were so painfully conscious; (2) that, as Nature lives again yearly after apparent death, so it must be possible for the human soul to undergo some processes which shall render it incorruptible and secure for it a glorious immortality. During the two centuries before and after Christ this movement spread and deepened immensely, gradually orientalizing Roman paganism and acclimatizing Phrygian, Egyptian, and Persian divinities and ceremonies in every great centre of the empire. Everywhere there was found a deep sense of the pollution of sin and a longing for immortality; and in consequence there was a readiness to submit to any crude, pre-historic charms that might help to satisfy the frenzied longing to be inwardly changed, to become a child again, and to be made fit hereafter to dwell with God. These ceremonies were the mysteries (mysteries).

(a) The Eleusinian mysteries, as held in Athens, furnished the grandest artistic display and scenic ornamentation. The great object of mystic contemplation was an ear of corn. There were ablutions in salt, purification with sulphur, and smearing with clay or with blood—all done with the intention of cleansing the senses. Then came two scenic representations of events in the history of Demeter and Persephone, on which the mystics gazed with wild, frenzied stare, in the hope that the experiences of the risen Persephone might be reproduced in their soul. Speaking of the religious emotions, Tertullian says:

*The nations ascribe to their idols the same power of imbuing water with the self-same efficacy as we do. . . . At the Eleu-


2 See art. MYSTERIES (Egyptian).

3 B. Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mystikerreligionen, Leipzig, 1907, p. 31.

4 The Golden Ass, xi. 21 (Loeb’s Classical Library, p. 574 f.).

5 Kennedy, p. 106 f.; Dill, p. 572 f.


sionian mysteries, men are baptized, and they assume that the effect of this is their regeneration and the remission of the penalties due to their guilt. 4

(b) Egyptian.—In this religion Osiris was slain and dismembered by Set, and his limbs were concealed all over the world. The limbs were sought and found by Isis and her son Horus, and were reconstructed in perfect copies as the symbols of life, power, and eternal. The one absorbing desire of his worshippers was to become partakers, in a mystical, spiritual sense, of the new life of Osiris. 5

In the great Persian magic papyrus published by Carl Wesely, we find a story which has been worked over by the divinity Set, and who is instructed by the mystagogue to address the divinity thus: ‘O mighty Typhon, scorpion-bearer and destroy-er, defiling myself before thee . . . energize me (wah,npa,s3).’

Having done this, he is hidden to put on white raiment, and to say to the god: ‘I am united with thee in a sacred form. I am energized by thy sacred name. I have met the effuence of thy good gifts,’ and he assures him that he has obtained a god-like nature (arw3w wva3) which has been effected by the union with god. Another prayer: ‘Come into me, O Hermes, as children in the mother womb;’ and in another passage we read: ‘Come into the soul of this child that it may be fashioned (remova,s) after thy immortal form in thy powerful imperishable light.’

Lucius Apulicus, who wrote about A.D. 150, humorously describes how he was initiated into the sacred mysteries under the assumption that he was delivered by the priest of Isis, and was initiated at Cenchreus into the mysteries of his. He describes the day of his initiation as having been on the 10th of May, and as being a day when he was penetrated to the boundaries of death and trod the threshold of Jersey everpower. He compares this to ‘a voluntary death’s and his restoration to life to a salvation vouchsafed in answer to prayer.’ He is certain that through the goddess Isis he has been in a state of ecstasy (wv 'a,mpnas re,ma);’ and placed again on the course of a new salvation.

The Hermetic literature.—Reitzenstein, in his work Poimandres (Leipzig, 1904), publishes and copiously edits a strange compilation of eighteen secrets or sacred documents made about A.D. 200 by an Egyptian priest. The Greek fragments are of various ages and belong to several religious communities; but the type of religion presented is generally Hellenized Egyptian. Among them is a remarkable dialogue between Hermes and his son Tat on the subject of regeneration (*παλαισικα, νεο).’

The son reminds his father that he once said that no man can attain to eternal life unless he be born again. This is the world of seeming. Tat says that he has done this, and begs to be instructed as to the doctrine (λόγος) of regeneration. Hermes replies, ‘There is no soul of the body (σώματος) anything but what is in human hearts. The event is a begetting. God’s will begets. Those begetten are reborn; they are sons of God.’ Tat still persists in the wish to reveal more. Hermes asks, ‘Do you know the completion of the new nature, and asks: ‘He who is born of, what manner of being is he? God’ is born of God, and is a Buddha. There is no share in the acetic being which is in me.’ The father can only reply that such knowledge is not taught, but, when God wills, He can cause it to come to mind. 7 But the son asks again: ‘Do you mean that I who am a born descended from my father am another’s son? Explain to me the manner (ρώσσον) of the regeneration? Hermes can give little light as to the method; but the results of the change are remarkable. Form loses its outline, and magnifies loses its dimensions. The mind cognizes; no longer do the senses perceive. The injunction is: ‘Nullify the perceptions of the body and the birth of Deity will take place the ever.’

(c) Phrygian.—The Phrygians elaborated their conception of psychological regeneration from the myth of Attis, the devotee of Cybele, who bled himself to death under a pine-tree for his imagined unfaithfulness to his goddess and was restored to life by the Earth-Mother. Men weary of earthly life and of sin yearned for a thorough change—a death, a burial, a new life. Under the influence, probably, of Mazdaism, according to which a mystic bull is the originator of creation and resurrection, and the symbol of the operation of death thus receiving the strength of the bull into themselves to renew their physical energy, underwent a

1 De Bapt. 5.

7 See art. MYSTERIES (Egyptian).

8 B. Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mystikerreligionen, Leipzig, 1907, p. 31.

9 The Golden Ass, xi. 21 (Loeb’s Classical Library, p. 574 f.).

10 Kennedy, p. 106 f.; Dill, p. 572 f.

sublimation of meaning, and was used as a means of acquiring eternal regeneration of the soul. This is clearly the logic which the author has in mind: that the soul which has undergone regeneration is destined to descend into a grave over which there were boards, and on them a bell was placed. The man underneath received on his naked person, and into all the orifices of his body, the warm blood, under the influence of which his sins were thereby cleansed and his nature regenerated.1 For some time the fiction of the new birth was kept up by feeding the mystic on milk and tending him as a babe (Δεσπότ Νηστικόν Ἱδρυμάς).

8. Metaphors common to A and the mysteries. The researches of late years, and especially the discovery of papyri, have disclosed that many technical NT words are also found in the vocabulary of the mysteries. In NT times the mysteries were very popular, not only the national ones, but also those of a more private character, held in halls or private houses; and almost every respectable man was a member in one or other of these mysteries.2 The ceremonies were kept secret, but the results claimed to be effectuated thereby were no secret; and Paul could not live in an intellectual centre like Tarsus without becoming familiar with the technical phrases of the mystery-religions. And, though we admit that Paul was anti-pagan to them, and though it be true, as A. Jacoby maintains,3 that the keenest struggle of Christianity with the mystery-religions, which were not secret, is not the case, we need not be surprised that Paul should borrow metaphors from them; for he often derives metaphors from the athletic games against which Christians showed vehement opposition in later years. Early Christianity did not invent a religious vocabulary; almost all its terms were in vogue at the time. The professed aim of the mysteries was  σωτρία, to secure union with God and eternal life. Regeneration is the central theme in the Mithraic liturgy, in the Isis ceremonies described by Apuleius, and in the conversation between Hornes and Tat. Hence many of the papyri which have been found.4 In these new groups of travelling preachers from the East, proclaimed the promise of  σωτρία and the assurance of life eternal, their message was bound to appeal to such an audience.5 The early Christians used familiar terms and metaphors, but infused a vastly higher meaning into them. The apostle thus briefly shows how the metaphors of the NT concerning regeneration are found, though not with the same significance,

1 C. J. MURPHY, Mysteries (Greek, Phrygian, etc.); F. Cumont, Die orientalischen Religionen, Leipzig, 1910, p. 82.
2 A. Dieterich, Eine Mithraidriturhyp, Leipzig, 1903, p. 3 f.
3 Kennedy, p. 79.
4 Die offenen Mysterienreligionen und das Christentum, Tübingen, 1930, p. 603.
5 Kennedy, p. 79.

9. ‘The seed is the word’ (Lk 8:11; cf. 1 P 1:22, Ja 1:19). In the Hermetic literature it is taught that regeneration is the end and aim of all revelation.6 While Tat, in silent devotion, sits listening to the instruction of his father Hermes concerning the divine potencies, these potencies manifestly enter into him and form his new ‘1’; and it is taught that the reader of the book recording the conversation between Hermes and Tat might also be regenerated, under the grace of God; but a translation of this book would not have the same effect.

1 Tat asks his father of what sort of mother he was regenerated, or of what sort of seed, and receives the answer: ‘The will of God is the sower, and the seed is the true Good.’

B. Importation of life. As we have seen, there was a deep longing for immortality in the period from 600 B.C. onwards, and the popularity of the mysteries was chiefly due to the fact that they claimed to confer life and joy hereafter. The gods worshipped in the mysteries were those who, like Osiris, Attis, and Kore, died and lived again; and, while gazing at vivid spectacular displays of their sufferings, death, and rebirth, accompanied by mournful addresses, listened to with sobbings and wailings and self-mutilations, the μώρα was in the centre of the ceremonies and death and suffering of the gods, that they might become partakers in their glorious life. In the mysteries of Attis, when the worshippers have almost spent themselves in sympathetic grief over the sad death of Attis, their hearts are once more filled with new life. ‘Be of good cheer, O mystic, since the god has been rescued from death, there is άτοκηστία for you from your toils.’

Similarly it is said of one who has become mystically united to Osiris: ‘As truly as Osiris lives, shall he live. As truly as Osiris is not dead, shall he not die.’

C. New birth. It is extremely probable that the words μωρά and μεταγενέσθαι, to describe the change which the μωρά claimed to have undergone, are pre-Christian. It was believed that the hastrae and the sympathetic dramas causally produced this state of regeneration. Of course, we need say that the change was vastly different from that of the NT. In the mysteries the phenomena were hyperphysical, due to sensuous excitement, akin to that of he faqir in India, or the prophets of Baal. In the NT the change was supremely ethical, and spiritual. In some cases, it may be, the result of the mysteries was morally elevating, but that was not their primary intent. They were designed to evoke a sensuous religiousness—to appeal to the feelings and to foster the condition in which men and women of neurotic temperament see visions and dream dreams. They encouraged maniasism as distinct from prophecy. The church at Corinth was in danger of reverting to a ‘mystery.’ It is doubtful whether those who claimed μεταγενέσθαι through the mysteries lived on a much higher moral level than their neighbours.

D. A new man or a new creature. There is everywhere in the mysteries the notion that the soul, as a highly attenuated material entity, undergoes some change of substance, and is inspired by a new spirit. In the Mithraic liturgy, the word μεταγενέσθαι was used instead of the other synonyms. We find constantly the idea of union (συνοικία) of the divine with the human, cleansing, emollient, and transfiguring. In the mysteries, Attis, the man, and Isis, the woman, were killed. They died as men; they rose as gods. If men unite themselves with them, ‘receive them,’ ‘put...
them on, they are thereby defiled. They become sons of God.1 Yet in one place we have a sort of Nestorian conception—σωματία rather than ἐναρσώματος—when Tat asks whether the inborn son of God, Simon, can be "out of the body." The soul wanders through the heavens, and receives a new ἁνάρσιον before it returns. The soul of one who is admitted to the mysteries of Isis travels through the twelve houses of the zodiac and in each sits on a different garment—twelve different transmigrations. He returns to earth wearing an Olympian garb, stands before the assembled mystics, and is revered as a god.2 So in the cult of Mithra the soul of the mystic is born again by means of wandering through the heavens. Arrived there, he calls out for his own heavenly body, which God has formed for him in the world of light, and wears it for a time; but he must lay it aside when he returns to earth, and put on the Olympian garment which is his true body. In his hierarchy the soul is cleansed of its old garb and is resurrected and cleansed of the impurities of its old life.2

E. A change of clothing.—Here we meet with the conception that the soul cannot be changed while in the body. It must first be "out of the body." The soul wanders through the heavens, and receives a new ἁνάρσιον before it returns. The soul of one who is admitted to the mysteries of Isis travels through the twelve houses of the zodiac and in each sits on a different garment—twelve different transmigrations. He returns to earth wearing an Olympian garb, stands before the assembled mystics, and is revered as a god.2 So in the cult of Mithra the soul of the mystic is born again by means of wandering through the heavens. Arrived there, he calls out for his own heavenly body, which God has formed for him in the world of light, and wears it for a time; but he must lay it aside when he returns to earth, and put on the Olympian garment which is his true body. In his hierarchy the soul is cleansed of its old garb and is resurrected and cleansed of the impurities of its old life.2

F. A passage from death to life.—Development is quite a modern conception. It was simpler to the ancients to conceive of transition, as death followed by life. Even yet we can speak of the death of the old year and the birth of the new. The great change to which the initiates to the mysteries laid claim was often represented as a death, followed by a changed life. When the initiation was being celebrated, it was usual for the μυστατά to simulate death, from which they were subsequently re-born with new names and the garb of the mystic, describing his own initiation, says: 'I went to the confines of death. I trod the threshold of Proserpine.' Among some savage tribes youths were beaten till they were unconscious, that they might enter on a new life; and for a time they were expected to behave as babies.2

G. Burial and resurrection.—This, of course, is a very similar metaphor. Burial was designed to emphasize the reality of the death. In the cult of Attis a pine-tree was felled, and the trunk adored with garlands and solemnly buried. The mystics wailed for Attis, who had died again in his sacred tree; they gashed themselves and sprinkled their blood on the altar. Next night they assembled in the temple, and found the tree had come to life and was a re-embodiment of the dead god.2

It is certain that in the mysteries all the effects believed to be followed magically rather than the ceremony produced the results irrespective of the ethical condition of the initiate. Physical contact with the water regenerated the body; the water was sprinkled over the body entered by the priest were

1 Reitzenstein, Helianest, Mysteriensystemen, p. 7.
2 Reitzenstein, Polymnatreus, p. 230.
4 ib. p. 22.
6 Dieterich, p. 158 f.
7 P. 158.
8 Quoted in Dieterich, p. 168.

believed to have a magical effect on the soul. The burial and besmearing with clay or mud, followed by restoration to life, were held to produce in the votary a psychical death, burial, and new birth. The new soul prays for Hermes to come into him 'as children are in the mother's womb.'2

9. Connection between regeneration and baptism.—The subject of Paul's teaching as to the significance of baptism has been a burning question during the past decade. The disputants fall into three classes:

(1) Those who believe that baptism (which in this case is restricted to believers) is nothing more than (a) a symbol of a spiritual union which already exists between Christ and the believer; (b) a declaration of allegiance to Jesus as Master and Lord; (c) the renewal of faith in the Greek Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and the Holy Spirit the Sanctifier.1

(2) Those who hold the sacramentarian view that baptism ratifies all sins, original and actual; that it becomes an integral part of the mystery of the faith; and that it is accompanied by a spiritual conception, which is the soul with the germs of the Christian virtues (for this view see art. BAPTISM, vol. ii. pp. 390-400).

(3) There are some modern scholars who, trained in the rigour of modern exegetical methods, clain, in the light chiefly of recent research in the mystery-cults of antiquity, that in his doctrine of baptism the apostle Paul was inconsistent with himself and with the rest of the NT; that he was indeed a sacramentalist; and that, while demolishing with one hand the efficacy of Jewish rites and ceremonies, he admitted the validity of the Catholic rite of baptism for the soul with the germs of the Christian virtues, which was quite incongruous with his ordinary teaching.

The latest exegiastic phase," says P. Rendtorff, "is this, that with a frame of mind thoroughly disaccustomed to spiritual conceptions, so many feel themselves historically bound to ascribe such views to Paul. Such men as Gunkel, Heitmüller, and H. J. Holtmann maintain that Paul held such views and that he derived them not from the OT nor from Jesus Christ, but from the trend of thought in ethnic religions current in his time. E. Ch. W. Heitmüller says, 'Baptism, as Paul, is throughout a sacramental act, which works not ex opere operantis, but ex opere operato, and is not merely a token of incorporation into the Church, but a spiritual change. The power to be born again, the same power which is at work in the confession of faith, is in the baptism. The regeneration is not conditioned by the faith of the recipient or the administrator. Of course, faith is pre-supposed in the candidate. Only the regenerate may be received into the Church.' With this he is in line with the门户 writers who, while acknowledging the absolute necessity of faith, the will of the candidate, in the act of baptism, and who, while holding this to be so, and who, while holding this to be so, and who, while holding this to be so, it is the act of Christ in his church. It is the act of the forgiving and dying and being buried. He who allows himself to be baptized into Christ experiences thereby the death of Christ. He comes out of the water, as one who has died, but has been raised to a new life. He has put on Christ; that which happened to Christ on the cross completes itself again in the case of individuals.'

Percy Gardner writes in the same strain: 'St. Paul's view of baptism is distinctive. He speaks of burial with Christ in baptism, and being buried into the death of Christ, and of rising with him from the dead. ... In his own way, he transforms the rite of baptism, not into a sacramental, but into a spiritual act of mystic incorporation. In his baptism does not merely mean repentance for sin, and attempt at a purified life; it was burial with Christ and rising again with him; it was incorporation into the mystical body of Christ, and becoming a new creature. There can be little doubt that in this matter, as in others, Paul innovates by grafting upon a Jewish rite a deeper meaning, of which the germs lay in the Pagan Mysteries.2 So Kirsopp Lake, after quoting I0 and Gal 3, says: 'The word of Christ is the word of baptism. It is the union with Christ. ... Baptism is, for St. Paul and his readers, universally and unquestioningly accepted as a mystery or sacrament which works ex opere operato; and

2 Die Tausch im Orchristentum, Leipzig, 1908, p. 15.
3 ib. p. 18.
4 Zum religiöse geschichtlichen Verständnis des NT, Göttinigen, 1905, p. 63.
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from the unhesitating manner in which St. Paul uses this fact and the fact that it was clearly not what Paul meant. Chris-

tian opinion did not vary, it would seem as though this sacra-

mental teaching is central in the primitive Christianity to which the earliest Christians were converted.

(3) It can hardly be doubted that Paul had some

acquaintance with the mystery-religious, and that

he intentionally used metaphors there in use; but

there are many scholars, equally eminent with

those named above, who cannot believe that

the Apostle could be so illogical as to embitter his

life for years by denying the efficacy of Jewish

rites and ceremonies to secure salvation, and at

the same time set up an external ordinance like bap-

tism as having the efficacy to regenerate the souls of

Deissmann, e.g., says: *It is not correct to say that Paul

considered baptism to mediate our access to Christ. There are

passages, as Gal 3, in which he read from their context, may

be thus interpreted, but it is more correct to say that

baptism is not the restoration to fellowship, but the sealing of

our fellowship with Christ. With Paul himself it was not

baptism which was the deciding point, but the Christophany at

Damascus. He was sent not to baptize, but to preach the

Gospel.* 2 Rendtorff maintains that *the ground presuppos-

ition of all that Paul says on baptismal experiences is faith.

Not that Paul always mentions faith, as the cause of his

baptism, but he through the *niyama paccaya* in the

Empire, 3 Ro 6, 3. The whole baptismal experience of Ro 6 culminates in the

expression *"that one may walk in newness of life." This cannot refer to a

natural physical-hypophysical new creation, analogoue perhap's to the

Nithra magical liturgical way, but it means only a positive restoration of

a religious-ethical life.* Quoting Col 3, 2 he insists that the

efficacy of the baptism rests on and consists in the forgiven-

ess of sins. 3 Clemen steadily opposes the attribution of sacra-

mentary views to the Apostle. He admits that the implica-

tions of Col 2, 12 are much as one would desire, but they do not

represent Paul's own views. As to Ro 6 and Col 2, 12, he contends

that the operation of baptism is based on the signification of the

deed itself, not on the fact that water and soul or others are united

by baptism to Christ. That would be the question of religion and

sacrament. *Certainly with him, union with the Lord, the

receiving of the Holy Spirit, the renewal of life and the birth

out of sins are all of reformation than restoration. This

conversion comes to expression in baptism which is a symbol

not of a death, but of a nature which is to happen but also of what has happened already,* 4 There is much force also in the argument of J. C. Lambert when he maintains that from Ro 6:4 to the Apostle

asserts and rests his fundamental doctrine of justification

by faith, then in 6:6 he abruptly introduces baptism, for the first

and only time in the Epistle, and consequently *it seems impos-

sible on the ground of any single reference to baptism in the

course of his longest and most-doctriuineal Epistle, to set aside his
caracteristic way of speaking at the present place as a

measured part of the whole story of salvation.* 5 Later he says: *The precise

point which he wished to enforce was the intimacy of the

unions, the bond of a close relation between the individual and

the Lord.* Baptism suggests a being buried with Christ. *But a

burial is not a death; it is only a public certification and seal-

ing of what has already been accomplished.* 6 He is no

more a convert, no man of new birth, but a man with Christ, but rather a sealing of that death in Him and with Him in the light of the whole history of Redemption. The

whole view is ably defended by H. A. A. Kennedy, in Epap. vii. 4

(1912), and in his work on St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions,

ch. 3, p. 173.

It remains now to examine what sort of con-

structive criticism the last-named scholars have to offer,

having disposed of the other two views, for,

of course, in repudiating sacramentalism, they

are equally pronounced in their conviction that the

statements in Paul's Epistles on baptism, such as

Gal 3, Tit 3, imply more than that baptism is merely a symbol of spiritual facts.

(1) It clears the air considerably that they all

agree that all the persons whose baptism is

cited as an example, were pupils in faith in Jesus

as Christ and Lord before they were baptized. 7

(2) They agree that a candid exegesis of the

passages in which Paul speaks of baptism

oblige us to admit that he believed that in baptismal experiences, 8

put on Christ; he *dies, is raised to new

ness of life.* Paul was exhorted to *be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,* as one who *is baptized into death,* and *baptized into the death of the Lord Jesus*; and *baptism* is *laying in the water by means of the word* (Eph 5:23). Clearly the early Christians were taught to expect that in their baptism they would receive some influx of spiritual power—something rich spiritual blessing. Lambert speaks of *a nari a spiritually-infused life and power,* 9

Kennedy speaks of *a wonderful spiritual quicken-

ing; a new enhancing of the power and grasp of faith.* 10

(3) They draw a very proper and vital
distinction between 'cause' and 'occasion.' They

do not predicate of the literal act of baptism

contact with the water, or the utterance of the

formula—in any sense causes these spiritual

blessings; but they do believe that Paul taught

that it was a divine appointment that those who

obeyed their Lord by making a public confession

of Him in baptism should receive therein a rich

spiritual reward.

E.g., Clemen, speaking on Gal 3, says: *Baptism as such is not the

causative element in the act of Christ's baptism, but *he is all sons of God through faith*; accordingly baptism can only be the occasion on which one confesses his sins, not a sacra-

ment;* 11 and Lambert is equally explicit: it *was not with the

baptismal water that men were sealed, but with the Holy Spirit in the sealing, which was an expression of the act of Christ's baptism,* and not, as some say, even of the sealing itself. . . . Even this sealing of the Spirit is not a creative but a declarative act.* 12

Baptism was not the cause of spiritual gifts, but the occasion of their bestowal. Baptism does not literally wash away sin, but NT believers were

taught to expect a consciousness of pardon and a full

sense of sin forgiven in connexion with their

baptism. Nor does baptism regenerate in a causal

sense, but NT baptism was normally the occasion of

the bestowal of the gifts of the Holy Spirit—so

much so that Paul was astonished that it was

possible for any disciples who had been baptized

to receive the Spirit by the laying on of hands (Ac 19). Regarding

Jesus as their great Exemplar and His baptism as the

type of, and authority for, Christian baptism, it was

natural that they should expect somewhat similar spiritual blessings to be conferred on them to those which were conferred on Him.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated by the

numerous quotations throughout the article.

J. T. MARSHALL.

REINCARNATION.—See TRANSMIGRATION, SOUL.

RELATIONS (Buddhist).—Buddhist philo-

sophy has from the outset resolved all 'things,' all

'states' of matter and mind, into a flux of

'happenings.' That which happens is a series in

the flux of transient, even momentary, complexes of
elemental factors, determined and determining,

according to the fivefold law of cosmic order

(niyama). And these complex happenings are

determined and determining, both as to their con-

stituent factors and also as to other happenings, in

a variety of ways that we should express by the

term 'relations.' The Buddhist term is pacayya

(Skr. pratayya). Etymologically the word is

nearly parallel to 'relation' (pacayya = pati = re),

and any, causative of i, 'to go or come,' in place of

the Sanskrit *pati.* The word *pacayya* *, redefining!

lies in the causal emphasis of the Pali term, which

is lacking in our word. The commentators empha-

size this: *pacayya means because-of-that it

makes-to-come.* The prefix (palli) is here given

the adequate rendering of the Sanskrit term.

The most recent discussions of the notion of cause

expresses 'the general scheme of a causal law' in

terms of relations. But this is only one among

1 B. Eluwerts. p. 255.


3 Pp. 22, 56.

4 Religiongeschichtliche Erklärung des NT, Giessen, 1909, Pp. 175, 176. The *Christophany and its non-Jewish Sources,* Edinburgh, 1912, p. 223.

5 The Sacraments in the NT, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 169.


7 Rendtorff, p. 22; Lambert, p. 193; Kennedy, p. 249.
the inevitable, if unconscious, approximations of modern European ‘philosophies of change’ to Buddhist ideas.

Another characteristic of Buddhist definition of relations, beside that given above, is to assign them a place among the marks or characters of things (i.e., events) in general. Thus all things (except the philosophic Nibbāna) have (a) the three marks of impermanence, liability to suffering, and soullessness; (b) the threefold mark of the conditioned: genesis or birth, cessation or decay and death, and a relatively static point or interval between; and (c) the marks of causation, viz., relations, or correlation.

The Buddhist group of marks was developed under 24 heads in the last of the analytical works in the Abhidhamma Pitaka of the canon, called the Patthāna, also ‘the Great Book.’7 They are the most—one may say the only—distinctively constructive contribution to Buddhist philosophy in those six analytical books. The 24 heads are developed at great length in application to the material and mental facts of experience. The commentary, ascribed to Buddhaghosa, adds some useful and material matter, especially in its insistence on the necessity of regarding the correlation, or paccayatā, in every one of the 24 modes as an ‘assisting agency’ (upātikāraka):

‘Where one dhānam is by its arising or persisting is a helper to something that first-named is the (causally) relating dhānam to the last-named.’

It is impossible to say how soon after the closing of the canon, how long before Buddhaghosa’s date, this aspect was evolved. But it is of the greatest importance to an understanding of the Buddhist philosophy of change, and it has remained a keynote in that tradition to the present day. Thus Ledi expands it as follows:

‘Just as an heir normally inherits the property of his deceased parent, so does a succeeding unit of consciousness inherit all the energy, the functions, the impressions of the expired unit.’

The same is believed with regard to material units. And the legacy itself came, in later works, to be spoken of as a force, own influence of the paccaya, or causally relating term, viz., the paccaya-saṭṭhi.8

Thus:

‘In the exposition of the Patthāna relations there are three main factors to be carefully noted, i.e.:

(a) the relating thing (paccayadhamma),
(b) the related thing (paccayasopannadhamma),
(c) the distinctive function or influence (of the relation paccaya-saṭṭhi-ratna).

The 24 paccayas, under the title Paccayagāthaka (‘Compendium or Category of Relations, or Causality’) occupy eighth part of the standard manual, entitled Abhidhamma-thāna-saṃgaha. This work (in which saṭṭhi does not occur) dates from the 9th, 10th, or 11th cent. A.D., and is translated in The Compendium of Philosophy. The author, Anuruddha of Ceylon, begins his exposition thus:

‘Now let me tell thee as it is fit how such
And such a state of things related stands
To other states conditioned like itself,’

and proceeds:

‘In the category of relations we have two schemes—the law of happening by way of cause and the system of correlation.’

Coming in due course to the second, he writes:

‘The system comprises the following relations:

(1) consequence
(2) object
(3) dominance
(4) contingency
(5) immediate condition
(6) identity
(7) experience
(8) means, way
(9) association
(10) possession
(11) habitual recurrence
(12) independence
(13) causa
(14) result
(15) reciprocity
(16) identity
(17) control
(18) aposynonymity
(19) presence
(20) disassociation
(21) absence
(22) resemblance
(23) ayeṇaness
(24) continuance.’

(1) is hetu, one of several synonyms for causal antecedent, or condition, in general; it is technically reserved for the sixth in the above list of personal character: appetite, enmity, ignorance or dullness, and their opposites, disinterestedness, amiq, intelligence. (2) is object of consciousness, viz. five objects of the five senses, and one of intellect, namely, impressions and ideas. (3) refers to an overruuling factor in consciousness; at any given moment: intention, energy, volitional perception, intellectual investigation. Of (4), (5), the latter applies to a sequence in time so apparently indivisible as that of mental states or moments. By (6) ‘co-cause,’ or simultaneous and co-inhering genesis, is meant. In (7) both terms of the relation are mutually relating and related. (9) differs from (8) only as indicating a cause or group of conditions effective enough to bring about, not merely a condition; (12) = repetition so as to form a habit. (13), kamma, is the relation between an act of will and its result. (14) is literally ripeness, maturity; causally conceived, it is a relation of effortlessness. (15) implies mental or psychological states. (16) refers to a sense impression, or to the influence of psycho-physical, mental, and moral faculties or controlling powers. (17) is concentrated energy physical and mental. (18) is thought or conduct under the aspect of a shaped course of procedure towards an end. (22) positively regarded, implies ‘opportunity for a successor to arise.’ So for (23).

In comparing these groups with corresponding lists in European philosophy, we notice coincidences and discrepancies. The familiar relation of ‘resemblance’ is wanting, and one of its modes: ‘equality, inequality.’ As explanation it may be stated that (a) the Buddhist list claims to give not all, but only the most important, relations; (6) resemblance is not so much an objectively valid relation as it is an expression of a real or plural object on a subject, hence it is a species of (2); (c) resemblance, even if objectively valid, is not a causal relation, an ‘assisting agency,’ as is every paccaya. All this holds good as to ‘equality.’

Two other relations—‘subject’ attribute, ‘container-content’—indicate a standpoint that is opposed to orthodox Buddhist philosophy, viz. the positing of a substance or agent. It may be said in rejoinder that the second class of relations—‘object’—involves a subject. This is true for our philosophical tradition and idiom, but not for those of Buddhism. Arammano (object) involves no correlate of metaphysical import, such as we are entangled with, in ‘subject.’ The ever-changing ‘object’ is regarded as the thing-which-relates (paccaya); the ever-changing mental aggregates are the thing-which-relates (paccayas). The only constant factor is the concept of the specific relation.


C. A. F. Rhys Davids.
RELICS (Primitive and Western).—In the art. CANNEILLALISM (vol. iii. p. 197 f.) it has been shown that by eating the dead or part of them the eater acquires their souls or their qualities, and thus obtains power over the soul or is united to it. It is not necessary to eat the whole man; to eat part is sufficient. Among the Papuans the part eaten is the sympathetic magic that the whole is contained in the part, or that the influence working in the whole works also in the part, although separate from it. On analogous grounds the dead man’s soul or his power is contained in the part or fragment of it, from his clothes, or from any object or part of any object with which he has once been in contact. Any one who wears or carries these, who touches them, who prays to them, or who uses them in a variety of other ways, benefits by his action. The soul or power of the dead man is so far subject to him, or at all events aids him in varying ways. This is the explanation of the use and cult of relics, which of course are valued in proportion to the extent of the power, strength of the particular uniqueness of the person to whom they originally belonged, as well as of the love or respect in which he was held. The supernatural virtues of relics, originating in such beliefs as have been referred to, may be illustrated by a number of examples in all religions and in all degrees of civilization, beginning with the lowest savages.

1. Relics in savage life. (a) Just as enemies are eaten to obtain their qualities, so their kidney or ear-fat, as a special seat of life, is abstracted and used as a lubricant for the body—a common custom among Australian tribes. Similarly, relics of a dead enemy are sometimes worn for protection. In E. Africa, if enemies can unearth the body of a dead warrior, parts of it are used as charms—eyebrows, nose, little finger or toe, pudenda, etc. These are reduced to ashes, and, when not used in tutting or mixed with food, they are sewn up in a bag and worn round the neck. Among W. African tribes also parts of an enemy’s body or sometimes of an ancestor are used in making a fetish—part of the brain to give wisdom, of the heart courage, the eye influence. A spirit is supposed to be lured by these to reside in the fetish. The Teminiberese wear the vertebrae of an enemy as amulets. Among the Caribs of the West Indies the Men of Movat, New Guinea, after slaying a great warrior, wear his penis in order to increase their strength. Another method is to attach the relic to the arms, etc., used in battle. Thus in Mexico, if any one could secure the middle finger of the left hand and the hair of a woman dying in childbirth, he tied these on his shield to make him brave and fierce and to blind his enemies. Rubbing weapons with part of a dead man’s body to give them his strength and skill is sometimes practised also, as among the Koniagas (piece of dead whaler used) and Aleuts. 

(b) With many tribes magical rites are performed with part of a dead man’s body—e.g., in healing, in rain-making, as love-charms, to keep off thieves, to avenge wrongs, etc. This practice is sometimes practised in Queensland, where an enemy is slayed and his skin used to cover a sick man, there is analogy to the use of a dead man’s clothing or part of it as a relic in more civilized regions.

Reference may here be made to the so-called ‘hand of glory’ used to produce sleep or inanimate. Other parts besides the hand were also used—e.g., the skull to make one invisible like the ghost who owned it (Blackfoot Indians). Another instance is found in the use of the pointing-stick or bone to carry away from the grave the spirit of the deceased. The bone is ‘sung’ and curses are pronounced while it is pointed in the direction of the victim. The most powerful form is made out of the femur or fibula of a dead man among the Gnanji and other tribes in the Gulf of Guinea. These tribes still attach the radius of a dead man to a spear when setting out to avenge his death. The spear cannot fail then to go straight and slay the murderer. Analogous to this is the use in the Melanesian area of arrows tipped with human bone. These are much dreaded. After incantations are said over them, they acquire mana, or the ghost works through them. The danger of these arrows is proportionate to the power of the dead man whose bones are used.

(c) The practice of head-hunting and scalp-taking, in the earliest times, the purpose of which was to gain power over the ghost (the head being a seat of the soul?), illustrates these various uses of relics of the dead, and shows that the relics are vehicles of spirit-power, things through which the ghost still works. The association of the connexion of spirit and relic is found in a group of folk-tales in which a man, having stolen a skull from a churchyard, is haunted by the ghost until he returns it. (d) The custom of the widow carrying her husband’s skull as a relic or amulet, and the widespread practice of preserving heads of relatives or ancestors for cult or magical purposes have been described in the art. HEAD (§ 1), (g); cf. also DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Introductory), XXI: § 5; CHARMS AND AMULETS (Mexican and Mayan), (1). The whole body is sometimes preserved as a relic. Herodotus relates this of the Jethophylogi (Macrobius), who offered sacrifices to the body for a year, afterwards removing it to another place. So with the Kurnai the mumified corpse is cared about by the family, and later placed in a hollow tree. Among some W. African tribes all the bones of father or mother are dried and kept in a wooden chest, for which a small house is provided, and to which son or daughter must resort to hold communication. For other instances of preservation of the corpse in the family dwelling, with accompanying rites, see EREBEIV. 418 (Austral), 429—8 (Ta’it), Muong of Tongking; Baoule of W. Africa, Yunnob of S. America, Gilbert Islanders. In some instances the wife or nearest relative carries about the bones after they have been exhumed (Woodlark Indians, Mosquito Indians; also ashes of the cremated body, Taucullies). So among the Abipones the bones of medicine-men were carried about by the tribe in their wanderings. Among the Andamanese necklaces are made of a child’s bones (also of an adult’s) and distributed among the relatives. The bones cure diseases and shield from attacks of evil spirits, through the intervention of the ghost, who is pleased by the respect paid to his memory.

1 See art. HAND, § 5 (c).
3 Spencer-Gillen, p. 463.
6 Herod. ii. 34.
7 Fison and Howitt, p. 244.
8 Nassa, p. 150.
9 A. C. Haddon, FL. v. [1894] 320; NR i. 731, 744, 120; cf. EREBEIV. 230.
Separate parts of the body are sometimes regarded as sacred.

1. Finger and toe.—First joints of these, along with the nails of the toes and a lock of hair are used to form a family fetish with which the spirits of the dead are associated. Fresh relics are added to the fetish as new relatives die. The hair of children is bound to a staff (Eng. "bone") or animals' bones (also sometimes skulls or teeth) of important men are preserved in a shrine at the village in the Solomon Islands. The ghost haunts these relics.

2. The arm-bone is a sacred relic among the Mars, Anua, and other New Guinea tribes. After a year it is given to the messenger who summons to the final burial rites. The messenger carrying the relic is himself sacred, and, when he shows it to the tribesmen, they must begin their journey to the scene of the rites.

3. Hair and teeth. These are used as amulets by the family priest in praying to the dead at plough other than the headless are the skulls and teeth are stored. In Florida, Solomon Islands, in the private cult of a ghost, the worshipper wears a relic a lock of hair or a tooth of the helpful ghost when fighting; at other times it is kept in the house. Also so in the Loyalty Islands priests, when praying, tied to their foreheads or arms relics consisting of teeth, hair, or nails of ancestors. To these magical power was ascribed.

4. The jaw-bones are sometimes an important relic. They are carried by the Andaman widow along with the skull; and among the Kirivina (New Guinea) the widow suspends the jaw-bones, ornamented with beads, from her neck. But the most striking use of the jaw-bones as a relic is found among the Broughtons. A set of jaw-bones of kings are regarded as heirloom, along with their umbilical cord, in temples, guarded by hereditary custodians. The ghost was believed to cling to them and to guard them. All the dead are orderly housed and the ancient kings were thus treasured. This is undoubtedly connected with the notion of the king's being a savior to the people, a tallisman upon which the safety of the tribe or state depends. They are carefully guarded lest they should be removed and disposed of.

5. In savage custom certain articles are sometimes connected with the mythic life of gods and spirits, and may be regarded as relics. Of these the curungina of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes form an example. Each one was connected with the corresponding Alcheringa (Gt.) period with a totemic ancestor and remained on earth as the abode of his spirit when his body entered the ground. Such cururingina and those associated with reborn spirits are carefully preserved in sacred store-houses, or eratunudanga. They are much venerated and are used in various sacred ceremonies. When ill, a man may send for a cururingina of his totem, scrape off a little of it, and drink it in water, thus absorbing part of the essence of the spirit which atone with the ribbons or hair. Besides being associated with ancestors, the cururingina have 'feelings' which can be soothed by rubbing them with red ochre. The store-houses are sometimes solemnly visited, just as shrines with other. The Melanesian hero Qal left behind him the stump of a tree. He had cut down for a canoe, and men who cut down trees for canoes sacrifice at this stump for the preservation and power of these vessels. Among the Creek Indians a powerful charm carried by war-parties consists of parts of the horns of a myna snake; these preserve from wounds. In other instances stones may be regarded as members of a divinity or supernatural being, or sacred places or instruments are thought to have been instituted over to use by gods, or sacred musical instruments represent a god or contain his voice.

6. In all parts of the world, both in the higher and in the lower culture, marks on rocks or hills are regarded as foot- or hand-prints of spirits, gods, or demons, and are in a sense their relics, which are connected with them as types. Examples of this are found not only in savage, but also in classical, Teutonic, Celtic, Semitic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian folklore. Where divinities are mythically supposed to drive about in vehicles of one kind or another, and where their worshippers set the image of a divinity in a cart or chariot and drive it about for ritual or magical reasons, such a vehicle would be regarded also as a relic of the god himself—his property, once used by him as it is now used for his image. Examples of such ritual use occur in Teutonic religion, as well as in Roman, Celtic, and Hindu cults.

2. Greek.—(a) The cult of relics in Greece was inseparably connected with that of heroes, mythical or real, as that in turn was linked on to the worship of ancestral ghosts. The remains of the hero usually rested in the agora, and over them was erected the heroion, a kind of chapel, but sometimes the grave or heroion was in the temple of a divinity. The cult at the heroion was one of nature, and the relics quite as much as to the hero himself, though these relics were generally not visible. Their presence within a town or district was a guarantee of safety. Sometimes not even parts of the hero’s remains were visible. The head of Orpheus was buried in Lesbos or in Smyrna, and the head of one of the Korybantes was buried at the foot of Olympus. The supposed relics of Orpheus at Libethra were never to see the sun, or the city would be destroyed by a storm. When they were exposed, the Syntymes (boat) came down in wind and overthrew it. Nothing further need be said regarding the cult of heroes whose relics rested in a grave (see art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Greek and Roman]). There are occasional instances of bodily relics not buried in graves but otherwise preserved. The skin of Marsyas was suspended in the city of Celene—by Apollo, according to the myth. The alleged shoulder-blade of Pelops was preserved in a bronze casket in the temple of Zeus at Elis, after having been found by the fisher Damnorinos in the sea and identified by an oracle. The bones of Tantalus were kept in a bronze vessel at Argos, over against the grave of Pelasgos. The relics of Orpheus rested in a hydra on a pillar at Dion in Macedonia. The hair of Medusa was preserved in a hydra at Taraka. At the festival of Saturnalia in Europe at Crete, where she was reverenced as Hellelotis, her bones were carried in a great crown of myrtle.

(b) When a hero died abroad, his remains were brought with pomp to the place of intended sepulture. From every city through which the remains passed priests, magistrates, and citizens thronged to them, or citizens were deputed to follow in mourning. Trophies, crowns, and armaments of state, were brought to adorn the urn, and finally the most honourable burial was given to the hero. Examples of this are found in the pages of Plutarch. The possession of a hero’s relics was important for the safety of a town or state; hence such relics were more eagerly sought for in times of danger, even when they were already possessed and honoured by another town or district. Generally an oracle

1. Assaros, p. 159.
3. SPENCER-GILPIN, p. 549 f.
5. CODRINGTON, p. 539.
6. Man, JA1 xvi. 296.
10. CODRINGTON, Melanesians, p. 141.
11. ERE. III. 409 f.
12. ERE. III. 609 f.
ewordmark. of.
15. ANNOU, MARCELL, xviii. 3; GREG, Tur, de Gafor, Conf. 77.
16. LAIXON, adn. Indect, H 11; Conon, 45.
18. FAMM. IX. 305.
19. FAMM. IX. 305.
20. FAMM. IX. 22, 2.3
21. FAMM. IX. 30, 7.
22. IB, v. 47, 5.
23. IB, v. 47, 5.
27. IB, v. 47, 5.
announced that it was necessary to obtain these relics and told in oracular fashion where they were to be found. The only way they could be obtained was to send a special party of youths who were to be kept secret by the owners. Sometimes the actual discovery of their position was the result of a pro-
digy, as when Cimon, seeing an ea^dearing at the ground with beak and talons, was inspired to dig there, and so found the bones of Theseus. Opposition was often offered to their removal; hence, they had to be taken by force or by fraud; and sometimes the hero himself reserved the removal of his relics. Once obtained, they were brought with the utmost reverence, the citizens from them with processions and sacrifices, they were duly buried, and a shrine was erected over the spot. A festival day was annually or oftener held in their honour. Many examples of this occur even in the case of the relics of mythic heroes, and probably they originated as a means of explaining local cults.

Plutarch describes at some length the translation of the relics of Theseus from Scyros to Athens.1 Herodotus tells how an oracle declared that they would never conquer the Tegeans until they had obtained from the Tegean territory the bones of Orestes, which were further said to lie where two wolds by hard compulsion blew and strove answered to stroke. This proved to be a blacksmith's forge—the hero's bones. The story had found there a coffin seven cubits long containing a body of equal length. Having obtained the relics, the Laconiansmen were now actually expected to conquer the Tegeans.2 Other stories occur in Pausanias, who says, e.g., that during a plague at Orchomenus the Pythian priestess announced that the only remedy was to bring the bones home to be reburied from their temple. A crow showed them the place of burial: it perched on a rock, and the bones were there found in a cliff.3

(c) In numerous instances different regions claimed to possess the relics or bones of the same hero, who had thus more graves or shrines than one. In all these particulars there is a close resemblance to the data of the Christian relic cult, but one usual aspect of that cult is lacking—the translation of part of the bodily relics instead of the whole. This occurs only in the case of the mythic shoulder-blade of Pelops.

(d) Frequently where very large bones—probably fossil bones of large animals—were discovered, they were associated to be those of heroes of the past, who were thought to have been of gigantic size. The Syrians, having found such bones in the bed of the Orontes, were informed by an oracle that they were those of a hero.4 The bones of Orestes were seven cubits long, according to Herodotus.5

Huge bones, alleged to be those of the giants, were also shown in temples—e.g., those of Hoplabadus in the temple of Asklepios at Megalopolis, and those of Geryon among the Thebans.6

(c) Besides bones, other relics of heroes were preserved and honoured. Among these weapons were conspicuous—the spear of Achilles in the temple of Athena at Phasaelis, the sword of Memnon in the temple of Aësculapius at Nicomedia, the shield of Pyrrhus over the door of the sanctuary of Demeter where he died took place.7 Of other relics, the lyre of Orpheus was preserved in more than one temple, the flute of Marsyas in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, the sceptre of Agamemnon in Chersonese, the sandals of Helen in the temple of Athene at Pylos, the clay of Cyrus, the head which served as anchor to the Argonauts, as well as their ship and those of Agamemnon, Æneas, and Theseus in other places.8 Elsewhere chariots, thrones, necklaces, and other things belonging to the mythic personages of antiquity are shown.9

Other curious relics were the egg of Leda and the remains of the clay with which Prometheus had made the first men, which were preserved by every visitor or pilgrim. Travellers and pilgrims, but there is little known of any cult of them. The sceptre of Agamemnon was much revered at Chironoe, and daily offerings were made to it.10

A number of these were also preserved—e.g., the teeth of the boar of Erymanthus, the skin and teeth of the Calydonian boar, the bones of the monster to which Andromeda was exposed, and the like.

As has been seen, the possession of a hero's relics gave safety or victory to a city or district. They also promoted fruitfulness and fertility, ward off pestilence and famine, or caused rain to fall in time of drought. Many other wonders were related of them. Legends of their healing powers existed, and in many instances the sick were carried to tombs of heroes in order to be cured there by their power.4

3. Egyptian.—In Egypt the careful preservation of the mummy shows great reverence for the dead, but hardly amounts to relic-worship, as there was little actual cult of the dead, save in so far as the dead man was identified with Osiris. The cult of relics was largely associated with the worship of Osiris and with myths of his death or disappearance. The burial-places of Osiris or of his members are mentioned in texts giving lists of the graves of Osiris.’ The lists vary, and in some instances one member occurs as a relic in two or more places—numerous legs, the head at Abydos and at Memphis. Thus the honour of possessing some of the members was claimed by more than one city. These sanctuaries in Greco-Roman times were forty-two in number, each with its central shrine or Serapeum.

The Serapeums were so called by the Greeks without regard to the distinction between the tomb of a dead bull which had become an Osiris and the sepulchre of the god-man Osiris himself. But to the Egyptians they were the sanctuaries of Osiris, of him who dwells in the Underworld.12

Abydos owed its importance to its possession of the head, and its symbol was a coffer containing it, surmounted by two plumes. But from the XIIth to the XVIIIth dynasty the whole body was also supposed to be buried there, and an early royal tomb was known as that of Osiris. It was there an important holy place, to which numerous pilgrimages were made, and burial near his relics was considered most advantageous. At Busiris was the backbone or ‘pillar’ of Osiris, the dead, kept there as a sacred relic. It had been discovered at Mendes and brought to Busiris.4 Lucian also mentions the hair of Isis as an important relic preserved in Egypt.13 Herodotus refers to a curious myth current in the Theban district regarding Perses. Here the Chemnede had a temple in his honour, and here he sometimes appeared. A sandal worn by him was sometimes found after his visit. It was two cubits long, and its presence denoted prosperity for Egypt. As in Greece, large bones were supposed to be the relics of giants.

4. Celtic.—The Celtic cult of human heads and the myths respecting them show analogies with savage custom, and the possession of a hero’s head in any given territory seems to have been regarded as a guarantee of safety against enemies and evil
influences, just as in classical and Christian belief alike. The mythical relics of divinities seem to be referred to in a passage of the Rennes Dindshenchas, where the remarkable things in the Brug of Mac Ind Oe are enumerated. Among these are the monument of Dagda, the rampart of the Morrigan, the bed of Dagda, the two snakes of Dagda, and the sword of Dagda's wife, the stone wall of Oengus, and many tombs and carins of divine or heroic personages. Certain things belonging to the Tuatha Dé Danann are also of the nature of mythical relics. The stone of Ah, near Magh Buachaille, was placed round every king who would take the realm of Ireland. This is supposed to be identical with the present coronation stone. Out of Gortach came the unconquerable spear which Lugh had, and out of Findias the equally unconquerable sword of Nuada. Out of Mairias came Dagda's miraculous cauldron. Possibly actual weapons, etc., in Ireland were thus connected with the gods as their relics, like the cherunga of ancestral spirits among the Arabs (5 1: 5).

5. Christian. — (a) Origins of the cult. — The early Christian use of relics, like the use of relics everywhere, may be traced to affection, which makes the survivors cling to the mortal remains of a relative, and this to the instinctive reverence or for curiosity concerning any notable person. Added to this in the case of the early Christians was the desire to shield the remains from the malice of persecutors, while the belief in an after-life and in a survival of the soul led to a notion of a dwelling as a temple of the Holy Spirit naturally increased the reverence paid to the dead. It was also believed that spirits of saints hovered near their tombs and, later, the shrines where their remains were preserved. — A primitive survival which aided the reverence paid to body, relic, or tomb. Feelings of reverence for the martyr's body easily passed over to anything which had been in contact with him. In the case of the living, this principle is seen at work already in A.D. 119.

Another early instance is found in the reverence paid to a martyr's blood. Prudentius tells how the witnesses of the martyrdom of St. Vincent (a.d. 204) dipped their linen vests in his blood, so that it might be a safeguard to their homes for generations. This custom existed in still earlier years, e.g., in the case of the martyrdom of St. Cyprian (a.d. 258) and is often referred to in the lists of the martyrs.

The extraordinary reverence shown in the matter of burial, care of the grave, and in the cult which went on there, especially on the anniversary of a martyr's passion, all aided the growth of the relic-cult. The Eucharist was elaborated in the relic-cult. The body was the body, often on the stone slabs which covered the tomb, seen again in Christian use of law, whereas the stone slabs which covered the tomb, seen again in Christian use of law, were buried with the body and had the same miraculous powers.

Influences from the Jewish or Hebrew side are not discernible in the Christian relic-cult. Among the Hebrews any actual cult of relics of the dead was hindered by the idea of uncleanness which attached to a dead body (Nu 19:11) and by the disgrace which attended the use of burial. Joseph, the body of Jesus, after embalming (a custom which is here Egyptian, not Hebrew), was by his direction carried up from Egypt to Palestine and there buried; but, though it would naturally be treated with reverence, there is not the least evidence of a relic-cult here (Gn 50:25, Ex 13:19, Jos 24:2; 2). The pot of manna and Aaron's rod within the Ark of the Covenant were not worshipful relics, but in the case of a memorial of God's mercy, in the other 'a token against the children of rebellion' (Ex 16:34, Nu 11:8, De 9:4). The mention of a 'heathen custom' of the 'Maccabees' in 1 Macc 1:3; 4:17; 7:34; 9:1, 7, 29; 13:8; 14:33 and 1 Macc 2:57 (a.d. 150), remains, as it were, a relic of the early Christian era.

Theodoret says that the Lord has substituted his own martyrs for those of the world. The three bodies built over their tombs or relics just as temples were erected over tombs of heroes. But, while the remains of the pagan hero generally rested in the grave and were not seen by the worshippers, the development in the Christian ritual was to a reverence of relics in reliquaries and to an occasional visible exhibition of the same. Among Greeks and Romans reverence for the dead forbade the dividing of their remains, and severe laws existed against violation of tombs and bodies. These laws continued in force under the earlier Christian emperors. The prejudice against dividing the remains of the dead continued active in the Western Church, but both there and in the East the desire to possess the bodies of martyrs led to large sums being paid for them and to disputes concerning their ownership. But in the Eastern Church the division of a martyr's remains into relics began to prevail at a comparatively early period. Graves were rifled and bones stolen, and a traffic was begun in them, though the use of such relics was apparently a private one, as in the case of Lucilla (p. 654). At what time precisely the dismemberment of bodies of saints began is uncertain. Possibly the practice was aided by the fact that in the earlier custom of the relics, but a few bones and ashes remained, which might be regarded differently from a complete corpse or skeleton. But that it was already in vogue in the 4th century is shown by the law of Theodosius, forbidding the breaking open of a dead body already buried, the selling (or dismembering) ('neco martyrem distrahit') or buying of a martyr's remains. A law of Valentinian III. speaks of bishops and clergy who were guilty of robbing graves, and again for the case of obtaining relics. St. Augustine already speaks of pretended monks who went about selling relics of martyrs, if indeed they were martyrs, and refers to scandalous abuses in connexion with the cult. Even in A.D. 593 Pope Gregory the Great was amazed at the Eastern custom of distributing the remains of saints, and, when the empress Constantina asked him to send her the head of St. Paul for a new church to his memory, he refused, saying that he could not divide the bodies of the saints, and pointed to his own custom of involving no idol.
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Hezekiah's day, but was destroyed by him. In all likelihood it was the image of an adopted serpent-cult rather than a relic (2 K 18).  

(b) Growth of the cult in early times.—Apart from the usual cult of a martyr at his tomb and its dedication, the Eastern Church, as in Europe or early Rome, may have built up a shrine or church over the tomb, the use of separate relics was at first a private custom rather than a practice officially recognized. This is suggested in the statement made in the account of St. Polycarp's martyrdom 1 that St. Agatha was taken by Roman authorities to prevent the least part of his body being taken, although many desired to do this and to be made partakers of his holy flesh. The Roman governor, at the suggestion of the Jews, pretended that the Christians might forsake the worship of the Crucified and begin to worship this Poly-carp. The Acta of St. Fructuosus and his two deacons tell how the brethren collected the ashes and divided them. But he appeared in a vision to some of them and bade them restore and bury the bodies, 2 and they were buried in the 26 cent. Oppos. tells how Lucilla, a Donatist, was accustomed, before receiving the Eucharist, to kiss a relic of a supposed martyr which she had procured, and for this she was rebuked by Cecilian, and thus was permitted to receive the Eucharist. In the East, in the 2nd cent., a Roman lady, Aglae, sent her favourite stewart to the East with gold and aromatics to obtain relics of the martyrs. The evidence of St. Augustine 3 to the traffic in relics is also important as a witness to the private practice of it. But there is no doubt that the cult of actual bodily relics, as well as dust from the shrine, and clothes which had been in contact with a martyr's body, was being general in the 4th cent., by which time St. Cyril of Jerusalem 4 also speaks of the cult of the relics of the first Christian, distributed piecemeal to all the world in his day. 5 The growing cult is also proved by the desire of the pagans to prevent it,—e.g., in the case of St. Polycarp, perhaps also in that of the martyrs of Lyons, whose ashes were thrown into the river that some fragment (σημείωμα) might remain to give hope of resurrection, and in the refusal of sepulchre to martyrs in the Dioecletian persecution, lest the survivors should gain courage in worshipping those whom they regarded as gods. References in the Apocalypse to relics and tombs of the martyrs are allusions that could develop into a cult of separate relics.

Gregory of Nyssa says that to touch the tomb is a blessing, and, if it be permitted to carry off dust, even better. This was probably based on the custom of touching the remains themselves, only those who have done so know how desirable it is and how worthy a person of prayer. 6 St. Chrysostom describes how the faithful gathered in crowds round the martyrs' tombs, and he praises the power of the sacred remains. Not only their bodies, but also their vestments are objects of homage. 7

The custom of dividing the remains of a martyr is certainly found in the East in the latter half of the 4th century. It, as well as the translation of the body, was now promoted for ecclesiastical and political reasons; e.g., the translation of Constantine's people with innumerable relics from other parts gave it a high standing as against the old capital of the West. Eastern Christians liberally shared their relics with others as an honour to the martyr and a widening of his circle of admirers, while it also flattened their private custom. The custom was common among the Christians of Egypt, and Chrysostom refers to it. 8 The church of Sinope presented many places with relics of Phocas. 9 In 1766 the church of St. Stephen contained its forty martyrs to other districts. 10 Paulinus of Nola placed in the church which he founded there 11

(c) 400 relics of various apostolic martyrs, including also some of those of St. Nazarius sent by St. Ambrose. 12

As has been seen, the division of bodily relics was hardly known in the 13th century, or, where separate parts of a hero existed, they were still within a grave. Yet already in the East separate relics of Buddha were known and revered, his bones, after cremation, having been divided among eight clans or individuals, and mounds erected over them. Buddhist influences on the division of the remains of a saint may be regarded as remotely possible.

Theologians soon began to recognize the cult of relics and to supply reasons for it. They referred to such statements as Ac 2:42; Rom. 12:4 and Ac 5:12 in support of the practice. The bodies of saints, formerly temples of the Holy Spirit, were now worshipped reverently, and, as their bodies were instruments which God had used and which were destined to shine in future bliss, this suggested continued reverence to them. Their bodies were endowed, with mystic power (δυνάμειαν), or grace (χάριν πνευματικάς), and so also were their graves, 13 and this power was as much in the parts as in the whole. 14 When the body is divided, the grace is divided to it. He who touched the bones of a martyr received a share of the sanctification (αγιασμός) from the grace dwelling in them. 15 This power was already inherent in saints while alive, as their alleged miracles showed, and it was then apt to overflow other objects, which could produce wonderful effects also (Ac 5:12). 16 If, then, arians, gnostics, clothes, headkerchiefs, and even the shadow of saints on earth had wrought miracles, 17 it seems natural that a blessing is certainly derived from the relics of saints by those who devoutly touch them. The relic, as containing supernatural grace or power, was like a spring which overflows and never grows dry, or like a light always sending out beams, but never losing the power of shining, and this power passes over to all persons or things brought into contact with the relic. 18 These views, apart from their theological aspect, differ little from the theory implicit in savage magic, as far as that concerns the use of relics.

Lucian did not consider that the power in the relic forms a kind of powerful stuff, and gives as an example the overflowing of oil in a lamp, 19 which is the power of a material material had passed into it from the remains. Such oil had miraculous virtues equalling those of the relic. 20

A clear distinction was drawn, however, between worship paid to God and reverence due to a saint. This was already recognized in the case of St. Polycarp's relics. Christians worshipped (εἰσκείματα, προσκυνώμενα) Jesus Christ, but loved (αγαπώμενα) the martyrs and their relics; they did not worship Polycarp, as the pagans avowed. 21 We honour the martyrs," says St. Augustine, "but do not worship (cōlumnam) them." 22 St. Jerome, in contending against Vigilantius for the use of relics, maintains that relics are not worshipped, but honoured. We honour (honoramus) the relics of the martyrs, that we may worship (adoramus) Him whose martyrs they are. 23 Popular practice probably went farther; and even now, in the opinion of leading Roman Catholic theologians, the supreme worship of latrun may be accorded to relics of the Cross, the nails, the garments of the Saviour.

(e) Variety of relics.—A relic is first and foremost the body of a martyr in its entirety or in some fragment (σημείωμα). This is the normal meaning of the term: "the body of St. John the Baptist," "the head of St. Peter," etc. Sometimes a match is made with the term "accessory" (προσόπον), and what is called a "token" (σημείωμα) is supposed to be a separate relic. When, as is usual in the case of saints, the body or head is in a tomb, the term accessory is quite correctly applied to the objects in the saint's tomb: his vestments, his table, his chalice. 24 When the body or head is kept in a shrine, the term accessory is sometimes used for the objects in the shrine. Thus, the church of St. Stephen in Rome has the remains of St. Stephen in a shrine, and the church of St. Paul has the remains of St. Paul in a shrine. In the case of the relics of the Cross, the nails and the garments of the Saviour are the objects of reverence.

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the body remains a holy person—the whole of the
or any part of them, even the most minute
(tantimle relicus, in the phrase of St. Gregory of
NaziFlains). 1 In later theology a division as far
as rank was concerned was made between different
parts of the body as relics. Reliquia insignes
include the whole body; parts—honor-
arm; reliquis non insignes include other
parts, and these are again divided into notables
(hand, foot) and exiguous (tooth, fingers). 2 As
already mentioned, the blood of a martyr was also a
sacred relic, and the acta describe how it was
collected in drinking-skins, sponges, etc., which
were preserved as talismans. But anything which had
been possessed by, or had been in contact with or
in proximity to, a holy person or his relics might
in turn become a relic. Among these were his
books, his instruments of torture, his garments, of
which St. Chrysostom says:

1How great is the power of the saints. For the homage of
Christians is directed not only to their words and bodies, but
even to their vestments.

Earth and dust from graves, coffins, and shrines;
oil from lamps hanging there; pieces of cloth (branclcas)
laid for a time upon them, were all as
ecclesial as the remains themselves, as far as
notion and concern were concerned. Those
who had touched a relic were also reverenced. Many
names were in use for reliquies besides the general
term—e.g., exvium, busta, beneficia, lipsana,
inignia, cinera, pignora, or nenia sanctorum, etc.

A change similar to that of the elements in consecration was
suggested to have taken place in pieces of cloth after contact
with the relic. Pope Gregory the Great is said to have shown
this to the Greeks; he cut such a piece of cloth, and
blood flowed from it. 3

Among other relics those associated with
our Lord naturally occupied a high place, although in
most cases (like many other relics) they were
fictitious. The alleged discovery by the Cross was
accompanied by a miracle, and a few years later
the holy wood of the Cross had almost filled the
whole world. 4 Paulinus says that the part of it
kept at Jerusalem gave off fragments of itself
without diminishing; having imbued this power
from the wood of that Flesh which underwent
death, but saw not corruption. 5

Calvin jeers at the quantity of wood in the relics of
the Cross, so much that three hundred men could not carry
them. For in G. Rohault’s treatise there remains that existing relics would
measure 5,000,000 cubic millimetres, whereas the whole
Cross would cover an area of 45 square inches. It was
the true Cross that on which our Lord was crucified?
Honorat Nucet, writing of the multiplication of the wood of
the Cross, assimilates the latter to the Body of Christ in the
Eucharist. 6

The alleged letter of Christ to Abgarus preserved
Edessa frequently from attack in the 4th century.
The pillar to which our Lord was bound, the
crown of thorns, the spear, sponge, and Reed,
the linen clothes, the stone of the sepulchre, and
carde from the sepulchre or from the Holy Land, even
our Lord’s footprints, were all relics from the 4th
cent. onwards, and are referred to in pilgrim
toires. 7 Other writings and other pages of the
relics are the much-multiplied eodaurum, the
boards of the manger in the church of St. Maria
Maggiore in Rome brought from Bethlehem in
the 7th cent. by Pope Theodore, and the Holy
Cross of the Church of St. Peter without the
walls also belong to our Lord or to other
towns. The nails of the Cross, found with it
by St. Helena, became also much multiplied.
Many nails, however, are said merely to contain
filings of the originals, though they are usually
all of the same genuine.

1 Greg. I. contra Julian.
2 H. J. Wetzel und F. E. Fettke, Kirchenlexicon, Freiburg i. Br.,
1855—1901, x. 1009.
3 H. W., “ad pop. Ant.”
4 Ep. iv. 30.
5 Ep. xi.

Dust and earth from Palestine were most efficacious
against demons, and were brought thence in large quantities and sold
at high prices. Some relics of the Passion and the like may at
first have been part of the properties used in liturgical mystery-
plays.

Relics of the Virgin are mentioned from the
6th and 7th centuries onwards. Among the early
relics were a stone on which she had rested on
her journey to Bethlehem, the bucket and basket
which had been near her at the time of the
Annunciation, and the stool on which she
sat, articles of her clothing, her girdle, and her
headband. 2 These and the like were to be seen
in Jerusalem and other holy cities. But even at
this period relics of the Virgin
were known in Western churches or in the
possession of private individuals. Probably
the legend of the Assumption prevented the existence
of actual bodily relics, though a lock of
hair was treasured by Charlemagne, and her
milk was a favourite relic all over Western
Europe.

Innumerable relics of the Apostles came into
existence as the cult increased, and at first none
were so popular as the church of St. Peter. St. Peter
and St. Paul. Chrysostom mentions
St. Paul’s chains, and in the 6th cent. they
existed at Rome. 3 Those of St. Peter were given to the
empress Eudoxia on her visit to Jerusalem in 439, and one of them
was presented by her daughter, wife of Valentinian III., at Rome, who
built the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli in its
honour. Filings from these chains enclosed in
keys or caskets were greatly valued, and Pope
Gregory the Great was accustomed to send keys
containing them as gifts. 4

(d) Abuses of the relic-cult. — Many of these relics were fabulous, but, as the reverence for
them increased, it was natural that innumerable
new ones should be brought to light. The
inventories in churches and references in religious
literature during the Middle Ages show the extent and
the absurdity of the cult. Relics of the patriarchs
and saints of the OT became common from the 4th
cent. onwards. Their graves and
places connected with their lives were pointed out
without hesitation, and are mentioned in itineraries—e.g., the
rock smitten by Moses, the cave of
Elijah, the place where David composed the
Psalms. Among relics were Noah’s ark and the
bones of his family, those of the city of
Jerusalem, the bones of Isaac, hairs of Noah’s beard,
fragments of the Ark, foot from the furnace of the Three
Children, portions of manna, Job’s dung-heaps,
feathers from Gabriel’s wings, and St. Michael’s
buckler. Equally absurd were the breath of St.
Joseph, the Virgin’s milk, our Lord’s tears, sweat,
blood, tooth, even the praeputium Christi (in several
churches), 5 the wood of the three tabernacles
which St. Peter proposed to make, and the corner-
stone rejected by the builders! In vain were laws
passed regulating the cult. The passion for relics
became greater still, and the trade in them increased
as the centuries passed. From at least the
4th cent. many burial-places of Scriptural and ecclesi-
astical saints and of martyrs were alleged to have
been discovered by means of dreams and visions,
in which the dead man appeared and revealed

1 Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxii. 8, 6.
2 See R. T. Loccini, p. 467.
4 In Ep. iv. VII. 1; Greg. Ep. iii. 30.
5 Ep. vi. 2, 28.
6 P. Geyer, Itiner. Hierosolymitana Sane. Ger-vit., Vienna,
1908 (CSEL 60).
7 See J. Thiers, Dissert. sur la sante larme de Vendome,
Paris, 1690.
8 A. V. Muller, Die hochheilige Vorhaut Christi (in Kult und
in der Theologie der Pappskriipt, Berlin, 1607. For the extra-
ordinary mystical ideas associated with this relic see also
O. Stoll, Das Geschichtstheil in der Vélkerpsychologie, Leipzig,
1908, p. 684 ff.
place of sepulture in order that a martyrrium might be built or due honour paid to him. Dream discovery of a saint's remains still occurs now and then. 1 Fraudulent persons early took advantage of this and produced bodies of alleged martyrs. On the other hand, the monarchs of the day were pleased to have relics of a hero or saint whose tomb was honoured as a martyr's appeared to St. Martin at his prayer and avowed his real character and crimes. 2 Pilgrims to the East and to the holy places returned with such relics as water from the Jordan and earth from the Sepulchre of Christ. Some relics were imported, but it is certain that no important relic ever reached the West before the 13th century. 3

Although prohibitions were issued by 12th and 13th cent. councils, bishops sometimes permitted the existence of avowedly false relics, on the ground that to undeceive the people was not expected to be done in public: that still, the famous relics were not uncommon and was soon regarded as praiseworthy, e.g., when the people of one district or the members of one monastery wished to gain possession of a relic from another. 4 Hence Martin, to prevent the making of relics to placate the people of Tarsus and poison the body of St. Martin. 5 The desire for relics, and for the marvellous in connexion with them, led also to the reduplication or multiplication of the same relic in different places—numerous bodies, heads, legs, etc., of the same saint; many holy shrines, coats, and the like; innumerable thorns from the crown of thorns, and pieces of the Cross. Indeed scarcely any relic did not exist in duplicate or more. 6 Credulity and pious fraud, as well as intentional imposture, went hand in hand. 7 Early extant evidence of imposture are given by Augustine, of Opere Monachorum, xx; 8 of Gregory, in his Passio, 39; Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. i. 6. 9


2 Supra, Sev. Vitæ S. Mart., 8.


4 K. Le Blant, Le Vol des reliques, passim.


7 Letter of confirmation of the Church of England, hom. xiv. pt. 3; G. de Planche, Dict. critique des reliques, passim.

8 J. Ferrand, Disquisitione reliquiariae sive de suspecto eunundem numero reliquiariurn quae in diversis ecclesiis servarentur multitudine, Lyons, 1617.

a sties like Pope Gregory the Great insisted upon the assurance of authenticity. Hence arose the custom of testing relics. Those possessed by Arians and found in Arian churches were subjected to the scrutiny of the Spanish Council of Cesar Augustus in 592. This custom was common in later centuries, and liturgical forms were used in connexion with the test. 2 Before the 15th cent., the traffic in relics was forbidden, as well as the showing of them outside a reliquary or relic-case. In 1553 the Holy See ordered the new relics to be venerated without due authority, and bishops were to prevent fictions and false documents about relics from being circulated. 3 Where the cult was so deeply rooted, and where relics, whether true or false, had already wrought miracles, not even the highest authority could destroy popular belief in them. But, as their abuse was one of the grievances of the Reformers, the Council of Trent tried to regulate some of its more notorious aspects—e.g., the prohibition of the sale of relics, the use of false relics, the destruction of the visitsation of relics into revels—where no new miracles were to be acknowledged or new relics recognized unless the bishop of the diocese had taken cognizance of the one and slain them. 4

(c) Relics in churches. —The custom of building a chapel over a martyr's body gave rise in the time of Constantine to that of building churches over tombs of great apostles or martyrs. From this arose the custom of the possession of the body of a saint in order to build a church in memory of a martyr and to bring to it his relics, or to place such relics in an existing church. This gave rise to continual translation of relics. The translation, whether of whole or of partial remains, was effected with great reverence and pomp. It first occurred in the East, an early example being that of the remains of SS. Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to Constantinople. The Westerns for some time shrank from meddling with bodies, once they were buried, although the remains of St. Stephen are found first at Calama and then at Hippo in St. Augustine's time, and even in 593 Pope Gregory the Great wonders much at the Eastern custom. 5 Even when the West accepted the custom, certain restrictions were imposed; and permission of a sacred synod had to be obtained, as a council of Metz (513) appointed. In general, translation came to be preceded by miraculous circumstances attending the discovery of relics. When they were brought to the place of translation, crowds of all ranks came to welcome them and to accompany the procession with lamps and candel. The relics were enclosed in costly wrappings or in precious receptacles. Similar joyous scenes marked their passage through towns on the way. Usually the day was marked by a yearly commemoration besides the day of the saint. An early example of the manner of translation—that of the body of Phocas to Constantinople—is given by St. Chrysostom. 6 A more recent instance is that of the remains of St. Armstrong from the Catacombs of Rome to Cincinnati in 1870.

As the custom spread, the idea arose that no church was complete without relics. Traces of this are found in the 4th cent., 7 and soon relics were the superfluities to the place of new churches. Where none could be obtained neither, application was made to Rome in the 7th and later centuries, and a cloth (brandenm) consecrated by being held

1 Ep. xi. 64.
2 J. Mahillon, 'De Prodromote Reliquiarum per ignem,' Veteran Anecdota, ii. 595. C.

3 H. Siebert, Beitrag zur vorreformatorischen Heiligen- und Reliquienfrage, Freiburg i. Br., 1907, p. 53.

4 Ep. iii. 30.

5 Chrys. in Phocam, 1; cf. Jerome, c. Vigilant. 5.

6 Ambrose, Ep. xxii. 1; Paulinus, Vita Andreae. 29.
over the relics of SS. Peter and Paul was sent. Old churches were also supplied with relics. Con-
secration of a church with relics under the altar was made a sign of the presence of Christ, among them (757). As the altar had previously been built over the body, so now relics were placed under it, or in a cavity within it. There was also a reference to the 'souls underneath the altar' of Rev 6. Both in the Eastern and Western Church the consecration of a church is attended by the solemn placing of relics in the altar. The cavity in the altar is known as the sepulchrum, loculus, or confessio; and in the Latin Church it must contain relics of two or, since 1606, one martyr.

In the Eastern Church a relic or relics, generally associated at the dedication of a church, are used, but several may be balled at the same time. Relics are poured out with a fragrant gum; oil is poured over them by the bishop, and, dis-

tilling on to the corporals, is supposed to give them all the virtue of the relics. The Eucharist must be celebrated on them for seven days, after which they are sent forth as they are wanted. In use this corporal is spread out on the altar at the beginning of the liturgy. It is practically sacred.

Relics were sometimes placed at doors of churches, where the faithful kissed them, and in various parts of the architecture of the building, and were also contained in precious reliquaries, in cupboards on the left or right of the altar, or in sarcophagi. They were also carried in procession and exhibited to the faithful, who were blessed with them, generally on a specific day. Numerous pilgrims flocked to the place for this purpose. Booklets where the relics described, and also gadgets, which the pilgrims to follow the ceremonies at their public exhibition, were for sale, and contained instructions as to the indulgences to be obtained.

Receptacles of relics, or reliquaries, had a variety of names (casea, licta, phiale, synodicon, thalamus, etc.); and were made of different materials—wood, metal, bone, ivory, glass. Many of them were richly ornate. Their form was equal in various. Some were made to inlaid the church, or a reliquary, or sarcophagus. Some had the form of a cross, others of a stauere, a bust, or a medallion. Still others were shaped to resemble their contents—foot, head, etc. Besides reliquaries for use in churches, a smaller kind was made for carrying on the person.

Relics in connexion with relics.—Relics being so sacred and powerful, an early custom arose of taking oaths upon them. As prescribed by Dagobert in 630, the compurgators placed their hands on the relics containing the relic. The accused put his hands above the relics, so that Gregory the Great might help him and the relics under the hands which he holds that he may not incur guilt in the matter of which he is questioned. Another custom was that of obtaining a saint's advice by laying on the altar where his relics were, a letter with an account of the case for the answer, which was sometimes given in writing, sometimes not at all. There is some analogy here with modern methods of spirit-writing. The assistance of saints was also thought to be obtained at ecclesiastical councils by the presence of their relics. While at first buried near a martyr's grave was avoided, it soon became a matter of strong desire to be interred near relics of a saint or martyr. St. Augustine wrote a treatise in support of this doctrine.

Relics and miracles.—The veneration of relics soon led to the belief in them as powerful to work miracles. Being associated with the spirit of a
dead saint or filled with his supernatural grace, they were naturally supposed to possess such miraculous powers as he had possessed in his life-time. A close analogy is evident of this, but one which showed that the belief was already strongly grounded, is found in St. Augustine's account of the relics of St. Stephen first at Calama and then at Hippo. He mentions as many as seventy accounts of miracles already written within two years after the coming of the relics. He describes the miracles as countless, and gives cases of the cure of blindness and other diseases even through flowers which had come into contact with the relics, of cures of goit, fistula, stone, and broken limbs. This was in connection of the dead to life. Augustine's theory is that the martyrs died for the faith of Christ and can now ask these benefits from Him. The miracles attest the faith which proclaims the resurrection of the flesh to eternal life, whether or not this actually occurred in their time, or by means of angels—at the prayer of the martyrs. Augustine also refers to miracles wrought through relics as common in London etc. through relics of St. Laurence and Gervasius. Other early instances are the miracles ascribed to the relics of St. Cyrilian by Gregory Nazianzen, and those recorded by St. Gregory of Tours, especially in connexion with the relics of St. Martin, the miraculous use of relics of the martyrs of Lyons. He also tells how a nail of the Cross thrown into the Adriatic by Queen Rudegund made it safe ever after for navigators. Pope Gregory the Great, whose veneration for relics was extreme, either composed or revised by means of relics in his Epidotes. Where relics were possessed by churches and wrought miracles, it became common in the 5th cent. to hang up models of limbs which had been cured—a practice continued long after. At the translation of relics miracles were matters of frequent occurrence, as well as at their exhibition, and at the shrines of famous saints. From the 6th cent. onwards, with increasing force during the later Middle Ages, the credulity of the people increased, and miracles by means of relics, genuine or false, or by means of articles in contact with them, or at the shrines which contained them, were multiplied and were frequently of the most absurd nature. Not only were the sick healed, the blind given sight, the deaf made to hear, the dead raised, and demons tormented or chased away, but relics cured of evil, or had power over storms, thunder, rain or floods, gave victory when carried in battle, or kept enemies at a distance, overcame robbers, and supplied succour of every kind. See also art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Christian), vol. iii. p. 427a.

While miracle-working relics in any given church or monastery were usually welcomed as a source of revenue from the crowds which flocked thereto, these miracles were sometimes a source of annoyance to the course of monastic life.

Relics were worn on the person as amulets from early times, usually hanging in a case from the neck or in a small box or case. They were also worn with the union of the wearer with the saint whose relics were worn. Warriors placed them in the hilts of their swords; kings wore them in their crowns and regalia, or parts of crowns were themselves made of most sacred relics—e.g., the fillet of the iron crown of Lombardy from one of the nails of the Cross. St. Thomas Aquinas discusses the propriety of wearing relics round the neck as a protection, and approves of the practice, provided ostentation and superstition be avoided. This opinion was challenged by other theologians.

1 For the ceremony see Remigius of Auxerre, de Dedic. Eccles. 
2See Constantinople, ecclesiastical, vol. i. 102.
3 For the office used see J. Goe, Euchologik, Paris, 1847, p. 648.
7 For the office used see J. Goe, Euchologik, Paris, 1847, p. 648.
(Opposition to the cult of relics. — Cultures, palaces, mantlets, the Church, the Limbo of the relics of martyrs — men 'hateful to gods and men' — and Julian inveighs with scorn against the practices in connexion with the tombs and relics of martyrs and the worship of the wood of the Cross. While some of the leaders of Christian thought protested against the extravagances of the cult, most of them admitted its value. Protests arose, however, from time to time against the whole practice. Vigilantius, a Spanish presbyter, wrote against the cult and its superstitions, and describes its results. He quoted a letter written to him by the Bishop of Auxerre. The body of Saint Martin is known only from the violent reply of St. Jerome, who maintains that the souls of martyrs hover round their relics, but that Christians neither worship nor adore but only venerate relics of martyrs, in order the better to adore the martyrs' God — a statement hardly true of the popular attitude. In connexion with the iconoclastic controversy, the emperor Constantine Copronymus desired the abolition of the cult of relics, though the iconoclasts generally had no objection to them. Many relics were thrown into the sea, and popular feeling was aroused by the loss of such as had been highly valued. At a later date, in the West, Claude, bishop of Turin (c. 871), desired to see religion from a different point of view. He attacked the use of relics, intercession of saints, and pilgrimages to their shrines, while he caused the destruction of relics in his diocese. He was condemned by a local synod. In his work, de Pignoribus Sanctorum, Gratian, about 1170, after having attacked the worship of saints and relics, and its many anomalies and absurdities — e.g., reduplication of relics — and, in particular, he proved the imposture of the tooth of Christ, alleged to be possessed by the monks of St. Denis. Among the mediæval mystic groups, faith in relics was sometimes set aside, though not by all. The pantheistic mystics of the 13th. century scoffed at the reverence paid to the bones of martyrs. Individual Reformers (e.g., Wycliff) and reforming groups before the Reformation (Walenses and Lollards) were opposed to all practices connected with relics, and the Reformers themselves indignantly repudiated their use. Calvin wrote a Traité des reliques, in which he pours contempt on those who profane them. The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England describe the Roman doctrine concerning them as 'a fond thing, vainly invented' (art. 22), and the Second Book of Homilies (1563) is still more energetic. In the 16th. cent. the use of relics has been abandoned in all Reformed churches. Nevertheless, so strong is the instinctive feeling of reverence for anything pertaining to a great man that various things belonging to famous divines — letters, books, apparel, furniture, and the like — are carefully treasured, and are objects of interest, and of some degree of reverence by both Protestant and Catholic admirers. Further, in all Protestant and Roman Catholic countries relics of interesting periods of the past, apart from saints, are often treasured with every sign of interest and respect.

The modern Roman Catholic doctrine of relics is based on that of the earlier theologians already cited, and is set forth by the Council of Trent. The bodies of the saints and martyrs are in the temples of the Holy Spirit and members of Christ, and will be raised with him. The church of God would venerate them. Through them benefits are bestowed on men by God. Hence those who deny the power of relics and the folly of the veneration of them are to be condemned. Reference is made by the Council of Trent to such passages as Ac 16:12 R 13, Sir 4:14, J. H. Newman finds in the view which Christianity takes of matter as susceptible of grace, and in the fact that matter as well as spirit recovered through the Incarnation, atonement, and resurrection, the result of the Fall, a sufficient reason for the sanctity of relics.

1. Occasionally the name of a Catholic and Protestant writer is cited, lest it should be supposed that certain opinions are those of the Catholic Church alone.

2. The result of the Fall, a sufficient reason for the sanctity of relics.

3. The result of the Fall, a sufficient reason for the sanctity of relics.

4. The result of the Fall, a sufficient reason for the sanctity of relics.

5. The result of the Fall, a sufficient reason for the sanctity of relics.

6. Conclusion. — Although reverence for the remains of the dead or the treasuring of some of their more personal belongings is natural and may be held to, the preservation of these remains in whole or in part in Christian veneration seems to involve greater faithfulness and goodness, or as reminders of the example offered by the lives of their whilom owners, is a forcing of that instinct beyond its legitimate place. There is not a little that is barbaric in the dividing up into larger or smaller fragments of the mortal remains of a saint and disseminating them over a wide area even for purposes of veneration. The admitted great uncertainty which surrounds any relic, the certainty of impostures, the occasional falsification and reproving of relics, and the superstitions and abuses to which they have given rise and which have attended the cult from early times, far outweigh any positive good which they may ever have done.

This is a curious likeness between the classical and the Christian cult of relics. Circumstances attending the discovery and translation of relics, the rivalry of different places for them, fighting for or theft of them, falsifying and reproducing them, the religious advantage of relics, and prodigies associated with them, the safety expected from them, are instances of these. But, while the influence of the pagan cult of relics upon the origin of the Christian cult may be affirmed, most modern Christian documents owe their existence to similar results following from similar conditions, rather than to influence from the pagan side. There is also the fundamental difference already noted — viz. that pagan relics of heroes were almost invariably enclosed in a tomb, were not divided up, and were not visible, while those of saints were at an early date dismembered, enclosed in reliquaries, and made visible to the faithful.


RELIICS (Eastern).—The worship, adoration, or veneration of relics is widely diffused in Asia, and is not wholly confined to the adherents of any one sect, but is observable in all Buddhist oases over their existence by Buddhists. The Tridentine definition of relics as comprising (1) the bodies of the saints, or portions of them, (2) such objects as the saints made use of during their lives, or as were used at their martyr-
RELICS (Eastern)

dom,' applies to non-Christian Asiatic usage. Class (1) is known to the Buddhists as stūrīka, 'body- relics,' while class (2) is termed parībhojika, 'objects used,' the term 'used' being understood in a wide sense as connoting 'closely connected with.'

In Asia relic-worship rests on the same foundations as in Europe. The relics may be venerated simply as memorials of the sainted dead, serving, like images, as points of attachment for the reverence and devotion of the pious; or they may be regarded as intrinsically possessing magical powers which enable them to work miracles. The treasuring of relics as memorials or souvenirs of the dead is not new. That Buddha venerated 'former Buddha' relics, for instance, is attested in the earliest Buddhist literature, just as it is attested in the earliest non-Christian literature.

The four canine teeth, the two collar-bones, and the frontal bone of Buddha were termed 'seven great relics.' The other fragments, which were numerous, were believed to comprise grains no bigger than a mustard seed. The relics were collected and are said to have been dispersed all over the Buddhist world, the dispersal being associated with the legend of the name of Aṣoka. Some of the pieces, genuine or supposed relics, were connected closely with the person of Buddha, command similar reverence. The Buddhist passion for relic-worship is so ardent that anything said to be a relic is certain to secure much popular attention, without any question as to its genuineness.

Relic-worship need not be either those of Buddha himself or objects associated with him personally; fragments of the bodies of the saints and things used by or connected with them are valued almost as highly. The Tibetans carry their interest in relics of recently deceased or even living Lamas to a disgusting extreme.

The smaller objects of veneration naturally were enclosed in suitable reliquaries or caskets, which were made of various materials, including among others soapstone, coral, ivory, and its derivatives, silver, and gold. Many examples have been discovered in India, Ceylon, and elsewhere.

The earliest known specimen appears to be the stūpa of Pipāravā, erected probably soon after the death of Buddha. There is reason to believe that the fragments of bone in that casket were genuine relics of Gautama Buddha, and that they were enshrined in a reliquary of local pottery or his Śākya clansmen; but absolute proof of the genuineness of the relics is necessarily unattainable, and the
date of the monument is the subject of differences of opinion. The reliquary, with a crystal bowl and other vessels, stood on the top of a massive, cylindrical stupa of grey-green soapstone, 2 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in. constructed with perfect skill from a single block of fine sandstone. Another exceptionally interesting reliquary is the gold casket from a stūpa at Birmam between Kāmbal and Jalālābād, currently in the Ghorpapur museum. Respectively, third is the Kaniska casket made of an alloy of copper and found in the ruins of the great stūpa at Peshāvar.

The pious people who deposited relics in carefully-prepared, costly receptacles usually honoured the precious fragments by placing with them a multitude of objects of intrinsic or artistic value, including jewellery of various kinds. All the known examples of ancient Indian jewellery seem to come from such honorific deposits. The workmanship both in metals and in gems is of high quality. We are thus indebted to relic-worship for the greater part of such knowledge as we possess concerning the jeweller's art in ancient India.

Relics, whether sarīrīka or paribhogika, were usually secured against accidents by burial in a stūpa (thūpa, ‘tope,’ ‘dagoba’), which in its early Indian form was a low solid cupola of massive masonry, with a relic-chamber in the interior, or an annexe, or the base. Such buildings, although not so difficult to enter as the Egyptian pyramids, were sufficiently impenetrable to offer no small degree of security. Some ancient monuments of the kind preserve their secret involute to this day, some were depopulated ages ago, and others have yielded their treasures to keen archaeologists in recent times. Although stūpas were built occasionally merely as memorial towers to mark sacred spots, and in that case contained no internal chamber, most of them in ancient times were erected specifically for the purpose of enshrining in safety highly venerated relics of either Buddha or his saints. The modern chorten (q.v.), the equivalent of the stūpa in Tibet, rarely contains relics.

The story of the stūpa as an architectural form, beginning with the low solid hemisphere of Piprāvā and ending with the slender Chinese pagoda, is a long one. That long development would never have taken place if the cults of Buddha, Mājñun, the Impersonal God, had not been so interwoven from the first. The architectural form evolved in different countries in different directions, and in the present day the most characteristic relics in the kind still standing probably are those found in Ceylon and Burma. The ancient stūpa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon, inaccurately called the Jetavanarama, stands on a stone platform nearly 8 acres in extent, and is still 251 ft. high. The Siwā Dāgon pagoda at Rangoon, a more modern building, 368 ft. high in its existing form, is reputed to contain within its inner eight stories the relics of Gautama Buddha, as well as the bathing-garment of Kaśyapa, the water-dipper of Konāgamana, and the staff of Krukechanda—i.e. articles used by the three latest of the ‘former Buddhas.’

Among the destroyed stūpas, one of the greatest was the famous monument at Peshāvar constructed c. A.D. 100 by Kaniska (q.v.). The relic-casket excavated from its foundations has been referred to above.

The gigantic monument at Boro Budur in Java is essentially a stūpa, but there is no record of its erection or of the relics which may lie hidden somewhere in its recesses.

Buddhist public worship in India and Ceylon during the period of the stūpas is naturally centred in the relic-stūpas, which formed the goals of innumerable pilgrimages. Kings enunciated another one in the lavishness of the ceremonial with which the relics were first enshrined and then from time to time exhibited to the people. The most important of these ceremonies are those given repeatedly in the Mahāvamsa, a monastic chronicle of Ceylon, written about the 5th century A.D.

Ch. xxx. relates how the site of the Mahāvihāra was consecrated by the enshrinement of the ashes of Lanka, the ashes of monks, including deputations from the foreign lands designated as Pālavihāraka (Persia) and ‘Alexanda the city of the suns,’ probably meaning Alexandria in Egypt. Ch. xxx. is devoted to an exposition of the glories of the spacious relic-chamber, the reliwār, of Mahāvamsa. It describes the operations of securing the enshrining of the relics and the many miracles accompanying the act. The theory governing the proceedings is frankly stated at the end of ch. xxx. in these words:

If the wise man who is adorned with the good gifts of faith, has done homage to the blessed (Buddha) the supremely venerable, the highest of the world, who is freed from darkness, while he was yet living, and then to his relics, that were dispensed abroad by him who had in view the salvation of mankind, and if he then understands ‘herein is equal merit’—then indeed will he revere the relics of the Sage even as the blessed (Buddha himself) in his lifetime did the enshrining of the relics and the many miracles accompanying the act.

The same intense belief in the efficacy of relics still prevails; and, when occasion arises, as on the presentation of the Piprāvā relics to the king of Siam, the sacred objects are welcomed with extreme enthusiasm, although the splendour of the ancient ceremonial in Ceylon may not be emulated.

In A.D. 1763 certain pagodas at Shwebo in Burma were dedicated by the four queens of the reigning monarch. At the close of 1802, thieves having rifled the contents of one of the buildings, the local authorities decided to open the other pagodas and remove the treasures enshrined in them to a place of safety. A silver scroll, forming part of the deposit and then taken out, records the motives which influenced one of the royal ladies to erect her pagoda.

"Finally," she observes, "by virtue of the merit acquired by me through building this pagoda, in which the relics of Buddha are enshrined, may I enjoy such happiness and prosperity as I cannot obtain in earthly life. May I not be cast forth in every form of existence counting from the present one till the attainment of Nirvāṇa. May I be free from the hollow world of desire and Ceylon, and at the time of my entry into Nirvāṇa, without the necessity of further transmigration, at the feet of the coming Buddha Ari Metteyya."

In the preceding sentences, the lady who henceforth, and involved in the sacred act of dedicating the temple, the members of the royal family, the ministers and officials, and had professed at the "the spirits of the pagodas, trees, flowers, birds, fish, and ghosts, who inhabit the deities of the earth," might share in her merit, is written down as a devout Buddhist.

The document affords interesting and conclusive proof that the modern practice of relic-worship in...
Buddhist countries is turned to extremely practical purposes. The relics are regarded as an excellent and profitable investment. It is clear that in the Sino-Japanese countries it was often to verify the alleged relics, because another scroll in one of the adjoining pagodas declares that the relics of Buddha consisted of 3001 large pieces, with the same number of small pieces, besides a multitude of other fragments still more minute—which is manifestly incredible. The so-called relics were placed in an amber bowl of great value, which was enclosed in a miniature pagoda made of silver, gold, and glass. The miscellaneous objects deposited in the reliquaries as honorary and protective additions by the queens includes an extraordinary variety of things, hundreds in number, and duly catalogued in the accompanying inscriptions. Besides many jewels and articles of gold and silver, the collection comprises copper or brass models of war-boats, cannon, and images of various kinds. The figures of soldiers, horses, and elephants, with the miniature guns and weapons, were intended to protect the relics. Thirty-four years later (1797) P. Ormston Cox, the British Resident at Rangoon, was allowed to inspect the collection prepared for deposit in another new pagoda, the relic-chamber of which measured no less than 64 ft. square on the inside. The treasure-chamber was not without its principal character. As those collected by the queens, were numerous and included the strange item, one of Dr. Priestley's machines for impregnating water with fixed air. Ancient honorific deposits were only incidentally converted into mementoes bearing that term in a wide sense—and coins, including specie, are of great value as rarities or curiosities. That practice explains the frequent occurrence of Roman coins of various reigns in the stūpas of Afghanistan and the Panjab.

Relic-worship attained its highest prominence in ancient India and Ceylon. Burma comes next in devotion to the cult. In all other Buddhist countries the adoration of relics is but a minor incident of popular religion. The Sra monastery to the north of Peshawar is a splendid example of the metal thunderbolts (mjra, or doje) of the god Indra, which fell down from heaven, and was used by Buddha; but Tibet, on the whole, sets little store upon ancient relics, while keen on the other hand in the Lhasa province. It is said that a statue of a modern or living Lānas, which are believed to possess magical curative properties of the highest value.

Certain monasteries in China rejoice in their custody of famous relics; but the number of notable places of the kind does not seem to be great. One of the most celebrated of such places is the temple, or stūpa, on the Five-peaked Mountain (U-tai-shan) in N. China, built by a Wai sovereign in the 6th century. The abundance of the number of relics has not escaped the ridicule of Chinese scholars. In A.D. 819 Han Wan-kung, an eminent writer and statesman, deeply offended the reigning emperor by mocking at the honours paid to an alleged finger-bone of Buddha, preserved at a pagoda in the prefecture of Fung-tseang. His censure was punished by official degradation, and he narrowly escaped execution. But ordinarily, in all countries, sceptics have been content to perversely silence the sages and their fanatics.

Japan, Korea, and Siam seem to care little for relics properly so called, although the Siamese venerate a much-esteemed alleged footprint of Buddha.

Pura-worship excepted, most modern Buddhist countries prefer to expend their devotional enthusiasm on images rather than on alleged relics. Sometimes copies of the sacred books serve the same purpose as relics and are used to consecrate by their presence some Bodhisatva pagoda, built primarily to gain a store of merit for the donor.

In Burma 'pagodas are built over relics of the Buddha, or models of them, over the eight utensils of a mendicant, or copies of them, or copies of the sacred books.' No work of merit, 'the same author observes, 'is so richly paid as the building of a pagoda,' and the structure, in order to have proper efficacy, must be sanctified by the inclusion of relics, if practicable, and, when they are not available, by the best possible substitutes. In a benefice India also copies of sacred texts, such as the twelve Nidānas or the so-called 'Buddhist creed,' were often used as a substitute for relics in order to give the requisite sanctity to a stūpa or an image.

2. Brāhmaṇical Hinduism.—The veneration of relics seems to be practically unknown to Brāhmaṇical Hindus, one reason being that their ill-defined religion has no recognized founder like Jesus Christ, Buddha, or Muhammad. All accounts agree that the rude log which does duty as the image of Jagannāth (q.v.) at Puri encloses a mystical deposit which is transferred when the image is periodically renewed; and, according to one story, this deposit consists of various beads of various kinds. It is possible that the deposits thus handled are more a relic of the age in which the deposit was made than a relic of any intrinsic value, but there appears to be no clear instance of relic-worship practised by Brāhmaṇical Hindus.

3. Jainism.—The statement of Ferguson, that the Jains 'have no veneration for relics,' although possibly true for the present day, is not quite correct when we refer to ancient times. Jain stūpas, indistinguishable from Buddhist ones in appearance, were numerous, and some of them may have contained relics, although no record of the existence of such contents has been published. Bhagwān Lāl Indrajit, referring in terms to Jain literature, admits that the Jains revered the honoured bone relics of the Tirthānakaras, corresponding to Buddhás, and that survivals of the ancient relic-worship may be traced in modern practice.

He states that 'at the present day the Jain Sādhus of the Khārātārī gaccha use for worship a five-toothed sandal-golden called thaṭapana, and this is a copy of the jaws of the Tirthānakaras. So the Jains use the same kind of shell (sajjha) which they take to be the three-bones of Mahāvīrādān.'

A Jain stūpa was built in honour of Akbar's friend and teacher, Hiravijya Sūri, who was cremated in A.D. 1592 at Unā or Umanpur in the Jānagār State, Kāthāwār. Various miracles having occurred at the spot, the stūpa was erected to mark the holy ground. It has not been desecrated, and may or may not contain relics. Recent European works on Jainism do not make any allusion to either relic-worship or stūpas. Mrs. Stevenson, however, mentions that childless women attempting to become the parents of a man strive to tear a piece from the dead sūdāṣṭhā's dress, believing...
that it will ensure their having children. That practice is a novel approach to relieve-worship.

RELIGION.

Mahomedanism.—Although the treasuring and veneration of relics are hardly consistent with the spirit of Islam, Musalmans have followed to some slight extent the example of their heathen neighbours and have been tempted occasionally to cherish and reverence tangible memorials of their Prophet. Such limited compliance with non-Muslim practice has not produced any considerable effects, and the few instances of Mahomedan reverence for relics which can be cited are detached phenomena and of no special significance. Certain places pride themselves on the possession of hairs from Mahomet’s beard. Two such relics (dānt) were brought to Bijapur in the Deccan, India, at some time in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim II. Adilshah of Bijapur (1580—1627), and were deposited in a palace now known as the Asar Mahal, ‘Relic House,’ where they are treated with much reverence. Even foreign Mahomedan potentates send rich offerings in honour of the relics, which are venerated by a special occasion on the Prophet’s birthday, 12th Rabī’ I. The box in which they are kept is never opened, so that ‘no one living has seen the relic.’ Rohri (Rāhī) in Sind boasts of a similar treasure, a single hair, which is kept in the house of a person named the Wār, or Wāl, Mubarak, a building erected for the purpose by Nūr Mahomed in or about A.D. 1745. The relic is exhibited to the faithful once a year, when, by means of some traditional words and movements, the adoration being regarded by the crowd as supernatural.

‘In the Mogul armies, before the introduction of European tactics, an elephant always marched in the van, bearing on its head a relic of the Prophet which was professed or reputed to have a magical influence. Sometimes this was followed by another elephant carrying a rich howdah, on which was placed a box containing a precious relic, which usually was, if one may believe it, an actual hair from Mahomet’s beard.’

Certain relics of the Prophet are kept in the Topkapi Palace at Constantinople and visited by the Sultan at the beginning of a new reign. The reputed footprints of the Prophet on rocks or slabs of stone are venerated in many places, which need not be specified. J. Burgess mentions examples at Ahmadābād, Gaur, and Delhi, and many more might be collected from various countries. Pilgrimages paid to shrines, such as numerous pirs, or reputed saints, in Mahomedan lands are near akin to relic-worship, but are not quite the same thing.


VINCENT A. SMITH.

RELIEF CHURCH.—See Presbyterianism.

RELIGION. I. INTRODUCTION. — 1. The subject.—From time to time men find themselves forced to reconsider current and inherited beliefs and ideas, to gain some harmony between present and past, and to prepare some position which shall satisfy the demands of feeling for definition and give confidence for the future. If, at the present day, religion, as a subject, of critical or scientific inquiry, of both practical and theoretical significance, has attracted increasing attention, this is partly due to the fact that (a) there is a scientific knowledge and thought; (b) the deeper intellectual interest in the subject; (c) the widespread tendencies in all parts of the world to reform or reconstruct religion, or even to replace it by some body of thought, more ‘rational’ and ‘scientific’ or less ‘superstitions;’ and (d) the effect of social, political, and international events of a sort which, in the past, have both influenced and been influenced by religion. Whenever the ethical or moral value of activities or conditions is questioned, the value of religion is involved; and all deep-stirring experiences invariably compel a reconsideration of the most fundamental ideas, whether they are explicitly religious or not. Ultimately the question which is the supreme destiny, God, and the universe; and these in turn involve problems of the relation between ‘religious’ and other ideas, the validity of ordinary knowledge, and practicable conceptions of ‘experience’ and reality.

The very nature of the subject, therefore, forbids any one-sided treatment. No one particular aspect or phase can form the basis; nor can it be ignored that upon no other subject are there such differences of opinion so acute, and the risk of causing offence and pain so great. The subject of religion inevitably involves both the religious and the non-religious, or secular, and the ‘anti-religious’ (irreligious, blasphemous, etc.); and, while its very intimacy compels a restrained and impartial treatment, its importance demands an impartiality and objectivity which in turn may easily seem ‘irreligious.’ None the less, the actual problems of such a subject, that of any critical or scientific treatment is once legitimate (and everywhere there is a tendency to treat quite fairly the religion which is not one’s own), it must be pursued as thoroughly and as impartially as the consideration by the convictions of others that one would ask for one’s own (the Golden Rule of criticism) and with the clearest recognition of the fact that the religions of the vast and varied mass of human beings, all of whom may, on purely scientific grounds, be regarded as closely related—physiologically and psychologically.

2. Definitions.—(1) The term ‘religion,’ whatever its best definition, clearly refers to certain characteristic types of data (beliefs, practices, feelings, moods, attitudes, etc.). Its use presupposes criteria, and therefore some preliminary conception of what does and what does not come under the category. But it soon appears that there is no absolute gulf between religion and what, in some one respect or other, closely approximates it (e.g., art, morality). Different people draw the line differently. A man will be swayed by his conception of what religion is or is not; but such conceptions vary, not only among individual members of the same society, but even in the lifetime of one person. Once to be reconciled with his mental or psychological growth does a man acquire the conception and come to distinguish between

2 Two terms are commonly used in one connexion, ‘confession’ and ‘denomination,’ de Nat. Deor., ii. 28: ‘qui autem omnibus, quae ad cultum deorum pertinent, prohibet, et religiis renuntiat, et tarnen religiens, sunt diti religionem, ex religioso, et religionem tanquam a diligentibus, ex intelligente intelligentes, eius praejudicibus; et sic, si inuest in scientia (quod in religione), the other from religions (so Lactantius, Div. Inst. iv. 28: ‘hoc vinum pietatis obstricti deo et religiis mundi; unde religio per exitur ut etiam inhabitantis apprehensio et consent. 1. Religion is something which is read and reflected upon, or whether it had the idea of obligation, what was more to the point was the meaning of religion and its relation to superstition (see Mayor’s note on de Nat. Deor., loc. cit.).
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what is and what is not religion; and this develop-
ment is of the greatest importance to 'significant'
ence for the individual—finds an analogy in the
history of the race, where the distinctions which we
draw (e.g., between religion and law or ethics)
are not found among rudimentary or backward
peoples. Herein lies the fundamental importance
of such questions as: How and why do we come
to distinguish the 'religious' from the 'non-
religious'?) Is there a border-line, and If we
rely upon a prior definition, how did that defini-
tion arise? Can we tell in what sense the believer is
seen to involve not only (a) the various beliefs and
practices which obviously belong to the subject-
matter, but also (b) the mental or psychical aspects
of all the individuals concerned. In a word,
beyond the ordinary stock of religious data, one
to consider the individuals who, as a result of
rare vicissitudes in their development, have the
beliefs which are called 'religious,' or who, again
as a result of their experiences, will differentiate
between the religious, the non-religious, and the
unchristian.4

(2) A survey of the numerous definitions
of religion would be more informing than any new
one that might be proposed. Even the simple
minimum suggested by E. B. Tylor (religion is
the 'belief of other-worldly things,') brings up
the question of the nature of these beings, the
origin of the belief, and its validity for every indi-
vidual.2 Every definition ultimately implies
hypotheses of reality and indicates the place that
religion should hold in the person's thought.3
Directly or indirectly, some very sig-
ificant terms are involved (e.g., 'death,' 'heaven,'
'sacred,' 'supernatural,' etc.). These require
definition and justification, and, when pursued
logically, may lead to the collapse of the whole
body of thought, both religious and non-
religious. In general, the definitions themselves
are a valuable contribution to men's conceptions
of what religion was, or should be. They con-
vincingly demonstrate the personal interest in the
subject: even the one-sided and unsympathetic
definitions show how intimately the self feels itself
at stake. They point to subjective convictions of
the most vital importance; they characteristically
resemble the dogma of the times, and are influenced
while at the same time emphasizing feelings of
the closest relationship with or the most absolute
dependence upon a 'higher Power.' Especially
characteristic are (a) the admission of the strength,
support, peace, and consolation afforded by reli-
gion to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden
—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral com-
mitment all the needs of man. (b) The line of thought is
the consecration of the individual to sacred things, to
distinguishing the religious from the non-religious.

1 On the 'genetic' and 'psychological' treatment of the
subject see below, § 10. On the importance of tracing these differ-
entiations cf. A. Sidgwick, Distinction and the Criticism of
Beliefs, London, 1912, The Use of Words in Reasoning, 1907.

2 P. V. 924. For criticisms of definitions see J. H. Leuba, A
Psychological Study of Religion: Its Origin, Function, and
Future, New York, 1912, ch. ii. and appendix; E. Durkheim,
The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Eng. tr., London,
1915, bk. 1. ch. li; G. Galloway, The Philosophy of Religion,
Edinburgh, 1914, ch. iv. Durkheim's definition may be noticed:
'a religious life is that life which is subordinated to the
sanctification and consecration of a sacred element of
life, of which the adherents believe that it is superior to
all the others.' (Social Conceptions, London, 1912, 3d ed., p. 65,
Eng. tr. p. 47). Galloway (p. 181) suggests tentatively that
'sacred things' is man's faith in a power beyond himself whereby
he seeks assurance of his essential needs of existence and
of life, and which he expresses in acts of worship and service.'C.
C. Curtis, The Sacred, London, 1909, p. 7). "If the human life is the
basis of religion, then the basis of religion decide the
shape of religion,' he says (pp. 36-37). Now, as M. L. Boss
(New York, 1916, p. 59) asserts, on the other hand, 'I do not myself
believe that Religion can be defined.'

3 Cf. Leuba: 'A man's religion, if it is sincere,
is that consciousness in which he takes up a definite attitude
to things, and which affects all the meaning of his
life. Of course, the man's world may be, and in early times
is, a comparatively narrow one (Religion of Religions, Glascow,
1884, I. 51).

emotional and intellectual, leading to practical,
pragmatic, aesthetic, speculative and other effects.
The results for the individual are now narrow and
egoistic, and now broad, self-less, and social; and
while, on the one hand, religion typically has its
'supernaturalist' aspects, on the other, all the
profondure and more permanent values of life are
in some way religious or quasi-religious, even
though the characteristic supernatural or other
typical religious features be wanting. In other
words, there is that which is of supreme personal
significance whether it conceives the self (1) alone,
or (2) in its relation to others, or (3) in its relation
to a higher Power. Thus, as opposed to any
attempts to set religion in a watertight compartment
by itself, there is evidence which represents it as
belonging to so many phases of life that religious
data are, so to say, only a special form of other-
wise non-religious data. Religion none the less
claims to be sui generis; hence it is explicable
why some observers see only the features which
distinguish religion from that which is non-
religious, whereas others do not recognize the dis-
tinctive features. The paradox of the immanent
and the transcendent rests upon the fact that
certain kinds of experience and evidence tend to
destroy the distinctiveness of religion, whereas
other kinds strengthen and enhance the subjective
convictions of the transcen-
dence and distinctiveness of the divine. Other
paradoxes relate to 'this' world and 'the other,' to
the ideals for mankind and 'this' life, and those
for a future which, since it transcends the world,
Paradoxical features are also very marked in the
varying normal, abnormal, and pathological
aspects of religious life, which clearly prove that
the problems are ultimately bound up inextricably
with those of the human condition as such. In a
word, the subject of religion inevitably involves the
problems of personality and existence, and the
deep vicissitudes of life and thought.

3. Method.—(1) Every reader tends to approach
the subject with certain more or less definite pre-
conceptions touching some of the most essential
terms or elements of religion. Herein is clearly
seen the individual's implicit reliance upon his
personal experience, reflexion, and ideas of truth
and reality, and his limited capacity to use any
method of method at once in the problems of religion,
it is impossible either to start with theories or
convictions of the ultimate realities or even to
adopt some one standpoint as opposed to another.
Yet, though much may be disputed, there can be no
dispute that men differ profoundly over the
ultimate facts, and that their inmost convictions will
tend to be entirely authoritative and to regulate
their lives. So, e.g., whatever be the ultimate
realities underlying the data of 'psychical research'
and the like (occultism, astrology, angelic visit-
tions, etc.), no one can doubt that there are three
typical attitudes: (a) believing, if not undis-
credulous; (b) incredulous, if not contemptuous;
and (c) disbelieving, if not the lack of any cre-
dibility. These are real facts of importance for human
nature and the history of religion, inasmuch as such as a
rational conception of religion has to find a place
for all the evidence and dare not ignore the in-
convenient data. Now, beliefs are not merely
beliefs, explanations, and the like, as apart from
their particular value for the inquirer and the
ultimate facts themselves. Hence, although
religion concerns the most vital truths of man and
the universe, there can be a critical, objective, or
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...scientific treatment which considers, not the goal or destiny of things, but men's beliefs and theories on the subject; not the ultimate facts, but men's convictions of them; not the final objective reality, but religious and related conceptions of this reality.

(2) Just as every religious individual has his non-religious side—and the term distinguishes certain data from those outside the category of religious objective reality—a scientific treatment can also adduce and analyze religious which would find a legitimate place among the other conceptions which, forced by experience and reason, have been the beliefs and meanings of the entire range of human experience. In other words, the best conception of religion will not be severed from the best conceptions of artificial and natural phenomena; for no other possible connexion in and by itself, but, in the whole world of life and thought, has ever been, can be, or will be, a satisfactory and complete, quite characteristic of modern research has been the study of religion along non-religious and purely technical lines and from various points of view. But, owing partly to differences of method, scope, and aim, and partly also to the difficulty of controlling an enormous field, the more synthetic and comprehensive works have been no more convincing than the more analytical and specialist. Still, the collection of material and the organization of it proceed pari passu; improved methods lead to a better treatment of the evidence, and the latter in turn discovers defects in past methods. Everywhere difficult problems arise, and the persistent curse is the conflict between the infelicitous conviction that religion can be handled in a way that satisfies the reason and the individual's refusal to go against his beliefs. Hence throughout the logic of the methods or consistently formulated. Preliminary questions of method therefore have, beyond the one, for the one subject to an entirely blank mind, but these questions will also serve another purpose; for we have to assume that, between the various values of whatever there the scientific and current conceptions of them, there is no absolute guilt. Of these conceptions we can gain some notion by continued comparison and classification and by psychological interpretation. Moreover, only through some implicit or explicit theory of reality can we handle and interpret the data. Consequently, the methodological questions contribute both to our own conceptions of reality and to a better understanding of those which have already been; cf. i.6.

II. METHODS, PROBLEMS, AND CRITICISMS.

4. The comparative method. (1) Among the most conspicuous features of modern research has been the application, in their widest extent, of anthropological and comparative methods of inquiry. The effect has been to break down racial, social, intellectual, and psychological boundaries, and to bring into relation all classes and races of men, all types of organic life, all forms of matter. Step by step the most advanced and the most revealing comparisons between physical remains and artifacts are related and classified; these are brought into connexion with the rest of the universe, and his conscious, purposive thought-activity comes into line with all types of psychological and other energy. New conceptions thus arise of man's past, present, and future, of the universal, of the personal, of the social, of the psychological—a co-ordination, correspond to the cosmogonies and cosmologies of rudimentary and early peoples, whose general body of religious and non-religious thought was more or less organized and coherent, but whose store of knowledge was, relatively speaking, extremely small. Now, the comparative method is the unbiased co-ordination of all comparable data irrespective of context or age. It has led to the accumulation of much valuable material. As a popular, simple, and interesting inquiry, it has familiarized many people with the miscellanies of folk-lore and religion. It illustrates popular beliefs and practices, and reveals a remarkable resemblance among peoples the world over in both written and oral literature. Of various theories and explanations, it does not prove that others are excluded. Moreover, similar practices can have different meanings or motives, and similar ideas and beliefs can be differently expressed. It does not follow that a belief or practice in one environment has precisely the range of feeling, meaning, or application that its parallel or analogy has elsewhere; nor is the apparent origin of any datum necessarily significant in itself. But the method may be legitimate in cases where mere comparison may be legitimate for some purpose—as, e.g., between men and apes—but in every problematical situation the question of the validity of particular inferences is exceedingly urgent, and it is the individual's task to form a non-naive comparisons and rash inferences. Hence, where sweeping theories have been suggested on the basis of comparison (e.g., primitive promissory, ignorance of paternity, phallic, serpent, or astral cults, the priority of magic over religion), they must invariably be tested by other methods.

(2) The comparative method is commonly bound up with certain persistent and prevalent notions of the 'evolution' of thought and the 'survival' of rude, superstitious or otherwise irrational beliefs and practices from an earlier and more backward stage in the history of culture. But every datum which can be regarded as a survival must be viewed with great care; for the individuals whose beliefs and practices are so stigmatized are not actuated solely by the mere fact that these belong to the past or have an ancestry. Some feeling of value is characteristically present. The 'survivals' have survived because, while much else has been neglected or forgotten, they have been selected and retained along with the entire rational data which also have come down from the past. To regard certain data merely as survivals is to ignore the question of their origin, persistence, and function; for the type of mind or the conditions which explain their rise may also explain their continuance. Besides, comparison itself reveals innumerable subtle differences; and these indicate that there has been no artificial or mechanical borrowing or imposition, but a process of re-adjusting and reshaping for which the individuals concerned have a certain responsibility. In fact, whenever beliefs and practices can be compared, a distinction can invariably be made between the factors in which lies the character of the method in which it recurs. The types of beliefs and practices which are selected, assimilated, or reshaped are not to be confused with the external aspects which can be treated historically. Thus, beliefs in witchcraft everywhere contain similar elements, and so do magic rites (with context and psychological aspect, e.g., the tendencies responsible for their persistence and retention), and (b) the more external details, which may be of traditional or legendary interest, due to borrowing, external influence, etc. Indeed, an analysis of typical survivals reveals a fundamental resemblance between data that are distinctly religious and those that usually rank as superstitions or survivals; but, while the latter will generally be neglected or forgotten, the former is, as a rule, thought, the former will be more or less organized, socially and intellectually, and will at least claim to be in accordance with the 'best' thought.

(3) The presence of survivals, superstitions, and other so-called 'spurious' or 'irrational' beliefs indicates that method shows that, as a general principle, any apparently rudimentary or irrational datum need not

1 E.g., one may note the case taken by J. G. Frazer in The Golden Bough to emphasize the difference between the great mass of material collected and classified in this monumental work, and the smaller section dealing with the assumption that every one admits that there are truths and realities of ultimate validity, even though men now differ as to what they are.

2 On the no less conspicuous employment of psychology see § 101.
on that account alone be older than one more advanced or elevated. Moreover, a culture can decay, even of one type or of less organized type. Not only has this only often happened in the East, but in Arabia, e.g., the old civilization reflected in the Minean and Salvaran inscriptions was followed by the pre-Islamic Dauliya, the age of savagery or barbarism, and this in turn by a new growth—the rise and development of the specifically Muhammadan culture. Facts of this sort bring intricate problems of the rise and fall of systems or cultures, and their conception for the development of thought. Although we have undoubtedly been a profound advance from the first appearance of man onwards, but the persistence of all that is styled irrational or superstitious, and the frequent cases of decay, retrogression, and new growth, shatter all facile theories of a simple, continuous, mental or psychical evolution.

(4) Evolutionary ideas hold such a prominent place in conceptions of religious development that it should be noticed that there are really two types of theory. The one involves ideas of survival, retrogression, decadence, recidivism; and it lays the emphasis on the necessary processes of the past. The other does not measure the difference between the civilized and uncivilized by centuries or millennia, but it sees the civilized man as the product of the uncivilized man, as the through the vener of culture, and so on. The former seems to offer an easy explanation of the presence of many survivals or survivals in an advanced stage, but it is not a complete explanation of the changing of the times, and the changes in the nature of life, and the changes in the nature of the individual who are involved. Hence, whatever may be proved to be due to herd and pre-historic evolution, more attention must first be paid to the traditional stages with all the difficulties for the development of man's psychical nature. These stages, and the dependence of the infant upon the mature and the environment, as fundamental for his psychical life as the more complex and obscure factors of heredity, or the influence of human and animal relations with their various biological, are fundamental for the development of the individual. The actual history of mankind shows that there is no inherent momentum in a culture or a religion; it is not dependent upon the individuals who are involved. Hence, whatever may be proved to be due to herd and prehistoric evolution, more attention must first be paid to the traditional stages with all the difficulties for the development of the individual.

5. Historical and sociological methods. 1 The purely comparative method of inquiry has emphasized the necessity of constructing conceptions of religion upon a wide basis of data. While indicating resemblances between different religions and customs, even to an extent that will require examination, the significant differences, whether in single environments, at some given time, or in the course of their historical development. Religions can be fruitfully studied in their relations to the political, economic, social, geographical, and other features of the people or area where they flourish. Here attention is paid to the influence of surroundings (mountains, plains, deserts, swamps, etc.), to the proximity of higher or lower cultures, and to means of intercommunication. Special importance are the food-supply and means of livelihood. Thus, hunting and agriculture conduce to different types of mental and therefore, also, of religious outlook; and, where the food problem is negligible, the religion is without the positive features that recur when the supply is limited or a source of anxiety. Sociological and economic interests upon an earlier religion is especially noticeable in the vicissitudes of the Homeric gods. The differences among the various religions are thus due very largely to quite recognizable and visible factors of socialization; and a distinction can be drawn between the history of religions, which is that of definite systems, peoples, or areas (so far as the material permits), and the history of religion, i.e. of the development and advance of the religious ideas and relations that substance, generally. It is the task of the latter to determine the character and principles of the development; but the two inquiries are interdependent, and it is a natural presumption that the various religions reflect the working of similar principles, which, moreover, will hold good in the future. But every treatment of the development of religion forces some recognition of 'lower' and 'higher' stages, of which the latter will irresistibly be relative to our present understanding of human values, and our own ideas of what must be the outcome of a progressive development. As for the 'lower' stages, primitive pre-historic men are unknown. 1 But one can estimate confidently all the religious and spiritual ideas and accomplishments before the artists. 2 If, on the other hand, primitive man once lacked the traditional experience of the lowest of modern savages, on the other, there are tribes so rudimentary that a lower level can hardly be conceived, while possibilities of development are recognized today as the result of some called (relatively) primitive', even though their beliefs and practices are complex and have a history behind them.

(5) Thus the relation between a primitive religion and the actual religious system of a primitive pre-historic people is fairly analogous to that between the child or the savage and the actual childhood of mankind; there will be certain parallels, but there will be essential differences, due to the fact that the environment in the one case has a history and an experience which in the other case are quite wanting. It should be observed that, although some typical developments can be discerned everywhere, we nowhere find the actual dawn of man religion in an entirely non-religious environment. Further, all theories founded on the idea of religion in a non-human, collective, and development has been due, not merely to individuals (who often find no following), but to the tribes, societies, or even civilizations, which have been involved by them. Consequently, every conception of the lowest stage of religion must refer, not to the first 'religious' individual, but to the group of which could be conceived to separate ideas, beliefs, or concepts, but to the whole mental fabric or system in which no individual could be conceived a system; behind this one can scarcely go. In like manner one can conceive exceedingly rudimentary or primitive groups of individuals, but not isolated human beings who had not yet associated with one another. Only in this way can the problem be methodologically pursued; and it is the great merit of sociological inquiries that they illuminate the relatively stable and coherent beliefs and practices of ordinary social groups, and not the individuals who may be exceptional, extreme, or even abnormal. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the individual and what society owes to him. The social status of the artist is not an accidental, undifferentiated, and self-moving unit. Every body that can be regarded as a unit moves through those in whose respect are moved, and known, and can be influenced by the taking into consideration the environment. No group is actually a closed system, but it is necessary to regard it as a

1 A culture would be absolutely primitive if no antecedent mental development whatever could be presupposed.


3 All article and other human workmanship will imply some mental equipment, or culture, but not consciousness, or sense, or feeling, or dream, not social, ethical, or moral interests. In any case the data will point to some other environment not comparable to the certainties, probabilities, and possibilities, and not (say) to suppose that the artists of the Reindeer were not in any degree influenced by their sensitivity or the context of the data is obvious when one observes the very different beliefs and practices which are associated with any particular god (e.g. Jahweh in the OT) or the divergent conceptions entertained of some particular significant term.
simple unit and to neglect provisionally the more complex and difficult details. The group, like the concept, is a methodological necessity, and not an ultimate reality. See, further, § 13.

6. Social practice and meaning are a vivid light upon the interconnection of life and thought among rudimentary societies and upon the place that religions and related ('superstitious') beliefs and practices hold in the life of the individual or the social group.

The birth of the child brings ideas of legitimacy and kinship, incubation or rebirth, tabus, and various 'superstitious' usages (of which there is a list in § 8). Of course, there is no way of initiating into the group all the deep values of the group. Marriage and marriage-ban involve highly complex, non-verbal, tabus. Hence, the religious and the tabus of the dead almost invariably bring beliefs of the relation between life and death. Religion embraces all that is for the continuity and safety of the group—entry into the group, adoption, expulsion, outlawry, vengeance, manhood, blood-feud; the protection of property (including women and slaves); the rights and responsibilities of prominent or representative individuals; defence and war; fear of the animal and plant food-supply and means of livelihood. Here are inextricably between ritual, moral, and religious requirements, or between religions, economic, and legal ideas. The appearance of social division of labour, the development of special departments of life and thought (e.g., astronomy, anatomy, law, physics) continue on higher levels the early and rudimentary processes which at previous stages enabled man to divide his interests and classify similar and disparate events in order to describe their experience and organize their scanty knowledge. In this differentiation, specialization, and co-ordination there are typical processes which subsequently account for the co-existence of the various conflicting religious and non-religious views of the universe.

(2) A special problem is that of the relative value of the evidence contained in ritual behaviour, social practice, etc., and that of the meaning and the like (see art. Mummification). The controversy 'myth versus ritual' arose as a reaction against excessive reliance upon myths. Myths appear to be of secondary value in so far as they are intended as rational and have secondary aims which are political, ecclesiastical, philosophical, or whatever. They are the other half of the coin; the concept may be a lifeless inheritance from the past, bereft of its original significance or motive, and modified by reflexion or myth. They are, in any case, necessarily assimilated by the group to its own feelings and ideas, and the latter in their turn can express themselves in very different forms. This is one of the clearest results: the common basis of ideas (even if the actual theme, the behaviour or action is earlier than reflexion upon it or the desire to explain it; the groups presuppose fiction, myths, and needs of which men may be barely conscious. But myths—however artificial they may be, are significant for some stage of thought and for its movement, even though their uses be useless for modern knowledge. Both ritual and myth bring difficult questions of the meaning of each for a people. The true meaning of a rite for us (i.e., our interpretation) is not necessarily that which has for those who practise it; and the ritual, either as ritual, belief, or myth (and subsequent reflexion, explanation, myth, interpretation, etc., is analogous to that between imputive, instinctive activities and those based upon reflexion and the conditions between any activity and the apparently obvious purpose which, however, was not recognized at the time. In fact, one of the most interesting features of the more rudimentary religions is the presence of earlier forms of what is fully explicit in the higher religions (e.g., elementary and the higher belief in the resurrection), of apparently logical transitions, and of a striking continuity or development, such as to permit continued re-interpretation of an original pre-sociological or theoretical idea or the like (cf. also the view in Gal 339). See, further, § 32.

7. The group unit theory.—(1) It is a fundamental postulate that social life and social-religious practices cannot be founded upon hallucinations; the basic feelings and convictions are both genuine and effective. Moreover, while, on the one side, all maxims, principles, and rules of life, business, recreation, etc., are for the better ordering and organization of activities, on the other side, all practical working life or activity implicates principles which, however, may not be consciously realized or formulated. Systematized social religious organizations imply systems or principles of regulative ideas; and all social organization or disorganization corresponds to a sufficient equilibrium of the ideas involved or to an absence of the indiscernable harmony. The interaction between the constituents of any effective group, or between different groups, depends upon the essential ideas which unite or disunite; and the development or decay of any art or philosophy (e.g., religion) is probably coincident with that of the constitutive ideas. An active group or body does not ask, 'Is it true?' but in the stress and conflict of life, as also in the stress of beliefs and ideas and the like, or in reflexion upon the ideas and principles that underlie or are implied in its life, the group may test a hypothesis. Hard events and explicit discussion thus try the effectiveness of the convictions and ideas; and every state of equilibrium, after a period of severe crisis or disintegration, points to some equilibrium of ideas, or to the collapse of a religious persuasion or group. Hence we may speak of a system of ideas, even though they are not necessarily consciously recognized.

(2) Now, at certain stages of development the social and religious ideas form an inseparable part of one and the same system—a practical system; life and thought are relatively undifferentiated, and every man is born into the nexus of beliefs and obligations which obtain throughout the group. Such a system, with its body of cult practices, religious beliefs, and traditions, implies a system of ideas, ways of thinking, explanations, etc. But, further, Robertson Smith, whose Religion of the Semites brilliantly illuminated the sociological aspects of religion, especially with his important fact that 'the circle into which a man was born was not simply a kinsfolk of fellow-citizens, but embraced also certain divine beings. 'The social body was not made up of men only, of men and gods.' The gods are part and parcel of the same natural community with their worshippers. Here, then, ideas of gods and men and of the supernatural and natural, would tend to form part of a single coherent whole—a unitary system, so to say, of thought and practice. It is necessary to study with its body of cult practices the 'psychical' solidarity of such groups with those situations where life and thought are extremely differentiated, where religion is kept quite apart from the non-religious, where the social system is undeveloped, or, finally, where (as in totemism), there are no clear ideas of gods as part of the social

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1 Cf. Maret, Anthropology, p. 106 ff.

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31 See Rel. Serv., p. 11, 20 ff., 28 ff., 61, 58, 74, 255, 296 ff. Note also p. 22: 'The principle that the fundamental conception of ancient religion (as of all later belief) is the admixture of gods and their worshippers as part of one organic society (with common interests and common affairs) (p. 31), carries with it important consequences. This may be supplemented by Durkheim's purely sociological investigation (esp. bk. IX. ch. iii.), and by his argument that the idea of the social or religious counterpart of the world is interrelated in one solid system all parts of which are closely united.' In the present article, also, the attempt is made to develop Robertson Smith's main ideas, partly suggestive statements.
system. In a word, the conception of a system of belief and practice where gods and worshippers are very closely related and belong to the same system of nature, is a development from the idea of divine immanence and transcendence, of the nearness or remoteness of a Supreme Power, of the permanent or negligible part that this Power takes in mundane affairs, and therefore all views, both of the necessity of a distinctively concept 'God' and of its meaning, depend essentially upon the coherence or systematization of the leading relevant conceptions of life, and upon the interrelation between the differentiated aspects of life and thought.

4. Totemism as an Evolution.—Some extremely interesting questions are raised by totemism and exogamy. Totemism (q.v.) is especially remarkable for its striking contrast to all anthropomorphism or anthropopathism, where the spirits or gods who are venerated, respected, or feared are thought of or described as partly or wholly human and with human traits. In totemism the social group, and particularly an exogamous one (see §9), stands to a species of animal or plant (generally edible), or to an object or class of objects, in an intimate relation of friendliness or close kinship; and the totem is treated, not precisely as a deity, but as a cognate and one to be respected (e.g., not to be eaten or used, or at least only under certain restrictions); but the latter is either an actual cult (with some remarkable forms in Central Australia); but 'individual' totems are also found (notably the 'spirit-guardians' of N. America). There are many variations, and it is disputed (e.g.) whether the totemism is to be treated as typical, and (b) whether totemism is a primary and invariable stage in all human evolution. Animal features (theriomorphism) frequently recur on higher levels of this; there are noteworthy examples in Egypt of the Hellenistic age. But here we have not so much pure totemism as totemic tendencies and modes of belief and practice analogous to those which among really rudimentary peoples characterize totemism as a social or individual system. As for anthropomorphism, it is certainly not absolutely necessary to represent totemism as more primitive than anthropomorphism; and, when the latter appears on the higher levels, it is not the thoroughly going system of the lower levels. While typical totemism has not reached the level of typical anthropomorphism in the latter, it is definite, inadequate, and crude. The late Egyptian theriomorphism is best regarded, not as a mere survival, but as a popular and unsystematized tendency at a period when the national religion was decadent and unsatisfying. What is really most characteristic of all totemism is its non-anthropomorphism (below, §17 ff.); but, while the totem is impersonal or 'sub-humaan' to the outside observer, to the totemist it is as personal as is the doll or toy-animal to the child. To some extent, and all theriomorphic features involve problems of symbolism, imagery, and the consciousness of human personality in its relation to animal and other life. A feeling of peculiar affinity with animal or plant life is by no means confined to totem-clans or rudimentary peoples, but the characteristic system distinguish totemism from all those cases where the theriomorphic details might seem, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to point to totemism or its survival. In any case, the alleged survival or re-appearance of totemism on a generally higher level of society will indicate typical modes of feeling and thought which help to explain the undeniable totemism of the lower levels. Here are data of the greatest significance for the development of the consciousness of human personality. 1

5. (3) In its purely historically 'unatable anthropomorphism.' The imagination in its highest exaltation in the whole, anthropomorphic, 'but often in the ecstasy of imagining the figure of the gods, they felt the indescendable and straitened for their struggles sense of the Infinite. Then the expression becomes mystic, and . . . avails itself of theriomorphic imagery.' Thus, totemism is now: (a) an extremely curious animal (and plant) cult, but it illustrates anthropomized and socialized modes of thought which recur 'outside' as well as below the anthropomorphic mode of thought. The anthropomorphic ideas—perfectly familiar and intelligible in the highest religions—are not only not of primary origin, but they do not always do justice to human experience, and that on many different levels. The tendency then is to find an outlet in ideas which are non-anthropomorphic and, for this reason, are often spoken of as 'mystical'; but. strictly speaking, it is the same question whether mystical ideas are then really superior or inferior to those that they replace. 2

9. Exogamy and kinship.—(1) Although exogamy (marriage outside the group) in contrast to endogamy (marriage within it) concerns the history of kinship and society rather than that of religion, certain facts concerning the social nature of exogamy are worthy is the classificatory system of kinship, where a man's status and marriage-rights are the criterion, and the social practices and the terms of relationship refer to a group or class as a whole, not to the father, or even to the mother. Now, exogamy proper avoids the close and incestuous marriages which occur in an endogamous society, exogamous tendencies sometimes appear, and even to the extent of forbidding marriage between persons of different districts, it may be that this is by no means a rare or special cases of exogamy and endogamy proper. On the other hand, definite ideas are implied throughout: endogamy made for solidarity, unity, and oneness, whereas exogamy avoided the physical and psychic ties that exist in the family, and the complex nature of marriage. In other words, the practical working group is not necessarily united by ties of blood-kinship as we reckon it. 3 Any group of individuals united by profound ideas may look upon themselves as one group, and the belief in totemism regards the particular functions of that group than

1 See art. ANTHROPOMORPHISM, PERSONIFICATION, and, for a suggestive treatment, Caird, J. 213 ff., 264 ff., 270 ff., 294 ff.
2 J. R. Farnell, Greece and Babylon, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 55, also p. 130, note 13; cf. 23 ff., 47 ff.
4 Marriage into another group constantly forces adjustment of beliefs and practices, and the lower there may be a tendency to be dedicated to the husband's deity (Frazer, Totemism and Taboo, 1885, p. 95), and at the same time his own totem and paint on his face that of the family of the bride (E. S. Hartland, Primaeval Pottery, London, 1909-10, ii. 44).

Note the confluence of adoption, blood-connexion, artificial kinship, the levirate, etc.
the bond between the members and actual blood-relationships who are not members. The group feeling, it is true, can kindle extreme ideas of communism and oneness; but, although physical and sexual factors are near at hand, and grave excesses can come in group, the idea is largely logically or fundamentally physical, and in fact, the sentiments, religious systems, sexual aspects of life are explicitely regulated and subordinated to what may be called the ideal (cf. also below, § 23 [3]).

(2) The group is not without exogamy or marriage proper, as primitive social systems, and exogamous or endogamous tendencies is analogous to that between totemism and totemic exogamy and endogamy. The distinction of society and that of thought do not advance pari passu; none the less, localistic vices and the religious ideas cannot be interated. The closer the social unity, the more do gods and men form a single whole—the gods are 'our' gods, and not of the royal, priestly, or any other exclusive class of society. Moreover, the conception of a dominant goddess implies ideas of dominant women, and the entire psychological of sex will reflect itself in ideas concerning female saints and deities. Hence also the paradoxical extremes, where goddesses and priests are prominent—obesity and gross imparity, tenderness and fierceness. Again, the conception of the Fatherhood of God would be meaningless where patriarchy was of little account, an egotism, and a personality itself inseparable where there is no experience of overrule or lordship. So ideas of social equality and democracy influence the way in which religion is thought; and, conversely, the conception of deity involves adequate views of the relations between the individual and God. Convictions of the 'chosen' people or of some primitive 'national' God reflect in their turn the interrelation between current social structure, political, and economic, and they emphasize the fact that man's religious ideas and conceptions, where genuine, cannot be torn away from his ordinary life and thought, but all form some sort of a system, however imperfect.

10. Psychology.—(1) Theories of religious development must be based upon observation of actual historical vicissitudes and the psychological aspects of religion. Complexity of thought, found even in Central African totemism and other primitive cults, points to complexity of history; for complex religious ideas make complex thought. Here, principles of historical criticism are indispensable. There is a common tendency to focus upon outstanding persons, events, and periods changes more numerous and greater than those for which they are actually responsible, and to assume periods of almost absolute adjustment, cataclysm, and relaxation. On the other hand, movements of thought are, alternately, relatively slow and fast; sweeping and sudden changes are not permanent in themselves, though they can leave permanent results, and they not infrequently result in new and more profound movements which may not be recognizable. The whole environment invariably moves more slowly than the reformers or the reforming tendencies, which are usually local, one-sided, partial, specialist, or extreme. The actual facts of religious development, and the relationship between different stages of the process, can be directly ascertained by historical study. Against the apparently obvious cases of immediate and deep influence must be placed the cases of gradual adjustment, cataclysm, and relaxation and failure. These prove that beliefs and customs are not mechanically accepted or assimilated, and that the ethiological and historical factors have their psychological side (cf. § 4 [2]). From a psychological point of view, questions of external influence are not necessarily so important as the mental factors and processes which are involved—e.g., the ability of the individual to accept, retain, and utilize certain ideas, the preliminary mental development which determine the psychic, moral, or spiritual needs and aspirations. A psychiatric method is concerned with men, their states, their interests and values, and the relation between the religious and other aspects of their life and thought. It considers the subjective value of the beliefs and practices of the individual. Many relatively simple inquiries must be made before complete synthetic statements can be ventured, and considers the influence of natural or primary psychological factors, causes, or elements can be presupposed. That men have experiences which compel them to distinguish what they call the 'divine' from the 'human' no one can dispute; but the psychological method must turn to the human side of the great questions, as apart from the problem of the actual underlying realities.

(2) To the psychological department belong many extremely important topics, such as growth and development (the mind of children and of savages), the relation between human and animal psychology; (6) the dawn of religion in the young, and especially a further analysis of the functions of the individual states of the individual and the effect of the 'regeneration' upon his ideas, attitudes, and conduct; (c) the varieties of religious experience (the title of a striking work by William James [London, 1902], together with the facts of religious survivals, mysticism, spiritualism, occultism, esotericism, and psychism; (d) the 'authentic' nature of religious facts, although the elementary facts show that that of which the individual is conscious is not necessarily to be assumed. That he can attend only to partial aspects, and that theoretically there must always be a less imperfect synthesis than that which is gained by experience, and this he can do less well; there must be the possibility of a less imperfect, less undeveloped religion than that of one; (e) not only are the elementary facts of the effect of mind upon body (faith-healing, Christian Science, New Thought [p. v., etc.], and nice errors, all of which are significant in different respects, and rely on different religions, distinguish as the physical and the psychological. Further, (j) through abnormal and pathological phenomena a clear idea is obtained of the value and historical mind-handling power of the mental, and of continuity of interests, of extreme and morbid egoism, of all of persistent and individual peculiarities, which is scientific, the physical and the psychological sides of the individual (illustrated especially at adolescence, in the sexual life, and in ideas associated with both), and the relation of the religious account must be taken by any science of religion. No doubt the enormous stock of data from which to reach a just conception of religion includes much that belongs to the extreme, the irrational, and the abnormal. There is much that is without the elements of practicability, permanence, and progressiveness, and that forces a contrast with those conditions where these elements recur, and there is a certain equilibrium of religions which are both local and social and individual, and not purely antagonistic, has the future in view, and a just conception of religion must treat religion as a persisting phenomenon; hence it is necessary to determine the line which can be drawn and distinguish them from the features which, however strongly they may be drawn, and which often make religious the poet and philosopher. Proceeding in this way, we have to consider man as the outcome of a lengthy evolution, a progressive, thinking animal, able to speak, to form ideas, and to express them in words, and to write in and to think, and to express, and to read, and to write; and, by so doing, able in greater measure to shape the future. Man is thus in part our own organic life which has made its appearance on the course of the history of the universe; and as a result of development he is able to differentiate the human and the non-human, the psychic and the physical, the religious and the non-religious. From these biological, anthropological, and evolutionary points of view, the development of man is that of increasing knowledge, function, and ability, though what is most significant is the individual's increasing consciousness of the past, of the self, and of the universe; for this development in consciousness is one of quite another type.

II. The psychological method.—Characteristic of the psychological treatment of religion are (1) the insistence upon the human aspects, and (2) the association of observation of growth with the beliefs and practices. The general aim is to fasten upon the features which unite the religious and non-religious sides of our common human nature. Thus, the dedication of kings, saints, and heroes to the past and to the present, and the search of the hero-worship; the individuals throughout are personalities qualitatively different from others. Again, the psychological efficacy of the fetish and that of the modern mascot are akin. Moreover, the initiation ceremony and the religious ideas, which recur wherever it is a question of entrance into privileged groups or private societies jealous of their rights and of their solidarity; even
RELIGION

11. The theory of interpretation.— (1) Important methodology. Since it has been observed that savage or rudimentary men are psychologically so different from the civilized individual that the latter's interpretations of them are inapplicable. But the savage is, by definition, a human being; some intercommunication is possible between him and the civilized. Besides, all men share certain instincts, and on ordinary biological and other grounds some essential resemblances must recur among all men. The problem is obviously the finding of such common elements, if any. Every interpretation, no two leaves or stones are absolutely identical in all respects. But ordered thought must invariably start with the possible common elements and work upwards through progress and what is necessary is to ensure that these justify the conclusions drawn, and that the latter are not invalidations of what was found. Hence, obvious psychological universalities can be inferred, and the task is to determine the limits of these common elements, of the principal of the subject under consideration. The interpretation may lie between two extremes, as when the care of animals for children is parallelizable to the care of parents for their children, or, on the other hand, is treated as merely mechanical and devoid of all suggestion of feeling. Every in-

1 The most important literature on religious psychology is Freud's The Interpretation of Causes . I. King, The Development of Religion: a Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology, New York, 1910; E. S. Ames, The Psychology of Religion, New York, 1912; E. H. Stobbs, Psychological Study of Religion: Its Origin, Function, and Future, do, 1912; G. A. Coe, The Psychology of Religion, Chicago, 1913; E. B. Titchener, The Development of Psychology, New York, 1914. The new study of religion can treat religion as a human phenomenon, and in this respect it is an approach that cannot be disregarded. But it cannot nullify the subjective distinctiveness of religion, nor can its theories of the objective source or foundation of religious phenomena be accepted. But if we are to understand the meaning of the term, it must be understood in its religious significance. One of the main objects of religious thought is to show that the universe, with all its individual phenomena, is subject to a single controlling principle (on which cf. § 4 [12]) will be found below.


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Although nothing seems more real than the individual with all his self-consciousness, there must be some more ultimate reality of which he is but a part. A group or organization may be more real, in the sense that it is a whole of which it is a part, or an environment by which it is surrounded, and there are other individuals outside it. Moreover, the human group came into existence by a gradual process; it is not at a single stage in the development of the universe, and such is the relationship between human and other life, and between the organic and the inorganic, that ultimate reality may be a question of fact in sociology, psychology, economics, or any other organized activity; or even in mankind (as in some modern types of ethics). If the human group is shown to be ultimately interconnected in a way, the real value of which depends on its relation to itself or others. The more conscious and purposeful selection and choice of its components, the greater is the contribution of the individual to the group; and as such an individual generally serves to develop the group, the more he is itself, the less is the whole group, which is generally beneficial and useful and serves to develop the group. The group is a real entity and is a goal in itself, and it needs to be balanced by the recognition that not every religious expression or practice is effectually religious (cf. v. 28).

Religion characteristically tends to set an exceedingly high standard of morality, thought, and conduct; it demands an absolutely sincere manifestation of the innermost self, and an absence of selishness and guilt (cf. 1 Cor 13). Hence religion must be regarded as involving all that which is profound, that is comprehensive, more complete, more absolute, more universal, and without the ephemeral, casual, and superficial things of life; it is bound up with a development of personality which is to be in all respects whole and healthy. Consequently, to determine the essential nature of religion, it is necessary to look beyond the surface of men's beliefs and practices and determine what is dynamic. The problems of ultimate truth and reality, whether among rudimentary or among advanced peoples, are bound up with our knowledge of the depths of human personality. It is known that a Supreme Power to whom all 'reality' is known can see into the hearts of men and distinguish 'true' religion, really implies that ideas of a Supreme Power, of Ultimate Reality, and of the underlying and the ways in which it is substantiated (e.g., beliefs in a soul, or in a superhuman guardian, or in an approaching 'new age', etc.).
Here another important distinction is to be drawn, viz. between that which has a psychological basis in immediate experience and the further secondary more or less logical element. A genuine psychological faculty can rest primarily only upon certain experiences which seemed to find a natural expression in terms of relationship (e.g., the relationship of the individual to God). But this can be done by an analogy or an analogy, and errors multiply whenever the origin of such terminological procedures, taken in a literaristic manner, form the basis of argument uncheckered by resort to the original data of experience. Similarly, the idea of a ‘Kingdom of Heaven’ may be justified by analogies (comparisons, longings, etc.), although it is at once capable of development suggested by the experience of earthy kingdoms. The world here is a place in which we come to a profound transition from concrete imagery, which was open to the ancient psyche, to a more psychologically dependent point of view, and this in turn is capable of a certain psychological development which, however, can go astray.

15. The theory of reality.—(1) On sociological, biological, and even chemical grounds, the individual is in various respects a part of that which is greater and more permanent than his growing and dying body. Not only do his intuitions and convictions testify to some greater and more permanent reality, but these are the mainspring of his mental life. That which is called material and physical, and that belongs to space and time. The various polytheistic and monothetic convictions of men, like the conflicting religious, philosophical, and other conceptions of the individual, are not either stable or dependable realities or that it men’s convictions and conceptions of the realities that vary and develop. The latter is the only rational view if there is to be any effort to think coherently about the world; and an intuition of the ultimate realities of experience indicate that it must be of subjective and not objective validity. That variation and development are to be expected is shown also by the vicissitudes of religion, due to individuals who are unable to accept what to others has absolute validity, and who have convictions which are felt to be more real than those already current. Human personality is profounder than any given system of life or thought, and consequently the soundest theory of the universe is based upon (subjective) conceptions of reality which obtain among men. These and their vicissitudes provide the material for the most logical theory of reality.

(2) Explanations, interpretations, theories, and the like all imply some notions of ultimate reality. Thus, e.g., the popular theories of primitive or universal serpent, stone, phallic, or astral cults, if taken seriously and rigorously pursued in their implications, would have the greatest significance for all conceptions of God, man, and the universe. As a general rule, even sweeping theories may seem immediately plausible or absurd, as the case may be, but the logical aspects are invariably complicated, and the theory will be favoured, because it explains a certain number of facts, or condemned, because of the facts which are ignored or interpreted in some forced manner. Indeed, the most absurd theory covers some unappreciable facts; but, when it has once been obtained, evidence is forthcoming or less incendiary twisted to it and it becomes Procrustean. Conceptions of the origin of the world, of the soul, of the chthonic and divine elements, and you have this twofold aspect—their origin in the presence of data which have already experienced and must be interpreted and organized, and their subsequent application of data to reality when they use the data, instead of being used to test or control them, are tested by these facts. The present discussion is devoted to the problem of (a) modern theories, beliefs, convictions, concepts, etc., which flourish because of the sound elements they contain, and are able to account for some aspect of the world, and (b) those of old, in which manner must have flourished only because of their effective elements.

(3) Of the first importance for the theory of reality is the idea of the origin of reality. It is obvious that any persistence of both must be due psychologically to certain effective elements (e.g., subjective satisfaction). But, since magic is admittedly imperfect and unprogressive, and religion admittedly has had its periods of decay and revival, both contain certain ineffective elements which, in the case of religion, are more irremediable. Both include elements which are often styled irrational; and both involve convictions of man’s relationship with the powers and processes of the universe and of the possibility of utilizing or of co-operating with them. But magic typically involves attitudes of compulsion and coercion; there are processes in the universe which are not beyond man’s control; whereas dependence and humility are characteristic of religion. Yet the latter are not the essence in religion (cf. § 18 [3]), and there is frequently a mystical and attitude which can be styled magico-religious, being magical in its ‘irrational’ and external aspects and religions in its temper and spirit.

Thus, we find convictions of a really profound relationship between man and the universe which are not confined to magic, but there are two fundamentally different attitudes (direct coercion or command, or indirect appeal or prayer), and, where the contemporary religion and magic are in control, the latter is typically anti-social and individualistic (cf. art. MAGIC[Introductory]).

Here, magic is felt to be not so much untrue as a wrong handling of the truth; and it is regarded as irreverent and blasphemous, and is feared and reviled. This is partly the reason why magic as a religion involves (a) our own views, both of religion and of what is antithetical to it and to the progress of society, and (b) our own views of causation and reality; for we rely upon our own ideas of the relations between ourselves and the universe, and we must assume that the ultimate realities are the same everywhere. It follows, therefore, that the concept ‘God’ is fundamental: (1) because, from a theistic point of view, God is the ultimate reality before the idea of the universe; and (2) because, unless we have definite ideas of the ultimate realities and of God’s place in the processes of the universe, the crassest magic cannot be finally estimated—for to hurt a rival by sticking pins into an image, and to expect rain by sympathetic magic or by prayer to a rain-god or a Supreme Deity, is to imply a theory of some ultimate interconnexion and causation, and upon this we have to make up our minds.

16. The theory of reality.—(1) The value of all convictions and theories of God, man, and the universe must be at the mercy of the ultimate realities themselves, whatever these may prove to be; and this fact obviously conditions all critical inquiry. The concept ‘God,’ however it may be limited, both influences and is influenced by conceptions of reality and truth, and the fundamental problem concerns the necessity of the concept and its content. The theist will naturally accept the concept which, however, will tend to control his argument and as a rule will be only imperfectly analyzed. On the other hand, a procedure which seeks to be purely inductive and to construct a systematic view of the universe will, if it admits the parallelism, tend to use it illogically and without the wealth of significance which characterizes it for the theist. All the theories of the origin of religion are, therefore, extremely instructive for what they both spontaneously conceive and imply. They are naturally obliged to assume some most essential feature (e.g., foreknowledge, omnipotence); or they confuse what evokes a religious feeling with the origin of it. It is meaningless to suggest to the true theist that his belief in a loving God, originated in the ancestor worship, solemnism, and nature; but the fact of the uniformity of a reason is part of the fallacious theory of survivals (§ 4). However presumable be the parallels, however striking the links between theistic and other beliefs, the external observer can easily overlook
the qualitative differences and the different ‘systems’ involved in each. The most rudimentary form of a feature is not thereby the origin of what appears in more advanced forms, and the data of totemism suffice to prove that the origin of a religion is not so practicable a problem as the interpretation of the most primitive type of oceanic man’s God.

In the concluding paragraphs of his essay, Durkheim introduces the problem of totemism and its relationship to religion. He suggests that totemism is a primitive form of religion, and that it is related to the concept of the collective unconscious. He also notes that totemism is a means of social control, and that it is a way of organizing the group. Finally, he notes that totemism is a means of self-representation and self-identification.
tomet is the emblem, badge, symbol, or link; it is more than the mere animal or plant species, and it is not always the individual totem, but a group, in the system of beliefs and practices of which it is the centre. Though it has been denied that totemism is a religion, it is undeniable on the border-line, and there are variations such that, in Sumatra, e.g., the totems are almost, if not quite, gods.1 No single element by itself is a proof of totemism; e.g., animal names alone have no weight. The point lies in the context or system of thought, even as any given name compounded with Bal or Nebo does not necessarily prove the existence of a contemporary belief in those gods.

The suggestion that totemism arose through a literal interpretation of metaphorical, symbolic, or similar names, or that an animal or plant nickname was the origin, does not explain the organic system of cult. This suggestion emphasizes the use of the object, but finds no relationship with the object from which their names are derived.2 But it beges the question; for a name could originate totemism only if we grant the psychological and other factors which await explanation—viz., the meaning of 'superstition,' 'mythic,' and 'rapturous.' What is important, however, is the assumption that all totemism, and is the center since the ancient system of ritual and the presence of many gradations of totemism, proving that totemism is a parallelism of these varying types of totemism, and other ideas, tell against the view that it can be explained by pointing merely to a particular element (viz. the name) and not by regarding the system, and the organic whole.3

(2) In fact the names of totems usually function similarly to those in other types of cults. For (a) not only will a particular stock of names often be reserved for the members of a totem-group, but (b) sometimes these refer to the totem-like names, as compounds of Jah-wah, Bal, or Nebo indicate some sort of relationship between the god and the people.4 Sometimes it is a solemn duty to keep the names in use, for otherwise the totem will feel neglected. Sometimes a feeling of lying down or rising up will murmur the name of his totem, which is believed to be helpful only to those who belong to the particular group. Again, the name of a totem must not be spoken heedlessly, or it is referred to, indirectly; thus the Warramunga of Australia tell of a huge world-snake which is not called by its proper name, because to mention it too often would cause them to lose control over it, and the reptile would come and eat them up.

(3) Characteristic everywhere are the associations of the name of revered or sacred objects, and what they betoken or presage (omen,omen), but also the claims involved when names are taken as totems. The name indicates the known, and there is a common tendency to identify the name with that for which it stands, to connect the name and the nature of a thing. So it is that change of name often suggested or indicated change in orientation or personality, or a new stage in the history of an

1 This is only to be expected, for, where we find the earliest stage of what we agree to call 'religion' (or 'ethics),' the distinctive features will appear in an environment which admitted of such development, and is, as is the case wherever the necessity for a new concept appears, must be a combination of old and new and distinctly new.2 Andrew Lang, in Ed.27 xxvii. 96, Secret of the Totem, London, 1905, pp. 121, 122.3 This may be applied alike to these and upon their context their general system are a common cause of fallacious argument, when the comparative method is incorrectly employed. Cf. the case of New Guinea view that their names have been taken with the addition of the belief in the God (above, p. 679 a), n. 2. For the 'gods' of New Guinea, see J. G. D. Macgregor, The sudden rise of tribes, 1896, p. 5, J. B. Wace, Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool, 1910, ill. 222 f., of new religious cults in British New Guinea (Z. E. Lordn., 1911, p. 3), of the new names of castes in India (with an entire caste system), of cults of deified men and gods, and elsewhere, and the strange cult around the ideas of Fatherland, Liberty, and Revolution by another name.4 For (a) and (b) respectively see Frazer, Totemism and Exogy- mpy, ii. 343, 673 b, it. 360, and 5.65 f., ii. 373 f., iii. 34 f., 77, 101 f., 672.

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II. The name is the written symbol or mark representative of the name. A name will be kept secret lest an enemy by knowing it should have power over the holder of it; and the greater the owner, the more potent the name and the greater the need for care. To name the dead is to bring them vivally before one, and hence the names of deified and sacred beings, as also of harmful and evil ones, may not be used freely. The customs are psychologically quite intelligible. Consequently, the names that have valued or treasured associations, that mean much, and need to be respected, are forgotten or used relatively and secretly. Two trances are possible: the one is to keep the name secret, to avoid it, to replace it by another which will not have the old psychological force; in this way it falls out of use, or it is retained among the few, or it has a magical value—it is self-effective, automatic; the other makes the name used familiar and robbed it of its earlier worth. Two stages can therefore be recognized—one where a name is effective on psychological grounds, as being associated with some pre-existing situation, sentiment, or idea, and the other where it becomes isolated and barren, with little or none of the former psychological, social, and intellectual significance. The latter stage is evidently ineffective for all management, and the name must have recurred from time to time; for, whether the name stands for what is visible (e.g., the totem species) or for the invisible (the distant, dead, a spiritual deity, etc.), it has an effective value only because it has the appropriate spellings or ideas which it evokes. The first stage, then, is essential for all progressive development.

(1) Taboo against looking at or touching things is rarely applicable; so are totems. The species is generally common; but they apply to the objects or vessels used in the totem cult. Everywhere there are sacred objects which may not be heedlessly gazed at or handled. Just as a sacred name calls up that to which it refers (i.e., typically, the reality itself, as it is apprehended), so objects stand sacred and effective because of the associations. Thus, relics, bones of saints, etc., are used for magic; and parts of a man's body, or even his shadow or footprint, are regarded as essentially himself.5 If, on the other hand, someone has an object which may lose its sanctity (cf. the viscidities of the bull—roarer and of sacred marks), on the other hand, an object that is treated as sacred appears as an organic part of an entire rite, cult, or system.

18. The sacred relationship.—(1) Psychologically, the sacredness of things (names, visible objects, etc.) is to the name. One person has one's treasured souvenirs and memories are concerned, where one's inmost personality is felt to be at stake, and where there are ideas which are neither to be obliterated or forgotten nor treated with familiarity and tactlessness. The fear of gazing heedlessly upon sacred objects applies also to particular individuals (priests, kings) who must be kept in seclusion because of the tabus.6 The OT, in turn, illustrates the real danger felt in being in the presence of a divine being. The psychological foundation throughout is similar; there are some things which are too closely bound up with ideas of ultimate reality and personality to be lightly handled, or even to be treated objectively.

4 That 'the pure in heart shall see God' (cf. Lk 6) is

1 Hence the idea of changing a name in order to change the personality finds a concrete parallel in the custom of changing relics into a living image, which is another.7

6 Cf. the evidence collected by Frazer, G!

7 See, e.g., the sacredness of names and the reality fuse into one, as among the Benei-Taboo, and the Perils of the Soul, London, 1911, pp. 77, f., 569 f.

8 Cf. e.g., fr. ii., Taboo, ch. i., lv. f.

9 Cf. e.g., fr. ii., Taboo, ch. i., lv. f.

10 Hence I would put myself in the attitude to look in the eye an abstract truth, and I cannot.1 I blush and withdraw on this side and on that. I seem to know what he meant who said, No man can see God face to face and live.'
the complement of the fear of an individual (Is 68), and the convictions herein involved are quite inexplicable unless they were based upon certain intense experiences and endorsed throughout the ages by those who had similar types of experience and could realize their validity. The evidence naturally varies in significance and from totemism and upwards purificatory ceremonies on all solemn occasions abound. Among rudimentary and simple people the practices are extraordinarily concrete: fire, water, ablation, secrification, etc., are performed upon an individual for the sacred ceremony. So, too, guilt is treated as something physical or material, to be washed away, removed by an emetic, or dispatched upon a scapegoat. The data represent a pre-ethical rather than an ethical stage. What we call ethical was not born in a day (cf. p. 673, n. 1); and practices which were purely external could have no psychological or subjective efficacy. Ritual can be accompanied by its appropriate psychological, moral, or spiritual accomplishment, and can readily lose it; and the difference is between an apparently magical (or rather magico-religious) rite and a purely magical one (§ 15 [3]). Of the two, the former and not the latter can permit progressive development. The apparent obfuscation, the psychological transitions from free to fixed, from spontaneous to assumed, from accidental to momentary, relief, forgiveness, and the like, and the persistence of the rites in practical social groups are incomprehensible unless the data are treated as entirely bona fide and rational within their limits. It is to be supposed that the psychological and similar ceremonies are for practical purposes, when great values are at stake, and the welfare of the people is concerned. They have the effect of producing or strengthening a certain psychological state, a desired result, and such ceremonies have the character of confidence and security recur even among rudimentary religions in the midst of strange and apparently quite irrational tabus.

(2) Even the totem is supposed to help and succour the clansman who respect it, and the individual totems or spirit-guardians are ready to strengthen those who own them. The help may be of a very general character, or the beliefs may be shaped by the attributes of the object: thus the eagle gives keen sight, and the bear gives strength—but the bear is slow and clumsy, and hence it may be the result of the rite that religious feelings and beliefs will thus stimulate thought; hence it is possible to consider separately (a) its objective nature, characteristic of all (totemism, totem, ancestor, etc.), and (b) the effects, needs, and psychological nature of the worshipper (or worship) upon which the rite is based. If the totem is some implicit source or centre of definite or indefinite efficacy; and it is not unrelated to the perfectly vague and implicit reliance upon something in the air, or upon spirits to do the totem, the effect will generally be that the worshippers will feel that confidence and security recur even among rudimentary religions in the midst of strange and apparently quite irrational tabus.

(3) Especially noteworthy is the intuitive idea of reciprocal relationship; the evidence is strong enough to suggest the do ut des formula of sacrifice (q.v.). Yet the idea of a mutual understanding which may seem a veritable bargaining (cf. also Jacob in Gen 28, etc.) is not necessarily so crude and unethicised as it may appear (cf. the ideas in the Deuteronomistic threaten and rewards—e.g., Dt 28 f.). But the conception of a god as unremitting and unfalterable is the pattern for all religions of magic or for magic. There are convictions of a certain uniformity, and a free response (cf. Mt 7:11), which make the promises of religion a free gift to ‘everyone thatareth’ (Is 55:2), and a reward for importunity (1 K 3:14), conviction of the trustworthiness of the tabu to maintain a gulf between the sacred and the profane is the respectful friendliness, or the easy, confident, and even naive behaviour, as reflected, e.g., in popular stories in the OT (Abraham [Gn 15], Moses [Ex 3]), Gideon (Jg 6:11, 22, 26, 32), Hezekiah [2 K 20]). The child-like attitude in all its phases—good and bad—has parallels in personal religion and mysticism, and stands in the strongest contrast to the attitudes of subservience, humility, resignation, and submissive faith. So, in the OT itself, quite opposed to the spirit of the popular narratives in question is the institutional teaching which sternly forbids man to ‘tempt’ the Deity (i.e., put Him to the test). The data are exceedingly instructive, especially when viewed in their historical development, because (a) the attitude to all that is delicate, sublime, and sacred readily passes from naive, free innocence to an attitude that is blasphemous—in this manner a relationship with one who is felt to be psychically superior can pass through familiarity to one with loss of respect; and (b) the institutional religion, like all organized thought, has commonly to restrain a certain individualism which from being markedly individualistic becomes extreme, antinomian, and irreligious. 19. Ideas of imitation and identification.—(1) Signs, symbols, and totem-marks can be used, like names, to express and intimate the function of groups; and they are effective, provided they have an appropriate meaning and call up the required feelings and ideas. The symbol which stands for the totem, spirit, or god may be carved upon weapons, boundary-stones, utensils, etc., to signify the presence of a protective being, to warn off the evil-doer, and so forth. The symbol may even be cut or painted upon individuals, or the latter may wear skins, helmets, etc., to represent or symbolize the totem or spirit. But it is the feelings that represent its power. Whether we find a realistic imitation or a symbol more or less conventional or no longer intelligible, the individual is very closely associated with a being who, however superior, stands in an intimate personal relationship with him. In war, e.g., the wooden images of dead ancestors may be invoked or taken into the fight; and there may be an appeal to old heroes or to war-gods (who are sometimes deified heroes). But, when the warrior in some primitive society to which we have given the name ‘hominism, there is a virtual identity—the warrior does not fight for his god, but with or rather as his god. Sometimes the totem is painted on the dead, or otherwise associated with the corpse—a fitting climax to the fiction. When the painting or the application of the symbol is not upon the individual, but upon the object to be protected, the symbol may be of the same substance, and the man is born of the totem stock. Even in totemism there is a certain identity of nature of man and his totem, together with the realization of a difference, and this co-existing ‘immanence’ and ‘transcendence’ faithfully reflects feelings of the paradoxical relationship between what we call the ‘human’ and the ‘sacred’ or ‘divine.’

(2) The various imitative practices occur in communal ceremonies (e.g., where dead ancestors are supposed to be present) or if the group is not brought together, but is always the relationship is more intimate personal relationship with one. In war, e.g., the wooden images of dead ancestors may be invoked or taken into the fight; and there may be an appeal to old heroes or to war-gods (who are sometimes deified heroes). But, when the warrior in some primitive society to which we have given the name ‘hominism, there is a virtual identity—the warrior does not fight for his god, but with or rather as his god. Sometimes the totem is painted on the dead, or otherwise associated with the corpse—a fitting climax to the fiction. When the painting or the application of the symbol is not upon the individual, but upon the object to be protected, the symbol may be of the same substance, and the man is born of the totem stock. Even in totemism there is a certain identity of nature of man and his totem, together with the realization of a difference, and this co-existing ‘immanence’ and ‘transcendence’ faithfully reflects feelings of the paradoxical relationship between what we call the ‘human’ and the ‘sacred’ or ‘divine.’
increase of edible animal and plant totems, etc. In these cases (especially in Central Australia) the groups or the headmen, by virtue of their relation- ship, or by virtue of some accretion, were able to exercise some control over it for their own purposes. The practices are noteworthy for the solemnity, self-denial, and restraint which accompany them and force us to style them purely magical. Elsewhere it is not uncommon for groups or individuals to be ascribed power and authority over some one department of nature (rain, winds, crops, etc.), and the general principle implied is twofold: A can control B because of some relationship (re- semblance, etc.) between these; or, to control B, or gain B’s help. A must first enter into some close relationship. The manifold beliefs and practices turn upon ideas of likeness, resemblance, and identity; and the main lines of development are: (a) a testing and verifying of the ideas; (b) the choice, on the one side, of special individuals, and the recognition, on the other, of special sources of activity such that, instead of a rain-totem group, we find (a) individuals credited with the power of controlling the rain, and (b) spirits and gods, either unconnected with or subject to some restrictions (see § 25). (3) Throughout, what is fundamental is the imitation, whether of the venerated being, the particular need, or the activity required. Now, the idea of holiness or the assumption of divinity (e.g., Mt 58) could not spring up suddenly; the desire for a spiritual, ethical, and inward resemblance cannot be separated psychologically from the rudimentary rites where men, externally at least, in some way assimilate themselves to their sacred beings, and not rarely with every sense of earnestness and solemnity. In this psychological state there is a communion, approaching identity, with the object of the profoundest ideas; there is a typical desire to reach the state and to profit from it. All imitation gives a certain reality to the conception entertained of the person who is being represented. Moreover, intense ideas and desires will tend to realize themselves in appropriate gestures and activities. Hence the apparently most out of place of rainfall—unconnected with any special psychological form of an act (not an act of passivity) to the supremacy of the divine will.—Thy will be done. On the other hand, in magic ‘there is too much “My will be done” about it all.’ But there is the third attitude, naive and confident, and for this the formula would be ‘Our will be done.’ This corresponds to the group-unity where men and their sacred beings form part of the same social system, and it is taken as a matter of course that the gods and men perform one another’s will (cf. § 7 [2]). Moreover, logically speaking, this is a primary attitude and one that tends naturally to become that in which the individual acts as though he had only to control, coerce, or set in motion the required activities. The first attitude (‘Thy will’) is certainly not primary; and, while it is easy to understand the transition from an implicit ‘Our will’ to ‘My will,’ it is impossible to explain, psychologically and logically, any transition if the magical attitude is original for all relationships of religion; the apprehension of a qualitative difference must be taken as primary and fundamental. All human activity implies that there are processes 1

1 See the critical summary by Durkheim, bk. iii, ch. 11. 2


20. Sacrifice and prayer.—(1) The data of sacrifice undoubtedly include some gross ideas of mere bargaining, and of enjoining and feeding the gods; they typically point to a relationship for utilitarian purposes, and thus the sacrifice appears as a preliminary gift in order to win the favour of the gods, or as a thank-offering afterwards. But, in its more suggestive form, the sacrifice is communal—it is a ceremony in which members of a unit participate in a religious act peculiar to the time at least, a stronger bond of connexion than ties of blood. In such a unit or bond the profoundest ideas are realized, and men and their sacred beings are brought into the closest relationship. It is presupposed, and it is necessary, for a sacrifice to be effective, that some representative ideas are obtained by sacrifice and self-sacrifice. Hence extravagant asceticism, torture, and extraordinary self-mutilation (the last even before a light [Gp, pp. 160 ff.]) can produce a state of exaltation, infatuated strength, of the one who is performing the act and of the one for whom the sacrifice is forthcoming. Indeed, violent measures may be adopted in times of crisis or distress; and gloomy rites can reappear or be more intense in order to bring help or to stave off disaster or decay. Healthy asceticism, sacrifice, tor- ture, are not all the evils; but all, in the ultimate, are beneficial—can thus take perverse forms in order to ensure, or virtually to compel, the benefits that are sought. That man by these measures can achieve his ends is in keeping with what proves to be a common presupposition; that the efficacy of ‘nature’ and the course of ‘natural events’ in general, are connected with the behaviour of men, and particularly of such powerful and representative individuals as semi-divine kings and priests (cf. § 29 [5] and art. BRAHMANISM, vol. ii, p. 800). Sacrifice has as its central idea the implicit or explicit assumption that there is some connexion between human behaviour and natural causation, whether directly or indirectly (e.g., through a deity), and such an assumption goes behind the usual different- 1 The fact that we distinguish human and divine (and other antitheses—e.g., man and animal) means, not that the two are absolutely distinct and unrelated, but that we realize a distinction between different and complementary aspects of certain natural powers. 2 For the latter of A. Barth, Religions of India, p. 274, and see, in general, W. E. Smith, Rel. Soc., 1906, ch. 10.
charm involves ideas of self-sufficiency and compulsion, and of a mechanism which has only to be set going. The pray-er may make a call upon the inner self, and is typically a communica-
tion with or an appeal to a Superior Power. But from the explicit prayer to a Heavenly Father for the daily bread there cannot be isolated the devotional prayer, as when St. Paul cried to God in the land of his enemies: 'Heaven! grant that I may have something to eat this day.' On the one side is the psychical nature of man, whose appeal is formu-
lated to a sacred being who either is the centre of a person's affection or is of thought or is perfectly vague and unsystematized; on the other is the question of the ultimate realities—whether the prayer or wish has any effect save upon the man himself, his courage, confidence, etc., and whether the Supreme Power pays heed to the appeal, be it systematized or vague. Moreover, the earnest prayer or wish cannot be severed from the earnest behaviour which requires or manifests needs to be satisfied. That prayer easily decays and becomes the spell, charm, or magical formula is well known in the history of religion; the efficacy is then thought to lie in the expression itself, as apart from the psychical state which is typical of prayer. This primary psychical aspect of prayer is fundamental, and it is instructive to observe amongst the religious peoples of the world the practices of an apparently magical character.1

Under the stress of emotion men help out their ideas with gestures, and there is always a ten-
dency for feelings and ideas to realize themselves in action; prayer commonly takes the form at which it impresses them (see p. 6755; n. 3). So it is that upon the lower levels of mankind there are rit-
tories for explicit needs, whereas on the higher levels there will be explicit prayers, and also a recongnition of direct power over events at which an appeal can be made. But all earnest, sincere activity is purposive, implying wants and aims, and the growth of knowledge and the development of religion are marked by better conceptions of the necessary factors and means to achieve success. Hence a clearly visible purpose in all such purposeful activity and a prayer for some effective activity.

Sooner or later the need is felt of some theory of reality to connect, rationally, human activity and the processes at work in the world. This is commonly based upon the periodical scepticism and of credulity, of doubt and of faith—do not affect the man of every age and place, whatever his make or origin, and what is implied in religious, magical, scientific, and philosophi-
cal conceptions points, not to many different realities, but to different and even contradictory apprehensions of one reality or system of realities. It is because the religious conceptions claim to be the nearest to truth, and because the consequences of an infall conviction are so potent, that serious differences between religious and non-religious conceptions are feared or resisted; and indeed the history of religion from the most remote times upwards proves that these differences are vital for the progressive development of life and thought (see § 25 i.).

21. Ideas of soul and spirit.—(1) A survey of the whole field of religion brings to light two fundamental convictions or, rather, presupposi-
tions: (a) there are ideas of agency, causation, activity, or function in the universe, such that man can enter into relationship with the effective processes and utilize them; (b) man is more than the


1 E.g., in one case a mimetic rite is employed when a woman desiring to have a child offers a number of a kind of plant (Atkinson, The Magus, Art. I, 72; Hardtow, Primitive Paternity, 139 ff.). To con-
clude that whether the latter is really pure magic or not depends upon the observer is unscientific and unattainable. For all critical inquiry the issue concerns the psychical state of the observer, and such persons are either unaware of what is magical or not and our view of the ultimate realities—in other words, (1) what is the rite in the eyes of God? and (2) how much efficacy is there in it, according to whom our own conception of the universe (cf. §§ 15 [3], 24 [14]?

sensible body; there is a part which is separable, which can leave the body temporarily (a common occurrence in illness, fainting, illness, is not annihilated at death, may continue in the old haunts, or may enter another body, or be reborn. These ideas overlap: the ideas of a soul or of some non-bodily part of man are extended and refer to the life after death and the unseen; and the ideas of prayer or charm take up the form of interaction with powerful individuals (especially dead ancestors and heroes), saints, spirits, deities, and powers of nature.

But the ideas are never consistent, nor are the categories dis-
tinct. Life, feeling, consciousness, mind, spirit, and soul are always confused; and psychological, physiological, aesthetic, theological, and physical interpretations are unreflectively mingled. The progress of differentiation marks the process of observation and classification. The 'spiritual' part of man may be thought of as a double, material, minute, and ethereal, or it may be identified with certain parts or constituents of the body. Modern Western thought, with its attempt to distinguish the material and the non-material, goes back to the antici-
pation of body and spirit as a grosser and a finer material. But it is in form probably consistent when it distinguishes at the same time mind and matter, living and non-living, organic and inorganic. Consequently, it is impossible to determine clearly the ideas of those men to whom such categories are not at all or only imperfectly as-

ally as our modern categories are confused and not co-ordinated.

It is sufficient to observe that everywhere it is possible to dis-
distinguish between a man and his soul (a man and his body inorganic), but every separation of an A and a B (e.g., the living and the dead, body and mind) invariably raises the question whether there is not a further separating deeper than the one regarded as different forms of some one underlying substance.2

(2) Ideas of soul and spirit are not to be treated as 'survivals,' though special beliefs and practices may be truly religiously (though not rationally) interpreted. There is a tendency to accept the ideas and to justify them—e.g., by reference to dreams, of which, however, only those will be cited which are actually in harmony with the predisposition. Much also depends upon the extent of the individual's experi-
ence and knowledge by which he is able to dis-

criminate between the waking hours and dreams, or any unusual subjective experiences (e.g., 'ghosts') which may seem to have objective reality. The ordinary familiar theories of the 'origin' of the ideas do not account for the great social and intellectual systems with which they are organi-
cally interwoven, and which could not in any case be based upon isolated ideas or dream-experiences left. But it is obvious that the interest in one's own experience is something which has arisen independently of the general conceptions of the spiritual world. The theory of the spiritual world can be considered satisfactory which applies solely to a particular age, land, or sect; and a careful distinction must always be drawn between the particular ideas under consideration and the common psychological and philosophical systems which later are not sufficiently, or at all, in this way (cf. our use of [Holy] Spirit and Power).

The words are characteristically applied (a) to what has an emotional effect, exciting surprise, wonder, marvel, admiration, reverence, and awe; and (b) as is quite intelligible, it is especially when an individual has been influenced by particular conceptions and perhaps by the presence, or at least by the appearance, of his ideas of spirit or of the spirit world, in which case his presence and effectiveness is commonly and quite spontaneously acknowledged.2

2 Cf. medieval ideas of a more or less material soul (Tieleco, Bacon); cf. also the Jewish views above, vol. iv. p. 485.

3 Cf. the controversies between the dualistic and monistic systems, and the relation between polytheism and monothelism.

and (6) to the unusual, impressive, striking, and inexplicable examples of all kinds of causation. Religion, then, comprehends, and magical aspects and interwoven; and everywhere the tendency is to differentiation (religion, moral, aesthetic, physical) which depend upon the current tradition, knowledge, and stock of categories. The psychological status of such-and-such a person, or a primitive or mysterious or profound cause or activity outside the run of ordinary experience; increase of knowledge may seriously disturb the beliefs, by making the activities 'natural,' but a distinction must be drawn between the psychological tendencies and the particular beliefs which prevail. Hence, theories of nativism and the like do not really explain origins, but only show how the religious ideas could be engendered and brought to the birth. In like manner, theories of the translation from polytheism to monothelism, or (as can be suggested in the case of India) to pantheism, overlook the important fact that the recognition of a number of phenomena which can be classed together and given one name, because they are similar in some one respect (e.g., as being gods or spirits), logically implies an apprehension of some underlying undifferentiated unity. It seems impossible for the observer to draw any line objectively, save with the help of some prior presuppositions and conceptions. It is necessary to admit the prevalent and normal apprehension of some 'power,' or the like, the nature or quality of which is realized only when it is identified, and that on the basis of current categories and in accordance with the very act of categorizing or naming shapes the apprehension and interpretation and gives it a form. And, while continued comparison of the data of religion tends to weaken the barriers between the manifold manifestations of nature, etc., it is solitary through the categories, differentiations, and distinctions that the progress of knowledge is possible, even though the underlying unity be ignored from time to time.

Life and death.—Among other ideas which are presupposed and which rule and control human activity, conscious and unconscious, is especially that of the persistence or continuity of the individual. No rational description can be given of oneself or of others without implying it, even though the arguments which are conclusive proofs of existence after death to one man may make no impression on another whose personal experience and body of thought are different. But the conviction, instead of being distinctly 'religions,' is one taken up by religion, regulated by it, and sometimes even abused. The firm conviction that death is merely the gateway into another realm, or that the individual cannot escape some sort of continuity of existence, is not in itself religions; it has justified barbaric cruelties and irrational practices, and in India religion is devoted partly to remedying the evils of rebirth. The wide prevalence of initiation or of baptism ceremonies illustrates the tendency to prepare the individual for a life of which bodily existence is only the prelude. Here the crucial point is not death, but the continuity, or rather the strata of one's body in some other form. Thus, one must ask: does the individual become a part of an enduring body—the group, the community, society, church.1 The persistence of the individual is felt to be in some way ensured by becoming part of a larger, perhaps even eternal, unit. Does the individual go to his country?2 The point is: Is death the occasion of feelings of grief and distress (significantly rare, however, among the dying), of peace and sublimity, of doubt and uncertainty. Moreover, the life of the individual, or death, is held to result in a state of rest (allowing, among rudimentary and barbaric peoples, horrible sacrifice and callousness), and even an astonishing self-complacency (as being one of the 'elect,' and so forth). Again, the 'next' life has often been regarded as essentially a replica of one's present life, or as a journey to another form of existence, either outside or inside the country. Thus, everywhere psychological and logical factors intermingle in the history of the ideas; but those which represent the apprehension of a qualitatively different state are in every respect more vital than those which view the other world as a mere 'super-world.' Indeed, the fact of some qualitative difference alone explains the analogical character of the results of the intuitions. To admit of a comparative ethical difference, is to attempt a rational description of man unless there were fundamental psychological facts which transcend the ordinary conceptions of 'this' world. Conceptions of 'another' or the 'next' world are therefore a secondary development, or a move toward a larger existence, and unless 'this' world, as he understands and describes it, is the empirical description of some part, phase, or aspect of a pro-founder reality the full comprehension of which transcends human mental processes.3

13. Synopsis of the evidence.—(1) It is a common belief that the 'soul' (vital principle, etc.) can be, temporarily at least, separable from the body; it can departs when a man dreams or is ill; it can be lost, stolen, or stolen (f.d., pl. II. Tabo, aha). It can also be transferred; hence the common idea of the 'soul' has been described as 'a man believes himself to be secure as long as the 'soul' is hidden or guarded in some safe, remote unknown spot (D.B., pt. viii., Builder the Beautiful, ii. 56-75). This belief can be expressed in saying that the belief of a written, or a piece of one's person (e.g., hair) or property left, in some holy place as an essential part of oneself and for one's future use. It is a responsibility (on a higher level) that the soul can be entrusted to a saint or deity or be in his care (see a curious form of this in I. & 5022). Moreover, a man's life may be passed by his relations with a 'belt,' his 'index' or 'sign' of life, indicating his strength, weakness, or death; or, again, the weakening may be symbolically united with a tree to gain thereby something of its strength and vigour.

(2) Trees, like animals, plants, and even inanimate objects, may be said to 'live'; deities may eat the 'spiritual' part of the food-offerings presented to them, and utensils may be broken ('killed') in order that their 'soul' may accompany the dead. Animals and inanimate objects can contain a man's 'external' soul or his 'twin' soul; they can also be the vehicle of some power or spirit (see art. Faroques). Both among men and among inanimate objects the 'spirit' can be ceremonially transferred; and it is necessary to distinguish between any object (human, etc.) viewed (a) as a vehicle, a representative of some power or spirit, or (b) as the actual power itself.4 It is

1 The practice of associating oneself with that which outlives one is illustrated by the means whereby men endeavour to make their name 'live' (so notably in ancient Oriental thought), by building temples (e.g., a pyramid), by inscribing their name upon lasting objects, other beings, etc., and by association with a 'dead' man's, shade. Meanwhile, the 'dead' man's shade will not soon be forgotten, and so forth.
2 The word 'soul' is explicite or inchoate. According to which (bodily) life is only part of a larger existence represents a psychological and logical sophistry, 'unit' or 'universal' of discrete components. Thus, one must ask: does the individual go to his country? The word 'country' has a precise, factual, empirical, and personal meaning. One who has a country (the logical and empirical) account which goes far beyond actual knowledge, involves metaphysical problems, and leaves out the prime fact that the individual has a country.
an especially common belief that the vital essence of some person is transferred at death to another individual, or to something associated with him; hence the virtue of relics, the dust from the tombs of saints, etc. Human life can be vitally bound up with another human life and the idea of an essential connection to the dead may reappear in another human form (whether in the family or not) or any other form. It is hard to believe that this belief, of which it is true that the faithful tend to be of private and temporary value, is not a general feature of all religion. The idol is generally the centre of a more permanent cult; and there is no reason to suppose that the idea of the indissoluble connection of belief, of the individual cult, to the life of the clan. The question of the stability and sacredness of the sacred object is far from clear, as much of belief is, indeed, generally based on the supposed stability of the individual cult, the totem is rather the affair of the clan. The evidence is not complete, and the individual object may be shared by father and son, by brother and sister, and by the current totem group. The totem is accepted by other families, or is put upon them. There are many gradations between the purely individual cult of a spirit-guardian and the cult accepted by a confederation of clans that whole people, between the most ephemeral of cults (cf. art. 1914.1) and those which are a fundamental part of a people's life and thought.

(3) Thus, the ideas of a 'spiritual' relationship between the individual and something outside him are extremely complex, and everything depends upon the social and local co-ordination. Throughout, the ideas tend to resolve the cruelly physical or literal aspects. The beliefs are usually far from simple, and the common ideas of re-birth and re-incarnation make it difficult to distinguish (a) the individual who will be reborn, and (b) the maintenance of his identity after death. Which belief is true? If every birth is due to natural causes, every death to supernatural causes, then every birth is necessarily the selfsame individual, and every death is necessarily the selfsame individual, and which it will return.1 A great deal of evidence, it is true, might seem to support the theory of a primitive ignorance of the state of the body after death, and it is true that in certain cases every belief in a sacred object is supposed to rejoin some sacred object or nucleus, as it were; and from birth to death the man is periodically in and out of the spirit world; from birth to death, and which he will return.1

1 The religious and philosophical systems of India are especially important for the different ways in which essentially similar ideas are developed.

2 For this see Hartland, 'Primitivity and Patriarchy', ch. 1. 'Spiritual Conception', ch. ii. 'Magical Practices'; Frazer, 'Tolstoy and the Joneses', etc.

3 Cf. e.g., the corporal and spiritual husbands of the Akamba women (Frazer, 'Tolstoy and the Joneses', ii. 452 ff., 467, pt. i, etc.), the practice of a man marrying the wife of his father, further quoted in the following pages, i. 586 f., 576, ii. 83, 90 ff., iv. 257; Hartland, 'Primar. Pat. i. 46, ii. 148; and B. Spencer, Zhores, 'Native Tribes of the N. Territory of Australia', London, 1914, p. 265 f.; and especially B. Malinowski, J.R.A.I. vol. lviii. 1932, p. 460 ff.

4 Cf. above, §§ 6, 9 (1). The complexity and inconsistency of ideas of life and soul, even among so rudimentary a people as that of the South Seas of Polynesia, is apparent. An attempt to present a perfectly logical and co-ordinated picture of such ideas is the result of long dissection and comparison: the recurrence of similar types of problems on different levels (viz. in cremationism, transmigration), and the necessity of a more methodological treatment (e.g., of co-ordinating logically all the evidence together with modern knowledge and conviction).

24. Analysis of the concept 'God.'—(1) The widely different conceptions touching the validity and content of the concept 'God' prove the difficulty of making any statement that can be considered adequate. What is most prominent is the characteristic conviction (feeling, doctrine, etc.) of a profoundly vital personal relationship between the individual and an external transcendent Power (see § 18). But convictions of some relation and if they are widespread, and there is remarkable variation touching (a) that with which the individual is very intimately related, and (b) the ethical, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and other ideas involved. Moreover, although the data of religious experience are generally of a psychical state of such intense subjective value that the experience will be felt to be 'divine,' yet the common recognition of a difference between 'true' and 'false' religion, prophetism, mysticism, etc., forces the necessity of distinguishing between the subjective and the objective value of every such experience. Besides, the individual who feels a close and intimate relationship with an external protective Power does not necessarily consider himself to be 'religious,' and the interpretation may tend to interact, and the various beliefs in the reality of spirit-guardian, genius, ancestral spirit, or deity combine essentially similar types of experience with essential differences of form and expression, which are obviously of great importance for the history of religion. The ordinary facts associate the human and the divine in such a way that a criticism of them may seem almost blasphemous, and this in itself is an indication that the human and the divine are combined with the realities which the experiences involve.

(2) Moreover, the great concept involves ideas of causation, the manifestation of power, etc. The belief in a divine Power is typically in its effectiveness. This will commonly depend upon man's behaviour, and will entail ideas, not of magic (automatic or mechanical working, coercion, compulsion), but of religion (dependence, prayer, sacrifice, necessity of moral behaviour, etc.). While, on the one hand, the concept 'God' raises the question, What do men expect from their Deity?, on the other hand, all important functions, operations, and departments of life and nature will often be attributed to a patron or beneficent power.2 Thus if one man has certain personal needs and interests are concerned; this is true not merely of concrete activities (e.g., corn-goddesses), but also of those which we treat as abstractions, but which none the less could be regarded as real and meaningful (e.g., the spirits and deities of piety, concord, righteousness). In this way we also obtain the results of continued observation of operations, the classification and co-ordination of functions and processes, the determination of the mean.
The religious development of a society is a complex process involving various stages and influences. The text discusses the relation between different societal concepts and the development of personal and religious ideas. It highlights the importance of religious ideas in preserving cultures and traditions, and the role of religious institutions in shaping societal values and norms. The text also explores the relationship between religious beliefs and the development of personal identity and consciousness. The integration of religious ideas into a society can lead to the establishment of specific religious practices and rituals, which in turn can shape the development of social structures and relationships. The text emphasizes the importance of understanding religious development within a broader social and cultural context, and the need for continued study and research in this field.
Now, men in elevated positions are commonly felt to represent the divine power, and those to whom important or valuable powers are ascribed tend to acquire position and authority. Such individuals, all the world over, have a significance which is both psychological (because of the ideas entertained of them) and ritualistic (because of their actual abilities), and in the way the authority acquired by the ‘nagician’ or any other potent individual and the powers ascribed to chiefs, kings, and other authorities are factors that are continuously at work in the history of societies. Some thought (see especially G.B. p. 1, The Magic Art, 1.)

(2) The Central Australian totem-group that officiates for the increase of its totem (e.g., the emu) stands to the rest of the tribe like some departmental god (viz. emu-god) on another level. The group is almost wholly debarred from tasting the totem-food, except on the occasion of the ceremony. But among the Dieri it is the headman of the seed-totem group who is effective, and who boasts of being the stay of life; while on higher levels not only are there gods equally able and closely associated with particular departments of nature, but the firstfruits will be the property of the god or his representative, the priest. In this development of the different constituent features of the once simple cult, it was the complexity of the other elements, for his powers, readily becomes hereditary; and frequently there are religious rulers, chiefs with priestly powers, or priests with secular authority— a circumstance which soon leads to rivalries between priestly and secular by men, and downwards, the chief’s abode and the sacred place are most closely associated, and the claims of the palace (or the king) and of the temple interact in the history of taxations, of royalty and priestly regalia and ecclesiastical, as well as secular, distinction of the personnel, and the pantheon. It is in the course of such social development that initiation ceremonies are no longer for the group as a whole; they are for special classes, or for entrance into brotherhoods, sects, guilds, or secret societies (q.v.). The habit has been transferred to the single specimen, or to an image of it, is easy, and the anthropomorphic treatment of the object can turn the latter into the god of the tribe or the whole tribe. Although gods are never sacrificed, and the elements in their cults or myths are not necessarily derived from totems, sometimes the animal can be clearly traced (cf. Frazer, Totemism, p. 50, a bird, a fish, a bear, which is significant but as yet obscure development is that of ideas of growth, of development, and the occasional gods who have married mortal women over the many of these, and these may be exercised before a woman marries away. But elsewhere there has been the Zeus primus noster—the claim asserted not by a group, but by a local head or representative, or by a priest (who is the representative of the god) or there has been a preliminary dedication to the god. It is conceivable therefore that the earlier rights of the group were taken over by a representative (a) of the group, or (b) of the group’s deity, and that the custom on the higher levels is connected with what is found on the lower. That the custom has a primary psychological explanation is suggested also by the law of the Council of Carthage in 298, on which cf. EB 11, 493.

(3) Where a group and its sacred object (totem and totem-group, god and tribe) practically form, as it were, a single unit (§ 2), the selection of a representative (headman, priest, king) would tend to disturb it. The effect of the development is illustrated in the varying relations between a people or land, a ruler or priest, and the god or gods. The intermediary is the representative of the divine power, god, or gods, and the religions of China, Egypt, and Babylonia there are many examples of the consequences. Moreover, the king is often regarded as the source of the people’s prosperity and is responsible for the development of the central figure, and therefore there are tabus to protect and safeguard him; he may be kept in seclusion or supplemented by a secular partner. In fact, the representative individual, king or priest, is so essentially associated with processes in the universe that his death may be a sort of cosmic catastrophe. Hence it may be thought necessary to ensure that he is always vigorous, and even to kill him before his powers weaken. The ‘divine’ chiefs or kings are of considerable, like the Brahman priests and in the Western world, where occupational functionaries exercise a great influence over the course of thought. As ethical ideas prevail, such men must possess moral attributes; and, when things go wrong, they—the like all representative individuals—must be responsible for the misfortune, and most tangible scape-goats. Throughout there is interaction between ideas of the effective gods (the ultimate realities) and the very human representatives, incarnations, and the like; men’s ideas of the gods are swayed by the good or bad behaviour of these individuals as truly as, in course of social development, conceptions of the moral nature of the universe are influenced by the good or evil which men find in their environment.

(4) Intercourse with other groups, the rise of a central body, the ideas of the visible universe invariably forces movements in religious thought. The local god, the chief, and the district find their parallels in the national, god, the king, and the land; there are units within a larger unit, and in the pantheon of the various gods of the local districts and of the whole area. This co-ordination can be regarded as one of convictions, ideas, etc. The local gods, patron deities, and saints (cf. the Muhammadan vela) are felt to be near at hand, and directly interested in the small circle—like the local chief; and, often, while a land, viewed from without, seems polytheistic, the average individual is monotheistic. The problems of co-ordinating the local cults are illustrated by the relation between the Israelite-Jehovah and the Baals, the Muhammadan Allah and the vela, or the Deity and the saints and Madonnas in Roman Catholic lands. When the local being was identified with the national god, the result was partly to drag the latter down to the popular level, partly to elevate the former, and partly also to remove the former away from popular veneration to the court and temple. In the many vices that occur, and in the ebb and flow of ideas, there are complex problems (a) of the psychological and (b) of the quasi-logical developments of doctrines and ideas of the gods. Personal experiences and the theories of the universe and the gods have to be adjusted to each other. Especially significant are the vicissitudes of the intimate relationship between the gods and their representative individuals; for, although the latter are, properly speaking, subordinate to the former, yet, because they are visible, accessible, and more ‘real’ than the unseen powers, there is a tendency to regard them as actual gods (cf. G.B. pt. i., The Magic Art, i, 397, 401). This tendency is in harmony with the readiness of all individuals with functions and powers to ignore their subordinate position and (when they become increasingly conscious of their value) to be a law unto themselves. The data point to profound vicissitudes in the beliefs and convictions of the men concerned, and are of the

1 This is the motif of the Golden Bough; see Frazer, Totemism, B. 693 ff., and cp. G.B. pt. i., The Magic Art, ii, 5, 332, pt. iii., The Dying God, London, 1894, ch. ii. As a result, all these ideas are not everywhere applicable as a whole, they refer to intermediate between the ideas which occur, in one form or another, almost universally.

2 Hence, in the development of society, one of the most difficult of problems is that of responsibility and conceptions of responsibility. Such problems are much less serious in undeveloped communities, where there is little differentiation of function and religious ideas are not separated from social life.
first importance for any attempt to deduce the nature of the religious realities. See § 32 (2).

(5) The necessity of maintaining the unity and security of every group, tribe, and people explains the various means that are taken (e.g., in rites of adoption). Ideas outweigh purely physical considerations. Feelings of deep-seated conviction of their worth and feeling that powerful representative individuals should be above change and criticism. There are many examples in the beliefs which refer to their immortality, rebirth, reincarnation, etc., while, later, attention is directed not to the individual, but to the function. If the death of the semi-divine king was more or less a ceremonial dishonored death, the superhuman significance is shown. The superhuman significance of representative individuals explains the emphasis importance attached to their participation in religious ceremonies, and the late emphasis on the supernatural, also, a greater interest attached to records, myths, hymns, etc., relating to them, and to the careful preservation of them (cf. the priestly hymns of the Romans, Babylonian ritual, and penitential hymns). While the life and thought of the ordinary people are generally colourless, with few distinctive features, the representative and other outstanding individuals leave their mark upon a people's history, although they, in their turn, are far more subject to change than the ordinary level of thought which pursues its way, rejecting what it cannot assimilate and rebuilding, there is no doubt in a new form of beliefs and practices which well-meaning prophets and reformers had sought to eradicate.

26. Eras of crisis and transition.—(1) As the vicissitudes which we have been noticing break upon the social or national unity, with it disappears the common bond of interest. The law of protective feeling and the absence of a feeling of harmony of aims and interests proceed pari passu with a great increase of individualism. Individualism is already present in some degree where there are individual loyalties or spirit-guardians, or where the man has his own protective genius and does not share that which either is common to the group or is tended by a recognized representative. But the differentiation of society, labour, intellectual and all other work, steadily increases the heterogeneity of convictions, modes of thought, interest, etc.; and, as it disintegrates the thought of the environment as a whole, there is the more urgent need for some new strong unifying impulses. Now, there is always a logical relationship between the character of a people and their religious convictions; thus one may note the combination of fanaticism, gloominess, and fear of divine anger both among the barbarous Assyrians and among the fierce zealots of early Arabia. And, as regards individuals, the character of Charles Gallet, of a Francis of Assisi, and Luther, of a Paul and a John, of a Hesper and an Israel, illustrates varieties of religious character which will be even more varied, though naturally of very different value, whenever individualism becomes excessive.

In other words, where there is excessive individualism, there is every opportunity for markedly different varieties of religious and other strongly subjective convictions, and also for a dangerous amount of extremism, which at other times would be checked and suppressed by the great body of average thought. The experiences, ideas, etc., will always be subjectively impressive, but there will be no cohesive body of objective thought which has a real value.

(2) In the disorganization that ensures coherence of social life and of the fundamental ideas gives way to an incoherence which has a disturbing effect upon the religious conditions. The early social order, in which spirit and mind are both theoretical and practical and their traditional authority; religion tends to be severed from life and is often mechanical or magical. Scepticism, agnosticism, and pessimism find fertile soil; and the needs once nourished by them, and now strong, must be satisfied by other supplies. Old beliefs return, foreign and incompatible ones are added, fanaticism and superstition balance trustful faith and a new spirituality. The vision shifts to the 'next' world, or it ignores it—only the 'visible' is real; there is a deeper insight into social conditions and a fresher attitude to sacred things. Amid many extreme tendencies in all directions there will be found dangerous excesses (cf. the frightful human sacrifice of the Aztecs, gross licentious cults, irrational and suicidal fanaticism, and pantheism, as well as incapability of development or persistence, are not to be regarded as typical of normal religion or life.

(3) Meanwhile there is a general loosening. The divisions which had disturbed and earlier universalities are blurred, the privileges of the few are claimed by the many and become less distinctive, and exclusive ideas are common property and are popularized. In Egypt, e.g., the belief in a life after death, once demanded on behalf of the king, was extended to ordinary men; it involved their recognition of the moral requirements once imposed upon the monarchs, but at the same time the belief was loaded with popular superstition. The general effect of the transitional process with its secularization and disintegration is that all features that certain toys (e.g., the bull-roarer), and of games. The traces of a foundation-sacrifice have been found in the game 'London Bridge is broken down,' and echoes of grim rites lingered on in the old Bombay temple ceremonies. The new holy places are passed. European folk-lore has thus preserved remains of old barbaric religion; and elsewhere traces of earlier organized cultures can be recognized by their incompatibility with the current systems of thought and of new ideas, and the great arts among rude peoples may sometimes be the last fragments of earlier and even more primitive beliefs and practices that are caused by the recurring periods of decay and new growth.

(4) The factors which, taken by themselves, would make for change and disintegration, and those which, by themselves, would lead to conservatism and stagnation, interplay and produce new growths, the inauguration of new ages, periods, cycles, etc. They involve a harmony of the deepest ideas, and thus affect the history of religion. Characteristic of every new beginning is the religious spirit by which, first, individuals and then whole peoples are stimulated and undergo development. When, as in the history of Judaism, Buddhism, and Christianity, the religion of exceptional individuals becomes that of a people, it must adapt itself to many different classes, minds, dispositions, and needs. The tendency then is for the religious and other aspects of life and thought to become harmonious, an adjustment is made between new and old, and the religion is a socialized one, as distinct from theosophical, ethical, or philosophical cults of select minds. Everywhere these transitional periods are profoundly significant both for individuals and for peoples. The line of development is not necessarily snapped; a land will undergo periods of new reorganization, as, e.g., in India and in early Babylon and Egypt. On the other hand, the teaching of the Israelite prophets apparently caused a drastic revolution in the old Hebrew religion, and the absolute conviction that their unrest by a conscious and artificial return to the conditions of a happier and distant past. Centuries later, one line of development ceased.


2 It is now a religion which the diverse minds of the social body can understand and elaborate; the whole environment thus receives a new stimulus, although the steps from the mental needs of individuals to the practical social-religious results in the environment as a whole may seem to mark a retrogression.
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with Rabbinical Judaism, while a fresh growth begins with Christianity; but both passed outside the land of their home. The rise of Islam is virtually a new beginning, just as Arabic itself represents the ‘proto-Semitic’ language more closely than do any of the other languages. After mainly in the old credit religions, after the Hebrew ethical monotheism, Hellenistic syncretism, and the conflicts between Rabbinical Judaism and the young Christianity, there is seen a new religion. It is in harmony with the psychology and cultural level of the age; rather than attempting to compete both earlier Jewish and Christian doctrine, which was above their level, and to the remarkable syncretism which in fact appealed only to the educated and governing classes.

The new religion re-introduced God (Allah), not new conceptions of God or new developments in earlier ideas. Yet, although Islam thus begins at an earlier point than Judaism or Christianity, it speedily developed beyond the grasp of popular thought, and, although the lands were, as a whole, culturally above the level of the earlier age, Islam quickly reached a high level, since it was able to utilize in some measure the theological and philosophical work of Greek and Christian thinkers.

In such vicissitudes (illustrated in other ways in India, Turkey, Egypt, etc.) there is a relationship to earlier stages, though under different circumstances, and the earlier stage of a (chronologically) later religion can be more advanced, in certain respects, than a later stage of an earlier one; just as, in the psychological growth of the individual, the youth will certainly represent an earlier stage than his mature parents, but in various respects may be more advanced. Hence the danger of unchecked comparison and of facile theories of evolution, and the necessity of a deeper analysis of the content of religious thought (see § 4 [3]).

27. The advance of thought.—(1) Throughout the social-religious development can be suggestively viewed in terms of thought, the organization and disorganization of every social body corresponding to that of the implicit or explicit ideas which prevail (§ 7 [1]). That there has been some great advance is shown (a) by the fact that, even though cultures and civilizations disappear and sweeping reforms fail, the apparent retrospectively with more or less traces of the influence of the preceding stage. Moreover, (b) although theriomorphic and low anthropomorphic cults may be prominent in times of decadence or relapse, there is not that characteristic totemism which is essentially pre-anthropomorphic (§ 8). Again, (c) the serious crises and hard vicissitudes have put the current ideas to the test and have compelled practical, adequate, and acceptable solutions of the difficult problems of life and thought. Consequently the recurrence of similar types of belief and practice is significant, and more especially when the old reappears in some new form—the new testifying to the positive progress of thought. The crises that bring scepticism and despair also bring new faith and hope, and the history of religion is the repeated justification and re-expression of old values (§ 33 [2]). The death of a member of a totem species was to be deposed; but, when a single animal was venerated, the death of a single individual, or indeed any death, was (e.g., in ideas of rebirth or re-incarnation) the disturbance of beliefs was remedied. But the former case, with its less disastrous consequences, belongs to a lower stage; and, in like manner, endogamy, with its general and consequent limited solidarity, is relatively lower than exogamy, which at once brought new and difficult problems. The problems become more complex as life and thought develop; they take new forms and require new solutions in harmony with the thought of the time. At one stage there is a natural relation between the group and its sacred being; and, when this is viewed as an automatic or mechanical condition, it is psychologically harmful—it is magic. But at another stage it is God who becomes the supernatural being, and, thus, ties the ideas are more advanced, and there is a logical development which, whatever be the ultimate realities, is extremely important both for deducing their nature and for the study of the human mind.

27. The advance of thought.—(2) Where life and thought are in harmony, the profound concepts have each a sufficiently similar meaning. But widely different conceptions—e.g., of the term ‘God’—will represent a very secondary stage, because the terms must previously have been used to denote that which was distinctive and which had a certain identity of meaning for all concerned. Only as complexity of life and thought increases do the differences in meaning and application have counterparts. In some stages where the religious and non-religious concepts become harmonious that the varied aspects of life and thought are in a state of equilibrium. The presence of some body or system of thought at one time guides and regulates, and at another it represses. It is weak or lacking at critical periods of the development of both individuals and peoples. Then it is that men, being without the help of a system tested by past experience, are at the mercy of the new, or perhaps outside the limits of what had been normal. The nature of personal experience is profoundly varied, and of great subjective significance, whatever be its value for the environment. The less normal 1 W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem.3, p. 439. See, generally, G. O. G. Macrop. The Principles of Religious Development, London, 1903.

2 G. O. Moore, Hist. of Religions, i, 174, 194.
experiences and convictions which abound at the critical periods find it possible to resolve them by some sort of psychological process. It is therefore not a question of whether men are religious or not, but of the nature of their religiosity. The essential element in religiosity is not the but religious experiences.

Therefore, in this view, the religious element in the human psyche is an inherent and essential part of the human experience. The question is not whether a person is religious or not, but what kind of religious experiences they have and how they interpret and respond to those experiences. This view also suggests that the religious experiences of different individuals and cultures may be fundamentally different, leading to a diversity of religious beliefs and practices.

IV. RELIGIOUS AND NON-RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

28. The differentiation of thought.—(1) The foregoing sections would, at this point, be properly followed by some account of the steps which lead from the more rudimentary stages of thought to the highly differentiated and specialized thought of modern life (see § 6 [1] ad fin.). But it must suffice to say that the comparative study of religion not merely affects the ethical, theological, and philosophical ideas of the inquirer; it also offers a vehicle for a critical and comparative study of ethics, theology, philosophy, etc. The typical prevailing religious beliefs and practices imply principles, ideas, and convictions which become explicitly recognized and shaped; and represent the experience of observation, and reflection of men of different temperaments and at various stages of the history of thought. As a result of continued application of the comparative method similar fundamental and prevailing principles and ideas can be traced underlying the different religions, ethical, theological, and philosophical expressions. Such are, e.g., the presuppositions or the conscious convictions of the individual's continuity, of his intimate relationship with something grander and more permanent than his brief bodily existence, and of his essential underlying the many various differentiated aspects or divisions of life and thought. Only in the light of such unity can one gain any rational conception of the many complex temperamental and other variations in his life. It is an effect of the elimination of the logical basis, not in any ultimate heterogeneity, but in processes of differentiation with developments in various specialist, diverging, and individualistic directions.

(2) Religious and non-religious thought, therefore, is the comparative study of the phenomena of ecstasy, inspiration, mysticism (pp. xxv ff; cf. also artt. Possession, Schism, and Youse). Here are

1 Cf. M. Aneski, Nakhiren, the Buddhist Prophet, Cambridge, Mass., 1916, pp. 67 f., 72 ff., 95, 97, 100.
involved the rarer psychical states where the individual has immediate realization of a deeper and profounder self, of the one behind the Many, of the Reality beneath all phenomena, or of the immediate and ultimate connection in the universe of all things. In these states of intuition and Buddhist thought, in particular, the problems of the many have been diligently studied; and, instead of the old mythological and speculative elaboration, this search for the secret behind man and his innermost self, and between the outside world of appearance and the ultimate truth, is not in the hands of one forceful by actual experience (§ 13); and efforts were made to analyze and classify (a) the constituents and processes of the more meritorious individuals, and, the end. While Indian thought went its own way, Western thought found its ‘spiritual home’ in Greece, where the problems were apprehended and treated at a higher and more developed stage of development. Consequently the East has preserved more of a primary undifferentiated experience; it has a more comprehensive view of the Reality which Western thought has become highly specialized and ‘scientific,’ the tendency being for the unity to be obscured, if not ignored. Yet it is soon found that no adequate synthesis can be made by combining the results of extreme specialist analysis of experience; there is a unity in experience, and in the experience of Nature, and analysis destroys. None the less, although continued differentiation and specialization tend to destroy the unity and give disunity and multiplicity, it is the more the more of a law of Nature that genuine synthesis is all the richer for the prior stage of disintegration. After a certain stage in the development of a subject, the different specialists are fuller when the mind has had a laborious preparatory discipline, so the deep-searching introspection of Eastern thought is to be the greatest of all the objective, laborsome, but unscientific specialist discipline of the West; and, while the one has a clearer view of the problem, the other has the better tools, for what is fundamental in the development of religion and non-religious thought is the character of the concepts which both inhere and are influenced by the interpretation of experience.

(3) Complexity of thought corresponds to the complex mental structure of individuals who are at a higher and more developed stage than those in rudimentary society. All classifications, whether complex or not (law, morality, religion, etc.), are the result of growth, and they are not stationary. There is that in the conscience and in the ideals of the individual which tests, criticizes, and adjusts the thought, legal, moral, religious, aesthetic, and other and objective concepts, the environment. Such individuals go beyond current conditions and work for an unknown future. To say that they are ahead of their age is to beg the question, for the question is whether, and to what extent, they are able to preserve, or else objective valuable as they are adjusted to and assimilated by the environment. Hence the development of thought in history must undoubtedly be regarded as the collective result of the growth of the individual, as well as of the growth of the ideas, aims, and processes in the whole environment will then represent some of the primeval ‘whole’ which transcends the conscious individuals themselves. At the same time, all existing systems, institutions, categories, and classifications — by which alone rational life is possible — are transcended by the individuals who frame, accept, or amend them. Thus men are unconsciously shaped by processes, certain aspects or parts of which at least they are able to shape; they are an integral part of that of which they are a part or less objective critics. Consequently, the most complete description of reality must take in the developing individual who both controls and is controlled by his concepts of reality. It is a necessary and inescapable result that the ultimate results of the conceptions are imperfect approximations, and consequently even the most complete view of reality would have to be regarded as itself the outcome of a natural process of mental development still un- formed and ungraduated, imperfect and inadequate, in the limitations of the human mind. So, in human development there is a combination of the transcendent and the immanent; there is a process which transcends the man who are consciously and unconsciously a part of it.

29. Fundamental ideas. — (1) Every activity has its necessary conditions and principles, which are indispensable if it is to be successful. Everywhere there are to be recognized necessary fundamental principles, in the various systems of knowledge, of science, of ethics, and of politics. These are associated with various forms, and associated with our own ideas of efficiency, law, order, right, and truth. Every group and every activity which can be regarded collectively as a unit has its unifying and necessary principles upon which success and efficiency depend; consequently, from a system of existence, involves adherence to some indispensable requirements. Liberty and subordination to law, freedom and discipline, are thus correlated, and they also involve ideas of aim and purpose. In practical life the difficulties usually concern the precise requirements, the relative value of the units and their aims, and the relations between these. At all times the social group has acted up to certain obligations which group-unit alone could depend; but often it is only periods of crisis and incoherence that manifest the vital significance of members formerly unrecognized, obscure, or questioned. Now, every genuine feeling of group life was from the beginning, and is the essence of collective privilege and responsibility; the members participate in another one another’s merits and misdeeds. Among rudimentary peoples this unity will frequently include both the gods and the processes of nature (§ 7). Hence, we can feel that the gods are felt to be near at hand, the behaviour of the group is bound up with that of the processes of nature controlled by the gods; e.g., the common belief that great crimes will disturb the order of nature. But the action of the gods in the actual world is a manifestation of the collective unity, not of an inner or one form of a fundamental conviction uniting man with the rest of the universe. Often certain representative individuals are directly connected with the welfare of the people or land, and they are responsible for the safety of the country (§ 25). If the god applies to the evidently conscious men, who is it determined who are ‘the salt of the earth’ (Mt 5)? The fundamental ideas, partly of common responsibility, partly of a profound interconnection, are of more than passing interest, as they concern the ideas implicit in ‘magical’ control or in ‘religious’ prayer, in explicit curse or appeal, and in vague denunciation and adjuration, in instinctive ideas of retribution and recompense, and in emotional, aesthetic, and ethical ideas of man’s kinship with nature or the universe. And notably in law and justice, and in the instinctive resistance to what is felt to be inimical to man’s welfare, the individual is no longer an ‘individual,’ but as his ‘brother’s keeper’ implicitly associates himself with the progress of the universe as a whole and with the uplifting of its principles, in so far as he realizes and can apply them.

(2) There is a continual rediscovery of a universal unity and interconnection which specialized thought must necessarily ignore. But confusion arises when concepts, the result of such specialization, are criticized on account of what they lack, as, e.g., when nature is spoken of as impersonal, blind, and morally and spiritually indifferent. Now, in so far as concepts of nature have been based upon phenomena where personal, moral, and spiritual attributes are irrelevant, or of little signifi-

Conversely, an examination of customs, light can be thrown upon an otherwise barely recognizable social system (e.g., W. R. Smith in his Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, London, 1903).
what in their sphere corresponds, in a rudimentary way, to the attributes that we apply, in another sphere, to adults. Similarly, the processes of nature are the 'natural' counterpart of the adult process in the sciences. In the 'natural' and the 'spiritual' laws reflect essential similarities differently shaped according to their realm. Yet, in contrast, a law from the essential part of some effective process or activity, while, regarded subjectively, it is our most conscientious and deliberate effective for regularizing phenomena. True, the concept law has undergone different vicissitudes as nature and human society are considered separately, but it appears to be the fact that in the 'natural' law there is involved the explicit recognition of some unmanifest and effective principle, which hypothetically is not real in a form that it is real.

1 (3) The objective value of every group or activity lies in its relations to others, and ultimately, therefore, to the whole of that of which all of them are part. This applies equally to principles, ideas, concepts, and theories; their real value is felt by their relation to a larger and than that where they are first recognized. So the value of all that can be treated as a unit or whole lies in its place in the ultimate whole; and in practical life there are conflicting theories, activities, principles, groups, and sects. Moreover, if there is the ultimate realities are incoherent and discordant—which is clearly irrational—or there is a final solution which we shall judge rational. Of such conflicts those between law and mercy, between men's and the others, may be specially mentioned. Yet the highest love is compatible only with the strictest regularity of cause and effect; and God's forgiveness of the penitent sinner is not arbitrary, but in conformity with some greater law, some profounder order, which, in the individual case, is manifested. Moreover, the realm of nature's regard for the whole lies the hope of him who is an integral part thereof; for by nature's disregard of the individual we mean the conflict between our largest 'scientific' concept of order in the universe and the ever-developing individual who can command Nature only by obeying her. In either case there is a higher explanation, such that the absolute uniformity (order, justice, or love) is for the ultimate advantage, happiness, and consolation of the universe. By law, order, and justice are the outward and others may suffer by rebelling against it. To pursue this further would be to turn aside to the burden of the law, the question of free will, and the need for mediation and atonement.

2 (4) The responsibility of the individual is seen in the fact that, just as the total conditions at any time are the result of everything that has preceded, so all men are jointly and severally contributing to the good and evil conditions of the future. Consequently, the religious aspect is particularly significant, whether when evils and wrongs arouse the cry, 'Can there be a God to allow such things?' or when men more or less instinctively feel themselves the guardians of justice and order in the universe. Moreover, the individual is the underlying postulate. All insistence upon the worth of the individual is, therefore, a deeper and more personal explanation of the fundamental interconnexion of the universe, of the autonomous value of all the constituents, and of the entire dependence of the efficiency and welfare of the whole upon all the constituents. Throughout, we have to seek a rational explanation; for, as apart from the question whether the universe is ultimately rational, only by treating it as such can we find an explanation, and, if we can, of mental suicide, and develop in the future as we have in the past.

The most perplexing vicissitudes lead now to

1 Another important example of specialization with tendencies to forget the differentiated aspects is afforded by the contrast between the terms 'psychical' and 'physical.'

2 Cf. esp. the ideas as expressed in Mt 10:16f., 12-14, Lk 15.

doubt, skepticism, and despair, now to some firmer and wider conception of life; but the latter has been the line taken in the history of progressive thought. Self-sacrifice and renunciation of all that is most obvious and tangible find their rationality as the expression of a greater reality than the known. So, too, the frequent disturbing success of evil is a guarantee, not of lawlessness, but of the success of perfect good; for, when evil succeeds, there are, on analysis, elements of success—although for us at times factors which have not the elements of permanence and progress. And, when examples of this are clearly realized, one gains a more rational conception than if good and evil are treated as absolute, conflicting entities. The ultimate must be regarded as rational, else there can be no ordered life or thought.

30. Myth and knowledge. (1) Ideas of the fundamental unity of the universe are implied also in the remarkable initiative and other ceremonies where men represent spirits, gods, etc., or perform the desired 'natural' processes themselves, or otherwise act on the assumption that the effective controlling powers exist. The term, 'myth,' which for rudimentary thought, or recital or description of processes or operations is often felt to be potent, so that, e.g., myths are not things to be lightly or irrevocably spoken, because they arouse the sacred beings to whom they refer. In the commingling of stirred and sacred events in the past has a very real value for the future; it stimulates appropriate feelings and ideas, and gives a new and intense vividness to the reality of the sacred beings who are the sources of action. Moreover, the very existence of 'natural' myth and mimetic representation, and to these processes of absorption and identification can be joined the deep mental concentration and the effort to realize for oneself beliefs and truths. In this way ideas are realized, if not realized; they are so assimilated that, e.g., in ancient Egypt an effective means of escaping the perils of death was to identify oneself with some saving god who had successfully overcome himself. From the myths and traditions we derive the inner and outer reality, the sacred beings, of the universe. Which is the easy step to the esoteric aspects, the secrecy of all knowledge which is in any way potent. Not only are there innumerable examples of the fact that knowledge is power (cf., e.g., the possession of the name of a god), but the means and method of knowledge upon the individual is exceedingly instructive from the religious point of view. The inter-relations between knowledge, wisdom, reverence, and the 'fear of God' are, however, disturbed by the progress of thought and by the usual arbitrary and subjective distinctions between sacred and 'secular.' None the less, it will be freely admitted that moral and ethical qualities (sincerity, intellectual honesty, patience, sobriety, moderation, etc.) are requisite for the best 'esoteric' or 'scientific' views. In this way the whole self, and not a human intellectual machine alone, is involved. Thus the complete outlook (Weltanschauung) of the individual becomes, so to say, the mathematical function of his current stage of intellectual, ethical, aesthetic, and
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spiritual development; and, in so far as 'like is known only by like,' the complete concept of reality requires the complete conceivable development of personality.1

(2) All myths and all conceptions of the universe, even the very complex and multifaceted (see p. 600) of those who (a) add to our knowledge of reality; (b) illuminate the mental structures of the individual; (c) contribute to the further study of the way in which the mind experiences and interprets its experiences, and thus point to the limits of the mind from which it can be logically apprehended. The emotional, poetical, metaphorical, and undifferentiated characteristics of myths correspond to the psychical characteristics of the whole of those who believe in them or believe in them as such. The spontaneous mythologyizing, anthropomorphizing, and persification is only the further development of the religious and the universal. The human mind, in the course of reason, logical, and intellectual effort, is objective and impersonal, and to avoid irrelevant or misleading concepts. While myth is 'personally' interesting and intelligible, it is, when at its best, 'super-personal'—like the ballad—representing aspirations, ideas, and modes of thought that are collective, national, or universal, and not merely individualistic. In course of time the myth may become a fixed, authoritative statement, embracing the dogma of the nature of right and wrong, and perforce the faith, fortiy the sceptic, and even excuse the wrong-doer. It may then pass from being 'super-personal' to 'impersonal,' when it is no longer in touch with the people. There will be a failure to analyze and distinguish the permanent from the impermanent features—although this distinction can be made from the purely logical point of view by any theory of religious or other thought against their opponents. The moral, religious, or the like, on the one hand, and the rational, logical, subjective and theistic, on the other, can interpenetrate; it may be arbitrary and subjective by myth, but it tends to leave out human personality with all its richness of feeling and potentiality. It is the latter which is in the psychopathic relationship with the experiences of the gnostic man. It will acquire a false 'impersonal' objectivity, and become dogmatic, rigid, and unchangeable. Hence, although the idea of religion can exist for a time side by side, sooner or later the question arises of the validity of its several concepts and on their value for the further progress of personality.2

(3) The course of thought is directed by what is known, and it is in terms of familiar experience; so, e.g., cosmical processes have commonly been thought of in terms of human vicissitudes (birth, conflict, marriage, death). In the course of thought, on other levels, liberal, democratic ideas, sovereignty, or an age of mechanism will be reflected in both the religious and the non-religious thought.3 Conceptions of the universe are influenced by the current cosmical, and vice versa; and in the development of thought the efforts to explain experiences and phenomena often proceed without the necessary reference to the primary data themselves. The psychological and logical paths then diverge, and the religious and the non-religious can be illustrated in the varying personal and impersonal conceptions of Providence, Nature, God (cf. the word 'agency' itself, used of both process and agent). The result is that isolated religious terms can be used to express aspects of the subjective content, although there may be noble and quasi-religious feelings outside the religious phraseological framework, and associated, e.g., with art, science, or humanity. The expression of feelings, it is true, may seem to pertain to the religious, yet, from a point of view which must be reserved as primary and ultimate, religion must be treated as sui generis and distinctive (§ 33 [3]).

A belief in a life after death has no ethical or religious value in itself. It is not the same as the belief in a henotheism or the polytheism which most practical religions have. The word 'God' may express more of a logical or intellectual necessity than the personal experience of a Supreme Being. Yet the experience of some transcendent 'Presence' is not necessarily interpreted as that of a deity, and men have had their daemon, guardian-angel, or some psychologically effective experience of a personal presence in their conceptions of reality and the thought of the environment. The interdependence between experience, interpretation, and development is the development of development. The development of the idea of such words as Heaven, swnsiva (see E.B., or 'Elements'), the Chinese Lao-tse, and the Buddhist Buddha and the various personal, ethical, and religious conceptions of Buddha himself. A simple and typical example of development is the passage from the crudest or most common conceptions of Buddha to the conceptions of Buddha in the later Buddhist religions or magical according to the precise ideas that accompany it (cf. p. 674, n. 1). If it persists as a mere rite, the efficacy lies merely in the act itself, not in the psychological state of the magician. Proceeding to the other extreme, men avoid the ceremonial, or at least the ritualistic aspects as a piece of worldly luxury, and misguided religious delusions in atoning and tormenting the body. Again, the utilitarian purpose can be retained and the religious aspect ignored, and this secularization is very common in the history of culture; cf. the rise of astronomy, anatomy, and medicine from the astrological and more or less divinistic to its more strictly naturalistic and so styled. Thought cannot be treated atomistically, and the fact is that purely non-religious thought can or cannot find a logical place in a religious system, and vice versa, just as two departments of natural science may be in some respects entirely separable, but are often so intertwined that the problems of the one cannot be severed from those of the other. Now, the evident view of all the varying relations is the individual mind and the connexion (such as it is) between the entire contents involved in its concepts and ideas. Differentiate as one may the religious and the non-religious, the moral and the non-moral (where morality is irrelevant), and the emotional and intellectual, all these find an ultimate common ground in the intellectual, and this can be the case if the final aim of science is not the perfect systematization of the many diverse tendencies and departments of thought, but the systematic treatment of the systematizations—of the metaphysical, the philosophical, the theological, the scientific, and all other minds rationative and naive. Co-ordination of different legitimate interests, and not a perfect homogeneity of interests throughout will then be the goal.

31. Immanence and transcendence. (1) Characteristic of religion is the combination of the known and the unknown, the natural and the supernatural, 'this' world and the 'other,' immanence and transcendence (see art. IMMANENCE). Despite the fact that there has been a member of each pair, they are the outcome of experience; and, while the difficulty has been to give a rational statement and justification of the experience, counter-criticism and objections, often of a religious or philosophical kind, overlook the prevalence of similar types of thought and effort and attack the particular forms in which it is interpreted and presented. The members of each pair are correlative; and therefore, as regards the last, the conception of immanence or of transcendence taken separately has no meaning or progressive value. The belief in a transcendent Deity has led to religion falling into the hands of the few; the God of the State or of the Church has seemed remote from the ordinary

1 So, too, the great religious and other leaders, through their own total personality, have enabled their disciples to gain deeper and more powerful conceptions of reality.

2 Cf. A. G. Hunter, The Religious Impulse: Four Stages of Greek Religion, New York, 1912, pp. 121 f., 115, on the conception of Fate as a goddess just at a period when rite was in a phase of the same; and for a similar development of a religious theme, see A. A. G. Hunter, Religion and Race, London, 1916, esp. p. 190 f.

3 Cf. A. G. Hunter, "Mood, Tone, and Climate," Four Stages of Greek Religion, New York, 1912, pp. 121 f., 115, on the conception of Fate as a goddess just at a period when rite was in a phase of the same; and for a similar development of a religious theme, see A. A. G. Hunter, Religion and Race, London, 1916, esp. p. 190 f.
individual, and the latter has relied upon some intermediary, or else in some more private or individualistic cult has found an outlet for that which the institutional religion would otherwise have guided and developed. In the course of this process, ideas, ideals and experiences clearly undergo profoundly important changes. Again, in the Deism which makes God a supreme Majestic Being with no place in ordinary life and thought, He becomes as remote as when He is the unknown or unknowable God. Thus the concept may be a historically intellectual, and without the immediate personal significance which it has when God is felt to be near at hand. But, when in many forms of popular and personal religion God is felt to be near, this feeling of His greatness can subsequently be lost, and then the gulf diminishes between the frail individual of a few decades and the Supreme Power of an inconceivably vast universe. Through the experience of immediacy there is no need for any external, ceremonial, dogma, or mediator; even reverence may disappear. Thus both immem heacy and transcendence have their extreme logical sequels. The God who is solely transcendent becomes remote and unknown: to say that there is (:.:,) some God, or that we must know all about the infinite and incompleteness, but the next step is to be unconscious of the gulf, and then to ignore how the experience of it could ever arise and persist. On the other hand, the conception of the immanent God is maintained, and so can lead to the absence of any religious distinctiveness in the term. In this way the distinctively religious content of the concept God is lost; and, while it is easy to trace the secularizing process, it is impossible to explain how the psychological value of this supreme concept, unless some immediate personal experience is regarded as logically primary. The history and vicissitudes of the concept become intelligible only if the immanent and transcendent aspects are retained, only if there are ultimate realities of the universe—of human existence—of which these apparently paradoxical terms attempt to interpret the experiences.

(3) The religious ideas of immemence and transcendence are a fundamental part of human nature, and are but the most intense form of what otherwise is not peculiar to religion. They are also the basis of human relations (e.g., between parent and child), where complete understanding and friendliness are regarded as the best means of psychic comfort (cf. § 32). Moreover, there is a similar co-existence of the attitude to those great human figures who are not idolized by those who admire them in the sense that, when at once on a much higher level than ourselves, yet are felt to be thoroughly intelligible and near to us. It corresponds with this that every individual can gain a more vivid realization of himself and a profounder and more potent personality when he strikes and subordinates himself to that with which he identifies himself, so that, in apparently becoming one with the environment, and therefore ‘lost’ in it, he rises above it and transcends it. It is the paradox of religious and other thought that, according to the viewpoint, the processes of the universe can be described individually, so that men have no need of the concept God, or ‘in himself, and have our God.” and the experiences of immemence and transcendence co-exist.

(3) The key to the correlations, mentioned above, lies in the progressive development of the individual, and in the phenomena of imitation and attraction which are familiar in personal, religious, and non-religious experience, and are significant for personality.1 Development follows in man’s striving to satisfy needs, reach goals, follow ideals, attain some psychological equilibrium, or bridge some gulf. It is essentially no passage from the known, but a clearer or closer approach to the unknown, that a clearer or closer approach to the unknown.

1 Cf. e.g., the Invitation of Thomas a Kempis, and the well-known words of St. Augustine, ‘Lord, Thou hast made us for Thee and art good: and our heart is restless till they rest in Thee’; also the frequent testimony of people who have attained to degrees (‘One step enough for me’) towards a Supreme Personal Being or to some personally vital ideal or goal.

newer apprehension of that of which one was already in some degree conscious. But here the process of attraction, when there is a successful issue, is readily followed by a satisfying and complacency which would impede further progress. Not, however, the intellectual development (e.g., the research after some hypothesis), but most significantly in personal relationships of all kinds, can the psychic gap which formed the attraction give place to indifference. Yet, however complex these processes of phase, transition, or development are not objectively complete, and especially in religion there prevails a spiritual pride, arrogance, or consciousness of ‘election,’ which is as harmful for the further progress of the individual as for religion itself (see § 32). Even the saint has still to strive and may yet fall; and various attempts are made to determine the final goal of human development, and to distinguish, e.g., between conversion or baptism into a new life and the state after death (p.r.), or to determine whether the final stage is reached immediately after death or after some purgatory.1 The most intense consciousness of the ultimate realities appears readily combined, now with a greater complacency, but also more quickly with that which is uninterpretable, unworldly, which the very nearness of the ‘divine’ enhances the frailty of the individual and his entire dependence upon God. Whatever be the best formulation of the experiences and their consequences, what we have called the whole development of the individual is at stake, for all development depends upon the possession of some transcendent object of attraction which shall call forth the utmost from the individual and be for the completion of his being.

(4) All ideas, aims, needs, and quests are potent for personal development; but men’s varying attitudes to some manifestation of ‘divine’ discontent, as it is felt to be, illustrate the difference between its singular impressiveness for the subject and its worth as viewed from the outside by others. Personal development is due both to the individual nature in its entirety and to the total environment. Thus the child is influenced in varying degrees by the toys, playing-mates, etc. His potentialities are actualized and shaped by the ‘object’—by its psychological inferiority, equality, or superiority, and by its ability to respond to the child and to shape his growth. There is a subjective feeling of personal relationship even with the toy and the animal, as distinct from the objective personal or impersonal character of the ‘object,’ whatever it be. So, too, in the history of religion the centre of religious beliefs and practices has been inanimate or animate, totem, spirit-guardian, or ancestor; and there has been throughout a (subjective) feeling of ‘personal’ relationship, although in course of development we pass (objectively) from the totem, fetish, or idol to a Supreme Being. Whatever be the actual reality, whether a Supreme Power—or any process outside man—takes in shaping this development, it is at least possible to recognize that men’s ideas will be shaped differently according to (a) their empirical knowledge of the totem-animal or spirit, whether it is derived from an earlier race or the conceptions which they entertain of the sacred object or being, whether visible or not. The latter, (b), is fundamental, for in both religious and non-religious thought development depends on the fullness of the concepts used.

(5) It is of course evident that neither the empirical objects nor the conceptions of any object can in themselves account for the phenomena of religion—it is precisely when the totem is
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merely an animal, when the once defined ancestor is merely a dead man, or when the god is merely a name or an intellectual term, that the distinctively religious colouring is wanting. It is his case, first, that primary, and what is impressed upon the consciousness of the individual is that which is logically anterior to the phase when the process of spontaneous inspiration is wonted. The correlative (illumination and transcendence, etc.) could not arise except together and in some sort of system, and there is no mark of the evolution of the spiritual yet unknown and unattained, as apart from what is already known and attained, else there could be no consciousness of any epoch of the process (or any other epoch) which may be a part of some ultimate whole; for one can attend only to processes of which he is informed, is provided with duties and performed with signs present only the results of his own individualistic and partial development. By means of objective comparison, therefore, something is known of the origin of the religious states in which men collectively or individually feel to be essential for themselves or for the universe. Whatever the complete totality of experience and consciousness may be—and this would at least require the most ideally complete personality—exhaustive classifications can be attempted (e.g., the categories of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True); and these point conclusively to the objective inadequacy of any conceptions of the religious which resemble (because they give partial satisfaction) the objective inadequacy—such that the sources of the conceptions of this world and of the other lie within the scope of the single individual, and the character and interpretation of the rarer states are conditioned by his prior development (cf. § 14 [1]). Individuals will usually connect the rarer states with the objectively divine (cf. also ‘divine’ discontent, above, § 31 [4]); but the social, intellectual, and genuine states are only that part of the ideal and the lower of these states is prevalently tested, and every claim to inspiration and other divine privileges is, sooner or later, submitted to intellectual, practical, social, and ethical tests. Good and bad mysticism, true and false prophetism, beautiful spirituality and harmful religiosity exemplify the necessity of objective tests; and the environment or the course of history enables one to determine the result. Thus the supernatural and unknown in religion are not necessarily taken at their own valuation; the average prevailing type of mind insists upon passing its own judgment upon the data, and the holy is so, not because it happens to survive or is merely imposed upon men (cf. the notion of ‘universal’ type of social practice, the ordinary one between the mind, of its own will, recognizes it as such. The natural and the supernatural, the known and the unknown, come within the horizon of the individual consciousness, and in the lengthy history of religion, the individual opinion, spontaneously recognizing the necessity of distinguishing between good and bad religion—a distinction which again and again individuals are genuinely unable to realize.

The character of the experiences of the ‘divine’ is the consciousness of uplifting power and strength, such that the self-confidence and mastery which characterize ‘magic’ have a certain kinship with religious confidence and conviction. But ‘magic’ has no place for transcendence; and

a very striking feature throughout the history of religion is the recurring insistence upon the gulf between the human and the divine—an emphasis upon the transcendent rather than upon the immanent. In religion, generally, the two fundamental conceptions of mana and tabu (p. 57) are correlative: one without the other, the power which a man may, can, and should utilize and, on the other, the indispensable heed and caution; for mana without tabu becomes magic, and tabu without mana can lead to grovelling superstition. This co-existence of the two has become, in the development, a spiritual experience which is experienced for the two. It is extremely instructive to notice the data preserved in the Bible, for the religions of the Semites, as opposed to Indian quietism and pantheism, and to Chinese practical ethical religion, constantly manifest a passionate reverence which in its religious aspects will at one time insist upon the might, jealousy, and arbitrariness of the Deity (corresponding to the psychology of the old Oriental despot), and at another will emphasize His favouritism for a people or for an individual who is the divine instrument, representative, or incarnation.

The data in question are of the ‘fall of Lucifer’ type (Is 14:12), where the gulf between man and God is arrogantly crossed, and the man who, in God’s estimation, as a conviction of divine privileges is very intelligently balanced with ideas of greater responsibility, as in Am 3:1. Yet the religious data, profoundly vital as they are, are in harmony with the non-religious, the psychological (or rather physiological, or natural), and with a distinction in the idea of the gulf to be bridged, in the detestation of arrogance, of conceit, and of δικαιοσύνη, in the need of modesty in good fortune and success (even to the feelings underlying the ‘evil eye’ or ‘jealousy’), in the importance of the individual, not for granted or in trinity with one’s deepest realizations and ideas, there is a recognition of the vital necessity of dignity, respect, reverence, as regards both oneself and others, in order that personality may develop wholesomely. These disciplinary and dynamic features of human nature are only more comprehensive, personal, and ultimate in their religious counterparts, and they tend to form a system, and that a dynamic and not a static one.

(5) Among rudimentary peoples the initiation ceremonies take place as a part of normal life, but at a critical phyco-psychical period provide him with regulative and steadying ideas. Social-religious beliefs and practices cover the matters of everyday possibility, which, however, are of the deepest significance for the individual concerned (§ 6 [1]). Where the individual is thrown back upon himself, so to speak, in all the great crises and occasions of life, a way is found between what would be utterly indifferent, callous, and animal-like and what would tend to be ultra-sentimental, emotional, or ascetic; for either extreme would preclude practical life and could not long persist. Thus, although the ‘other world’ is so near that death is gained, yet to act heedlessly upon this would be dangerous. Moreover, the intuitive feeling of disapprobation, fear, and dread as regards suicide is confronted with an intuitive appreciation of all self-sacrifice. Killing in war and murder are commonly distinguished even among those who condemn them, and with average recognition of what is essential for continuous progressive movement, and the conventions touching sacred and delicate matters afford


2 Viz. the story of the expulsion from Eden (Gen 3:23f.), the king of Tyre (Ezek 28:12), Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 4:2-31), the tower of Babel (Gen 11:1-9), Moses and Aaron (Num 20:24-28), Is 2:24, Ps 109:27; cf. also the stories of Nabod and Abihu (Lev 10:4-5).

many examples of one aspect of a self-educative and discriminative process whereby life and thought are systematized so that with every new growth of consciousness the individual may be able to develop in a way useful to himself and others. Things may be true (e.g., God's forgiveness of the sinner) which can also be understood as capable of existing in isolation, and the system of which each is part goes to the depths of the individual. Therefore the individual is now infinitely small and frail, and now one whose beliefs and principles are taken as with the greatest and most ultimate realities. An aspect of the imaginative or irrational save as a part of some larger existence, and the severity of its discipline unjust as save as a training; the audacity of man's aspirations would be childish or outrageous save as a genuine thought up to its ultimate effective forms. The idea of not merely cognize to those implicit or explicit in non-religious life and thought; they also represent the apprehension of realities which are nowhere set forth in completely systematized form, but which appear (when spared the variation they are not, and the variations are many independent and variously differentiated forms. There is not some single body of truths 'imposed' upon men from without, but there are truths of which men become conscious in their own individual, non-worldwide, temperamental manner, and according to their own development and that of their environment.

The common psychological effectivity (a) of artificial means to produce mystical and similar states, (b) of magical beliefs, and (c) of the actions of all the childish or superstitious or irrational brings up again the difficult question of ultimate effective forms. Whether the answer be in terms of new or not, conceptions of ultimate order, power, and rationality are involved; thus it is 'God' who sees into the hearts of his children, grants their [true resides, consents and guides them; or it is 'the nature of things' that what is effective is so far reasons, which, if we only knew them, we should judge rational. If the absolutely irrational or evil succeeds, there is no foundation for ordered life and thought; only the postulate of an ultimate and absolute good and rationality of nature allows any systematization of experience, and our human nature is ultimately deceiving us if this postulate is not true and final (cf. above §4 & 5).

Moreover, it is evident that many beliefs and practices (e.g., in metals and curses), however irrational they may appear, are effective because they are like forms similar to the "true". The whole system of cause and effect becomes self-supporting, as it were, and cannot be explained. The conflict of the credulity of a past age is not so helpful as attention to the efficiency of the system in which one lives—the dead must be left to bury their dead. Besides, condemnation is not only the recognition of a standard by which one may be judged in one's own turn; it is due to a new development of consciousness which is significant for the individual himself. Finally, all condemnation seriously affects one's conceptions both of theodicy and the rationality of human nature and of the ultimate order of the universe; the choice lies between absolute justice and absolute chaos, but the latter is logically unthinkable.

33. The dynamical aspects.—(1) Fundamental in development is the explicit recognition of evil which appears not repressed but expressed and put in all that which can no longer be done with impunity. When good comes out of evil, either evil has not been justified—punishment—and this would mean an ultimate rational universe—or, in the midst of a complex process and among all the present vicissitudes, good is soon to predominate. But to do evil that good may come is to assume a complete knowledge of and power over all the processes or factors that are necessary. 1 When, therefore, the religious hope is implied that, as apart from man's own activities, the Supreme Being will ensure the cooperation of the totalities of conditions necessary. The whole system of cause and effect is involved, and it is precisely in times of difficulty and crisis that, while the immediate future is non-human (and so divine) factors always persists. If the convictions are sincere, the subjective and objective aspects can be viewed separately. The unanswerable prayers, and other instances of defeated hopes, are not necessarily followed either by despair or by unbelief; there are subjective psychical transitions and developments which are often more recognizably significant for the individual than would have been the objective fulfilment of the particular request. Throughout, the sincerity of the individual is at stake, and various developments are forced as his faith becomes blind, as his behaviour becomes 'magical,' or as he seeks to determine what processes are 'natural' and what are 'superstition.' God's actual or explicit convictions of Him, and of the inevitable processes of nature, is a mark of unsystematized thought which paves the way, not for simple faith (which has no theory of causation), but for crude superstition, or for the strictly rational and other—naturalistic and materialistic conceptions of the universe do not logically permit those subjective notions and convictions of the ultimate reality which are expressed in more or less religious phrasing. The true nature of the conceptions of God's power or existence, if claimed to be rational, must be in harmony with those which he has of 'natural' processes, and vice versa. So—mention only one point—it becomes irrational for the individual to protest against conditions without inquiring into the nature of that freedom and liberty which he claims for himself; he has first to see whether the fundamental principles upon which he is entirely dependent are not those which are working in that which he is condemning, and whether or not they are not the symptoms of another form of that upon which he himself relies.

(2) Men can justly be judged in the light of those principles which they consciously recognize, although their beliefs and practices imply a profounder system in which they are unconsciously participating. The growth of consciousness breaks down the current conceptions; they are no longer taken as starting-points, but are first tested in the light of the individual's own experience. It is a 'deeper' self that criticizes the categories and thoughts of its environment, and all profounder experience transcends them and commonly finds them inadequate. Development results, not merely in the use of new terms and formulas, but more especially in the subjective changes, the attitudes, points of view, the contents of one's terms, and in all that fresh flow of experience which language seeks to interpret and express. Now all deeper feeling compels a certain modification of the assumption and expectation of thought, and all sincerity and intellectual honesty must be based upon the realization—although unfortunately the data which are not readily amenable are easily handled in some new Procrustean manner (see § 15 [2]). In the long run sincerity and goodness are the more likely to be the marks of the reconciliation after a quarrel does not justify another quarrel to reproduce the experience, nor, in the religious sphere, does the 'grace abounding' for the penitent sinner justify continence in sin (Ro 8:35).

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1 The pragmatic test—that the religious truths can be proved by the individual—is so far conclusive as against the objection that bliss and futility is all that every man can accomplish in this life (the dollar in his pocket) must exist. The religious argument is that there are ultimate and absolute good and rationality, which can be elaborated and described, and which under certain conditions can be put to the test, so that the description (seemingly intelligible) and such that it can be put to a living experience in another.

2 The following is a simple case: In 1 S 20:20-23 (a) David commits his cause to Jahweh, (b) the guilty Nabal is convinced, and (c) the immediate common ground is the body of conceptions shared by David and Nabal. But the psychological effectiveness of witchcraft, black magic, etc., rests equally upon the system of ideas shared by the parties concerned.
potent than what is cygymal, indifferent, and merely conventional; and throughout its history, whatever 'higher' alternatives were recognized, the latter alone caused progress. Were there no sense of the lower and higher, there could be no consciousness of progressive development. The lower and all less must lead to deterioration or progress in any rational universe, while the higher constantly elude an immediately natural explanation, and manifest themselves in self-sacrifice, remuneration, self-denial, faith, and confidence in the future or the next world. Higher factors are both the religious and the non-religious life; and either one must infer that progress is due to the apparently irrational side of man, or—since this again, allows no ordered conception of the universe.

The tendency of religious thought is to extend philosophical and naturalistic principles to the whole. 1 It is impossible in the long run to sever human activities from those throughout the entire universe, and, although it is necessary to differentiate for practical purposes, the differentiation is never consistently maintained, and there is throughout a virtual co-operation of phases not 'divine' and 'natural,' 'supernatural,' and 'cosmical' (cf. § 28 ff.).

(3) The factors that make for progress and development do not exist in isolation and cannot be severed from the field where they are manifested. Further, all that makes for permanence and progress must form the basis of concepts, not only of religion, but also of science, art, ethics, hence, though religion in the course of its history has had very many, extreme, unhappy, unprogressive, and imperfect manifestations, there is an underlying and essential core of thinking which has been, is, or will be. Men's ordinary working concepts are based upon the presupposing and average conditions; and the progressive tendency to concepts is apparent in determining what to select for its purpose, not only the process inevitable, but each concept has to be adjusted to the rest of the system of thought with which it belongs. And, further, not only is the process of selection one of which men are primarily unconscious, but concepts will have characteristic 'ideal' aspects, with standards and criteria which enable men to realize approximations and defects. The origin of such 'ideal' aspects and criteria is the result of inquiry, the cause in the spiritual life there is a frequent conviction of a 'fall,' a real experience which it has been difficult to express except in terms of a 'fall' or metaphor. The reason, perhaps, is that man is gradually rising from a state of maximum ignorance toward a state of maximum perfection, where the man 'fallen,' in the terms of the Biblical narrative. None less the consciousness of a certain deterioration and decadence is fundamental, and is the principle of 'believe the other is to be within his capacity. The experience, which has its spiritual, aesthetic, ethical, and other forms, is bound up with the principle of attraction and with a recurring consciousness of or vision of some great worth, existence, and reality which can and must be recovered.

Actual development is not to be described as from a part to a whole; but, like that of the child, it is from a rudimentary system to one less so (cf. § 23). Nor can thought be traced back historically to simple ideas, but only to rudimentary systems of what may be called 'psychical ability.' Yet even here the legitimacy of the term 'psychical' will be questioned, and it may be observed that what can be regarded as developing (e.g. 'mind' or psychical ability) will go back to some stage where it is non-existent, or where we are in another realm of conditions, or where our present thought cannot follow. Either the vital force as viewed as the nature of our concepts, or, again, the limitations of our experience will precede the solution which we seek. The limitations of the mind and the limitations of the particular limitations of experience; the mind can determine the conditions of the solution, rather than the solution itself, of some great problems of which it becomes aware. Thus the question of the origin of religion can be treated only as a problem of method or logic. It is, as R. B. Braithwaite puts it, 'life.' Any question that appears in the history of the universe, the prior situation was such as to permit the development (cf. § 673, n. 1), and it cannot be conceived in isolation from the present or the future. For in its isolation the mind can determine the conditions of the field in which it is itself recognized. Neither in the individual nor in history could the obviate 'difficulties upon the field from which He had before been isolated. The mind is unable to pierce the ultimate realities themselves and, from primitive cosmologies and conceptions to the latest philosophical and other syntheses, it is confronted with a similar difficulty—

experience of the absolute transcendence and priority of a Supreme Being or Principle, and the necessity of some conception of the actual steps in the differentiation of the universe. Where the differentiations lead to the differentiation of a non-differentiated unit; but so far as our evidence goes we reach more and more rudimentary types of differentiation until the process of analysis becomes impossible. The reason of the system, and consequently it is important to distinguish between the static, subjective, and the dynamic, objective, and the development, and a dynamic one, which, if true to the history of the individual and the race, would embrace all the constituent or differentiated conceptions of man (e.g. the State, Church, etc.), which cannot be regarded as eternal. There are progressive steps from ideal to ideal and system to system, like the conscious evolution of natural conceptions. We can distinguish the vision and the reflection upon it, the ideal in the subconscious and the mind's process of selection, the ideas, the idea-forms, the method, and all that 'organizes' material, and the material itself. There is, however, a tendency to give each the same status; rather, one must select and so also to the plan or purpose which appears to precede the development, but continuously undergoes development itself. This tendency reflects itself in static conceptions of an absolutely prior vision, a heavenly origin of the soul, primitive archetypal ideas, some primary all-containing concept or principle, and a pre-determined (static) reality which is slowly being recognized, and of which new portions are being discovered from age to age. On the other hand, there is in point of fact a continuous process which takes us back to earlier stages where thought can no longer follow, and it points forward to an ultimate principle that will blend with them all, known for this is characteristic of the growth of consciousness.

34. The rationality of the unknown.—(1) It is wholly in accord with familiar religious conceptions of the universe, of the 'divine' and the 'natural,' of the 'supernatural' and the 'cosmical,' that, a for a future, that human thought must not expect to comprehend the ultimate truths. If man cannot see God and live (cf. §§ 18 [1], 32 [2]), if perfect Truth is with God alone, he is confined to his thought, although the significant fact is the mind's sure consciousness of its being limited. Hence what is truly rational is not the ignoring of the unknown, but the realization of all that is essential for every new step of development. Just as our knowledge of anything in space and time is fundamentally incomplete if we ignore the environment, prelude, or sequel, so the true point of view of human life must be based upon the most comprehensive ideas, and one must 'think universally' (cf. p. 677, n. 2). The term 'supernatural' signifies that there are unfortunate associations, and need careful definition, but they can be used rationally when they imply a God who is not arbitrary, but One whose laws transcede those of which men are cognizant. A disbelief in the supernatural may come from a justifiable fear of only assume an ultimate impartial law and order in the universe to which certain alleged phenomena would be entirely contrary. While an unchecked credulity lingers progress of thought, by giving facile explanations of all truths, an irrational incredulity, on the other hand, can be as repressive as the typical rationalistic treatment, for both Burke inquiry or offer facile explanations of no rational or scientific value. The issue is faith in a Supreme Personal Being who is absolute justice, or in a supreme impersonal process or principle. In the history of religion now the personal and now the impersonal ultimate stands at the head; and all exceptional occurrences and phenomena which disturbed current convictions have led typically to wider conceptions of the universe, until the term 'supernatural' is only a prejudicial examination of the evidence, and (b) they also cannot form the starting-point of any rational argument; cf. Leising's important remark: 'Accidental truths of history can never become proof of necessary truths of reason.'
They are in this respect a priori. He who avers that God's ways are just, or that honesty is the best policy, has neither counted the cases nor seen the consequences. Without these, the whole becomes no more than a logical or etymological assurance. But he can make the principles his standard, part of his life, and he lives up to them. There is a common and largely unconscious recognition of regulative principles which might seem to find innumerable exceptions everywhere, but they become permanent and ultimate. Men make them so. Thus do men lay down the lines of their future and form the framework of the unknown; and, like the organism, they will tend to be 'true to type.' The process of making this, they will become explicitly conscious of the type to which they must be true, if their personality, in its ultimate development, is to be in every respect efficient (§ 29 [1]). When in the course of mental development the implicit becomes explicit, there is a rigid logical connexion between the old and the new; the lines upon which development will proceed have already been laid, and the data are viewed, selected, and systematized in ways conditioned by earlier processes of selection. And this selective process, as it appears, e.g., among the young, is one of which they cannot be said to be conscious; and, while its extraordinarily beneficial character cannot be gainsaid, it is very conducive, as a result of this increase of consciousness, to be marked by biased, one-sided, and so forth. Development thus brings greater freedom and a more conscious choice of action, and the individual more deliberately shapes his life in the light of consciousness. This increase of consciousness gives the impression that the early years were blind, unconscious, and so forth; but consciousness is never complete, as the developing individual can realize on retrospect. Even the very young have an individuality of their own. The selective process, with the gradual recognition of guiding principles, is at work in these rudimentary beings, and we may speak of some 'system' embracing the child, his immediate environment, and all the factors that make for development. Of those influential factors, individual habits, and continued increase of consciousness makes acute the relation between the individual's conception of himself and the supreme realities, so far as he has apprehended them. Now, whatever these mental habits may be, they must have had a significance, such that that of which man becomes conscious was already existing and had some meaning for his earlier stages. The entire process in the midst of which man develops must embrace all that which comes under the category of the transcendent, the supernatural, and the unknown; and in the course of his purposive, self-guiding development he becomes a more responsible part of that co-operative and progressive process which he can now more deliberately help or hinder. It is at this point that the comparative and historical treatment of all ideas of sin, forgiveness, and atonement deserves fresh attention (see artt. EXPiation AND AtonEMENT, CONSCIENCE, Sin).

(3) In various forms there prevail beliefs and practices of entire surrender, whether to a Supreme Power or to principles in the universe, or of throughgoing asceticism or quietism. But self-surrender and surrender are in themselves neutral things upon which even religious thought, they are necessary in a greater or less degree, as against inhibition, objectivity, and insistence upon one's own individuality and point of view. Especially significant is the surrender of self to another: the self is the body or thought or a Church, and, of course, in all cases where the self entrusts itself to another personality. Throughout, the step has its important consequences, and the realization of the step becomes more impressible until in it is felt to be a veritable leap into the unknown. The ideas and theorems of the new view, with which the person to whom one surrenders oneself will to a greater or less degree affect one's unknown future. The process, a normal one, thus involves the question of the objective value of that to which the surrender is made, of that which is to be assimilated and realized. Progress is throughout due to innumerable acts of faith, trust, surrender, and reliance; and, as the occasions vary in intensity and objective significance, some part of the self is afflicted and developed, and at times the whole self seems to be renounced only to gain a 'higher' or a better self. However intense the feeling of surrender in human relationships, it is in the religious sphere that the significance of the step is most profoundly felt, and here the leap into the unknown is no less an one, even though there is the confidence that 'underneath are the everlasting arms.' Here are experiences varying in degree and uniting the individual and his ordinary life and thought with that which is most profound and ineffable in the universe, correlating uniquely the non-religious and the religions, the known and the unknown, and forming the basis of all adequate conceptions of existence, knowledge, and reality.

35. Reality.—(1) It will have been seen that the trend of thought has advanced the study of religion to a new stage, and has interwoven it with the progress of other departments of research. In this process, his book, he has pointed the reader to the wider field in which the study of religion must be placed, and to indicate some of the more important questions. Much more might of course be said, but the central problem would still remain: the underlying ultimate realities. Here it must suffice to observe that by the religious consciousness must be meant a consciousness of reality. The realities of religion must be more personally vital than those recognized outside the realm of religion; in fact a religion that would live must all ten claims in its approach on these ultimate realities. But even in religion we have to do, not with reality itself, but with intimations, apprehensions, or convictions of it. The religious mode of thought appears to be essentially a very intense form of the religious emotional, in which the most characteristic features of reality are a highly distinctive form of what otherwise is not peculiar to religion. Religion is 'natural' because the ultimate realities must be a 'natural' part of the universe of which man becomes conscious. Ideas of 'this' world and of 'the other' originate in the mind of one and the same experiencing individual; and there can be only one total existence of which he has such varying intimations and conceptions as his nature, temperament, and training favour. Moreover, not only is there an interconnexion between the progress of religion, its increasing wealth of expression, and the general development of thought; it is also self-evident that the deliberate effort to raise the level of thought and to improve the mental equipment (e.g., in education) enables one to experience life more fully and to utilize its data more effectively. Indeed, one has only to consider the member life of primitive men to perceive the essential parallelism in the development of the light have contributed to the general advance of religion, and to a clearer apprehension of all that is felt to be profoundly real and true. Thus thought—especially in its dynamic aspects—and reality are not to be supposed apart.

(2) But, while progress brings better conceptions

1 Cf. also the "dark night" of the mystical experience; see artt. MYSTICISM, NEO-PHILosophY.
of reality, at the same time it certainly increases men's abilities, duties, and responsibilities. It magnifies the possibilities of good and evil. The development is thus the inevitable constant transformation of the relation between men and reality, whether one considers (a) the actual progress of physical science and the strides taken in utilizing the realities of the physical world, or (b) the deepening recognition of the necessity of higher standards of moral, spiritual, and intellectual life. Thus, the development of conceptions of reality powerfully affects human welfare as a whole. Moreover, they correspond in their remarkable variety to the variation of individual temperament, training, experience, and so forth. It is obvious that the striking differences—ethical, spiritual, and intellectual—in men's conceptions of God are due to differences, not in the nature of God Himself, but in human nature. "God" is the name given to that sublimest of realities, of which man becomes conscious as standing in a uniquely 'personal' relationship with him. Whatever be the true objective reality, it is evident that both the Reality and man's own individual nature contribute to the resultant varying conceptions of all the main realities, as formulated, are man's imperfect conceptions of them, conceptions whose vicissitudes can be objectively studied, and which can develop further and, in so doing, lead to newer and more effective concepts. Consequently it is necessary to observe, on the one hand, the evident significance for the individual of his own conceptions of reality, and, on the other, the problem of the part taken by reality throughout. To the genuine theologian this is essential. If not the only reality, and it is impossible to isolate His working in the universe from the man who has an erroneous conception of God, or, perhaps, no consciousness of Him at all. None the less, it is of essential importance whether men's conceptions of any reality are adequate or not, and, to some extent at least, God's influence upon men is admittedly conditioned by men's conceptions. Hence the question is vital, how far God can influence men as apart from man's explicit consciousness of Him, how far God Himself is affected by human activities (con, by gross evil) contrary to man's consciousness of His nature. (For we must evidently distinguish between human activities not yet recognized by men to be evil and those which they know within themselves to be wrong.) Moreover, since 'God' is theistic consciousness of reality, the problem is essentially that of the relation between the ultimate realities in general and men with their varying consciousness of them. Vitaliy significant as this is on practical grounds, it is also a problem of the greatest methodological importance, i.e. If the data of the growth of consciousness, of religion and magic, and of science and philosophy are to be rationally and thoroughly handled. Reality must always be significant for men; it must have some effect, as apart from their explicit consciousness, of what they actually do. Only in this way can one gain a coherent view of the universe. Consequently there is need both of (a) an adequate conception of the ultimate realities to take the place of those felt to be imperfect, and of (b) methods of making these conceptions universalize, i.e. of such conceptions in human history, the development and differentiation of thought, and all that makes for the greater fullness and richness of life. (3) All growth of consciousness brings increased powers to deal with evil, but not so much of the self alone as of an environment or a system of relations of which the self is the centre. The development demands continued discipline and reorganization, for the consequences are harmful if the self is lacking in responsibility, morality, and all that encourages healthy progress. The limit of such development furnishes the conception of absolute coherence, perfection, truth, justice, etc., whether as regards (a) an absolutely absolute, non-evolving cosmos, or (b) an impersonal system of regulative principles and uniformities, as manifested in the universe—the ultimate 'environment'. Now, the entire complex field of religion becomes more manageable and intelligible only when notice is taken of the beliefs and practices which connect humanity with those of the universe, whether directly (especially in magico-religious and magical data) or indirectly (e.g., through prayer to the gods). But this fundamental underlying interconnexion, implicit in life and ground throughout the universe, furnishes the necessity for differentiation and differentiation of thought—when, e.g., spiritual and non-spiritual forms of energy are distinguished, and definitions or theories mark off matter from mind, and the physical from the psychical. The primary logical interconnections are continually being obscured through the growth of special knowledge, which, however, brilliantly illuminates the varied departmental (moral, spiritual, aesthetic, intellectual) aspects of the universe. There is a perilous kinship between religion and magic; typically and characteristically they are respectively right and wrong ways of dealing with what is regarded as fundamentally real and true. Common strong convictions and extremely intense states of consciousness are the more potent for good or for evil, there is a bifurcation such that what can take a religious form might also become magical or irreligious. Thus, there is a sane and an insane supernaturalism, a healthy and unhealthy mysticism, and genius has its cases of perversity and depravity. Accordingly, it is possible either to distinguish the good and the bad examples or to refuse to admit the latter within the category; that is to say, either we have good and bad religion, genius, etc., (or examples of these) or the bad cases come under another category, as, e.g., in the antithesis of religion and magic, (good) mysticism and (irrational) occultism, and the like. Whatever course be generally adopted, it is extremely important to discriminate between and to distinguish the subjective aspects of data from their logical and other more objective value. It is important to distinguish religion, genius, etc., as a whole or absolute feeling and the more specialized forms which are examples of religion, genius, etc, and which can be more objectively regarded. In this way, the fact can be emphasized that, although the ultimate realities are in a sense religious (e., as relating to a Supreme Deity or to life after death), they are not religious in themselves, although religion is directly concerned with their apprehension and formulation. For the subjectively impressive experiences so easily lead along beneficial or harmful roads, either to religion or to its worst enemy, that a careful disciplinary and regulative hand must be kept on and required for the sake of both the individual and society. In other words, reality—i.e. our own subjective conceptions of it—at once requires a formulation, a logical theory, an embodiment. (4) Freely choosing among alternatives, etc., are one of many phases, aspects, and departments of the totality of existence. The most 'religious' individual has his non-religious side, and the most 'non-religious' individual has his religious or rather irreligious occasions. The test of a religion lies in its relation to what is, as such, non-religious, viz. to the most non-religious, i.e. to those who have not been touched by the age as manifested in conduct, thought, ideals, and so forth. But, owing to the differentiation and specialization of thought

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1 The latter is not the objective universe of the senses, but a logical construction, and the former depends upon man's present stage of consciousness. The ultimate which the mind can conceive depends upon the stage of development reached by the mind.
REQUISITE FORMS
—(with the corresponding (objective) incompleteness of individual minds—no one mind can form a logically adequate estimate. It is impossible for any individual to grasp totalitly as it is, although he may possibly get to the edge of any of the points as he going on and improving current conceptions, definitions, and other tools of his mind, this is in a very slow, of advance of thought, and in the better organization of the data of experience, one comes to realize more vividly and truly the universe of which one is an integral part. For the individual is in a religious life, in the human, and the rest, the scientific or critical treatment of religion is considered in determining those and in maintaining the progress of thought, inasmuch as nothing is more potent than the continued knowledge of reality and the convictions which sway mankind. The apprehensions of reality in the man and objective reality itself, and, varying, as they do, according to the individual, they are a key to a science of human nature and experience. It is obvious that there must be realities of a sort to allow the prevalent types, although the ultimate realities of the universe are not to be confused with the realities of our human nature. Thus, a conception of 'God' can be formulated and accepted: it will correspond and answer to personal experience at a certain stage of psychological development; it can prove the most vital and stimulating truth that man can possess. There must be some objective reality such that men become conscious of it in ways varying according to their individual nature and stage of development. Moreover, human personality is such that the conception of a reality in a personal relationship to man is a natural and true way of realizing a subjective reality; it is demanded by the data of religion, by the characteristic features of personal development, by the consciousness of the necessity of continued development in every direction which man feels to be good, beautiful, and true. In a word, the religious conceptions of the man is to give a rational account of himself so far as his intellect allows him, and the most objective theory of reality must be based upon the human consciousness.

5) All the ultimate realities themselves lie beyond human vision (cf. 1 Co 13:11). Between them and the self there are, as a psychological veil, the impulses, ideas, convictions, and theories, the whole body or world of thought which makes every man what he is. Here reality.' Some mysteries of reality, from a psychological point of view, are hinted at in the strange data of psychical research, occultism, and ecstasy, in all abnormal and pathological phenomena of the mind, in the disabilities of consciousness of the development, in some adequate body of thought, some favorable outlook upon the universe, which will enable them both to
direct and understand their experiences and to realize the significance of human existence so as to be prepared to do their duty. The problem of the good of a universe from which they can never escape. Upon their body of thought depend their sanity and effectiveness. Even reality itself seems to some extent to be powerless against the will which we regard as bad and evil; while, on the other hand, how far reality can be objectively and positively influenced, under given conditions, is a vital problem which can at least be theoretically handled. Certainly religion has not been without direct contributions of the practical relations between God and man—and, suppose religion proved to embody the truth about reality?

So the study of man's psychical tendencies, his ideas and ideals, his modes of thought, his beliefs and practices, his doctrines, theologies, and philosophies—all contribute to one's knowledge of human nature and of the universe. In the investigation of the development of conceptions and of the workings of the mind, whether in its immediate consciousness of reality or in its reflection upon past experiences, one comes to know a little more of the realities themselves and of the objective relationship between them and man. If, then, it is judicious to venture upon a definition of reality, as a point of departure, it is clear that the following may be suggested, provisionally: Religion primarily involves some immediate consciousness of transcendent realities of supreme personal worth, vitally influencing life and thought, expressing themselves in forms which are conditioned by the entire stage of development reached by the individual and his environment, and tending to become more explicit and static in mythologies, theologies, philosophies, and scientific doctrines. But, as this article has tried to indicate, there is a positive development of consciousness and thought in history, and consequently it is possible to seek to correlate both the static aspects, which are essential for all stability, and the dynamic, which are indispensable for future progress. For to do justice to the ultimate facts of harmony and of development in the universe is one of the main functions of a living religion.

LITERATURE,—The more important special technical works have been mentioned throughout the article.

STANLEY A. COOK.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Introductory.—See SECRET SOCIETIES (Introductory).


Mexican and Peruvian (J. A. MACULLOCH), p. 718.

Muslim (E. MONTET), p. 719.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Christian).—I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CLASSIFICATION.—Under the title 'religions,' in the Christian Church, are included all those who make profession of a life in conformity with the precepts and counsels of the gospel, and who withdraw from the world in order to practice life more perfectly.

The art. MONASTICISM deals with the origin and chief characteristics of this form of life, of which monasticism is the principal species. In monasticism we have the religious life in its essential elements; and it may be said that, from the 6th to the 20th cent., it has been a question merely of combining those elements according to diverse interests and serve special purposes, and that no new conceptions and no essential difference has been introduced—nothing, in fact, that was not already existing in germ in the monastic life of the earliest centuries. The vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the practice of mortification, labour, prayer, and silence—sometimes even preaching and other external work were the obligations of religious life in all ages, whether under the cenobitical or under the eremitical form. We are concerned in this article with the different forms of religious life in the modern classification. The first task of the historian, in presence of the number and variety of these forms of the religious life (they exceed 350 in number, even without counting certain religious societies of minor importance), is to define the classification. This is not an easy task. Neither geographical nor chronological considerations will serve as a basis of classification, since, owing to the universal character of Christianity, these religious families are found in every nation and every race, and shoots in every age and thus belong to no one century more than to another. The attempt has been made to group them in families, placing side by
side those which offer analogous features or which follow the same line. Here, the historian and canonist will not be in perfect accord.

If, e.g., the attempt is made to place under the same rubric all the orders in which the Rule of St. Augustine is followed, the result will only lead to confusion, for these orders respect questions quite distinct. The Dominicans, hospitalers, and several congregations of women, e.g., all alike follow the Rule of St. Augustine, but they differ entirely from one another as regards the end and object of their respective institutes. This results from the fact that the so-called Rule of St. Augustine consists in reality of a set of general principles of spirituality which can be adapted to any form of religious life. It is the constitutions of each order, rather than the Rule, that give it its distinctive character. The Carmelites originally followed the Rule of St. Augustine. Some orders have followed different Rules at different times. The Premonstratensians combine the Rules of St. Augustine and St. Benedict. The Dominicans, who also follow the Rule of St. Augustine adapted from that of the canons regular, especially the Premonstratensians, seem to belong, with practically equal right, to two very different forms of life, the Rule of the canons regular and that of the mendicant friars. The Brothers of St. John of God, who are hospitalers, were attached to the mendicant orders by Urban v. It was the same in the case of the Jesuits to a certain extent, although these 'religious' belong to a totally different category—that of clerks regular. The title, in fact, of 'mendicant friar,' which distinguishes certain orders, came in time to be attached to those which were not originally comprised under this designation, such as the Augustinian Hermits, the Carmelites, as well as the hospitalers and others mentioned above. The Theatines and Barnabites, who are clerks regular, received the privileges of the canons regular of the Lateran. Some—e.g., Verneersch—regard the question from the point of view of canon law, and classify the orders according to whether they possess solemn vows, simple vows, temporary vows, or a mere promise. This method of classification, while legitimate in itself, has no historical foundation. Moreover, it leads to confusion, for some orders have solemn vows, simple vows, temporary vows, or have even practised both systems simultaneously for different members of the order. Finally, if we take as specially characteristic of an order the particular work undertaken by its members—education, care of the sick, preaching, etc.—it is not easy to judge to what class certain orders belong that exercise all these various activities at once.

Without flattering ourselves that it is in all respects a perfectly satisfactory system of classification, we shall adopt here, as the most practical for our purposes, one that is both chronological and pragmatic—one that keeps in view the different periods of time, while grouping together those orders, which follow the same principles, in their relative place. We shall also keep to the traditional mode of designation.

1. From the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century: virgins, widows, and ascetics. In this and the following sections, the words "the faithful" or "the pious" signify the faithful who lived a life more austere than that of their brethren and who formed a class apart. Among these ascetics there are even indications of an attempt at community life. They may be regarded, as the earliest representatives of the religious life.

2. From the middle of the 3rd to the end of the 12th century: the monks and the canons regular. —Until the end of the 12th century, the orders comprised the hermits and anchorites of all descriptions, the cenobites or monks living together in community, and those who combine both elements in a life partly eremitical and partly cenobitical. To the same period belong the canons regular, whose life was more or less directly connected with that of the monks, and who enjoy the same privileges.


The Brothers of the Common Life, Beghards, and Beguines form a category of their own, but may be classified together with the monks and the canons, since their life is founded on the principles of the monastic and canonical state.

3. From the 11th to the 16th century: the military orders and the knights hospitalers. —Strictly speaking, these orders might be classed with the monks, since they usually followed one of the monastic Rules (e.g., that of St. Benedict). But they possess so marked a character of their own that it is better to treat them separately. They are as follows: the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, Templars, Tontonie, Knights, Knights of Evora or of Aviz, Knights of St. James of Compostella, Knights of Calatrava and of Alcantara, Knights of the Order of St. Lazarus.

4. From the 11th to the 20th century: the hospitalers (non-military).—These include the Order of Mercy, the Trinitarians, the Servites, the Paulinians, the Alexians, the Jesuati or Hieronymites, the Ambrosians, the Brothers of the Apostles, the Good Brethren, the Order of the Holy Ghost, the Brothers of St. John of God.2

5. From the 13th to the 16th century: the mendicant orders or friars (fratii).—The friars adopted a mode of life differing in many respects from that of the monks or canons regular, viz., the absence of the element of stability in a particular place, the absence of all privileges of any description save the exercise of the sacred ministry, preaching and teaching, reduction of the solemnity of the clerical office, suppression (at least originally) of all property and all power to possess lands or money even in the name of the community. They are called mendicants because, unlike the monks, having no possessions and no stable means of livelihood, they were obliged to live on alms.

The four principal mendicant orders are: the Dominicans of St. Dominic, the Franciscans of St. Francis, the Carmelites, the Augustinians.4 There are, besides, other lesser mendicant orders in some of which the Rule of St. Augustine is observed, in others that of St. Francis. Among the former are the Order of Poor Clares or Poor Sisters of St. Clare, the Order of Poor Minor HH., the Congregations of the religious orders (Christian)

ORDERS OF WOMEN ARE THE BRIGITINES, ANUNCIADAS, URSULINES, ANGELICALS, SALESIAN SISTERS, PENITENTS, ETC.

7. FROM THE 17TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY: RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS. — THESE RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS RESEMBLE THE CLERKS REGULAR, AND THEY ARE CALLED IN CANON LAW 'QUASI-REGULAR.' THEY HAVE USUALLY ONLY SIMPLE VOWS AND ARE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE CLERKS REGULAR PROPER BY THIS FACT AND ALSO BY THE MORE RECENT DATE OF THEIR FOUNDATION.


8. FROM THE 18TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY: MISSIONARY SOCIETIES OR CONGREGATIONS. — THESE SOCIETIES, FOUNDED ESPECIALLY FOR THE FOREIGN MISSIONS, MAY BE CONSIDERED, AS REGARDS THEIR MANNER OF LIFE, AS CLERKS REGULAR, BUT NOT AS SUCH. THEY HAVE NO COMMON END IN VIEW, AND THEY HAVE PLACED THEM TOGETHER IN A GROUP APART.


TARY ORDERS AND HOSPITALIERS. — I. CANONS REGULAR. — (a) THE NAME. — THE NAME 'CANON' IS OF ANCIENT ORIGIN. THE COUNCILS OF NICE (314), CHALCEDON (451), AND 'IN TURNO' (592), SPEAKING OF THE CLERICS ATTACHED TO THE SERVICE OF CERTAIN CHURCHES, SAY THAT THEY ARE 'SANCTI SEDIS OR DE SACERDOTE,' I.E. INSERBED IN THE SAIN'TS, THE MATRICA, TABULA, OR ALBUM. ACCORDING TO DU CANGE, A CANONICUS IS ONE WHO IS INSERBED SUB CANONE FRAMMENTARIO, I.E. IS MAINTAINED BY THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH. ST. ANTHONY EMPLOYS THE TERM 'SANCTUS.'

IN THE WEST THE 2ND AND 3RD COUNCILS OF TOLEDO AND THAT OF FRIULI (791) SPEAK OF CLERICS 'SUB CANONE ECCLESIASTICO.' THE 3RD COUNCIL OF ORLEANS IN 533 AND GREGORY OF TOURS MAKE USE OF THE TERM CANONICUS TO DESCRIBE THE CLERGY OF A CHURCH.

THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT IN 533 EXTENDS THIS TITLE TO ALL PRIESTS AND EVEN DEACONS ATTACHED TO A CHURCH, WHETHER IN TOWN OR IN COUNTRY. THESE PRIESTS AND DEACONS WERE OBLIGED, AT GREAT FEASTS, TO ASSEMBLE IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH TO CELEBRATE DIVINE SERVICE TOGETHER WITH THE BISHOP. IN 533 THE 3RD COUNCIL OF ORLEANS DEPRIVED THE TITLE OF 'CANON' OF ALL CLERICS WHO REFUSED TO OBEY THEIR BISHOP. IT MAY BE GATHERED FROM THESE DIFFERENT TEXTS THAT THE TITLE OF CANON WAS GIVEN TO TWO CLASSES OF PEOPLE DIFFERING WIDELY FROM ONE ANOTHER. ON THE ONE HAND WERE CLERICS, LIKE THOSE OF THE DIOCESE OF HIPPO, WHO LIVED WITH THEIR BISHOP IN COMMUNITY AND IN THE PRACTICE OF MONASTIC ASECISM. ON THE OTHER HAND WERE THOSE WHO LIVED IN THEIR OWN CHURCHES, PRACTISING NEITHER THE COMMUNITY LIFE NOR MONASTIC POVERTY, AND BOUND TO THEIR BISHOP BY AN OBLIGATION THAT DID NOT PRESS VERY HEAVILY UPON THEM. THIS VAGUE USE OF THE TERM LASTED THROUGHOUT THE AGES. IN ORDER TO AVOID CONFUSION, THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT AROSE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE TWO CLASSES OF CANONICS BY CALLING THE FIRST 'CANONS REGULAR' AND THE SECOND 'SECULAR CANONS' OR 'CANONS' PURE AND SIMPLE. THE LATTER CANNOT, OF COURSE, BE REGARDED AS IN ANY SENSE BELONGING TO THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS; IT IS WITH THE REGULAR CANONS ALONE THAT WE ARE HERE CONCERNED.

(b) CANONS REGULAR TILL THE 10TH CENTURY. — IN ART. MONASTICISM WE HAVE SHOWN THAT IN THE 4TH CENTURY THERE WAS A TENDENCY AMONG MANY BISHOPS TO GROUP THEIR PRIESTS TOGETHER, AND TO LIVE WITH THEM IN THE PRACTICE OF ASECISM ACCORDING TO THE EXAMPLE OF THE MONKS. THE ATTEMPTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE TO FIND EXAMPLES EARLIER THAN THIS DATE, IN ORDER TO TRACE BACK THE ORIGIN OF THE CANONICAL ORDER TO THE TIMES OF THE APOSTLES, ARE ENTIRELY WITHOUT VALUE.

ST. AUGUSTINE, WHO WAS SO WELL VERSED IN THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE PAST, DOES NOT EVEN MENTION THE CANONICAL LIFE IN HIS DE MORIBUS ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE, WRITTEN IN 388, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD HAVE AFFORDED HIM AN EXCELLENT AND MOST NATURAL OPPORTUNITY FOR DOING SO, HAD ANY SUCH INSTITUTION EXISTED BEFORE HIS TIME. NOR CAN ANY TRACES BE FOUND IN THE WRITINGS OF ST. CYPRIAN OR ANY OTHER WRITER OF EARLIER TIMES.

ST. AUGUSTINE WAS THE FIRST TO HAVE THE IDEA OF GATHERING HIS CLERGY AROUND HIM IN ORDER TO LIVE WITH THEM IN COMMON IN THE PRACTICE OF POVERTY AND RELIGIOUS DISCIPLINE AFTER THE EXAMPLE OF THE CENOBITES. HE MADE HIS FIRST TRIAL OF THIS RULE AT HIPPO IN 388.
RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Christian)

301. We have accounts of the life led by the monks and nuns of St. Augustine and of the Venerable Bede, as well as of the life led by the monks and nuns of the monastery founded by St. Benedict. The life of St. Benedict is described in the Rule of St. Benedict, which contains the regulations of the monastery and the duties of the monks. The Rule of St. Benedict was adopted by many monasteries throughout Europe, and it became the standard model for monastic life in the Western Church.

302. The Rule of St. Benedict was based on the principles of the Gospel, and it emphasized the importance of prayer, work, and community. The monks were to live in a simple manner, with a strict diet and a regular schedule of prayer and work. The monks were also to be obedient to the abbot, who was the spiritual and temporal leader of the monastery.

303. The Rule of St. Benedict was a significant influence on the development of monasticism in the Western Church. It provided a framework for the life of the monks and nuns, and it helped to establish monasticism as a recognized institution in the church. The Rule of St. Benedict was adopted by many monasteries throughout Europe, and it became the standard model for monastic life in the Western Church.

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or Austin Canons. Their houses were at first independent of one another, but were later united in a congregation which had its general chapters, its statutes, etc. The decrees of the 4th Lateran Council and those of Benedict XII, in 1339 are concerned with the Austin Canons. In spite of all this, the identity of the religious order among them had but a short period of brilliancy.

In the 14th cent. new efforts at reform were attempted by Cardinal Branda de Castiglione, by John Bush, and by Nicholas of Cusa.

Reformation:—The reform struck a fatal blow at the Canons Regular of St. Augustine properly so called. Other societies, however, had been formed on the Augustinian model under a severer Rule, and these were better able to resist the shock of the great upheaval. Some of them are still in existence at the present day, such, e.g., as the Canons Regular of the Lateran, the Premonstratensians, and several other congregations. We can give here only an outline of some of the principal ones.

Premonstratensians.—The Order of Premontré is the most illustrious of all among the canons regular. Its founder was St. Norbert († 1134), a canon of Magdeburg, who established himself at the Prémontré with a few companions in order to lead a life of prayer and to separate themselves to preaching and the sacred ministry. Their life was ordered according to the Rule of St. Augustine and guided by the example of the Canons Regular of St. Victor of Paris. This order developed rapidly owing partly to the sanctity and personal influence of its holy founder, partly to its object and nature, which had a special appeal in an age in which the idea of clerical and monastic reform had given rise to institutions such as the Cistercians and the Cluniac monks, both of which St. Norbert founded, besides the canons regular, a second order for women, which also had great success, and a third order for lay people. At the present day the order possesses five provinces or circles (circuiti), seventeen abbeys, five priories, eight convents of nuns of the second order and three of the third order, besides parishes, missions, and a few colleges. The members number 977 men and 258 women.

Canons Regular of St. Augustine along with special statutes of their own. At the head of the circle is the circulator, whose rank and office correspond with those of the provincial in other orders. Their constitutions resemble those of Citeaux. The abbot of Prémontré is abbot-general of the whole order and is assisted by the abbots of Floreffe, of Laon, and of Cissay, the first houses of the order. The general chapter is held at Prémontré. This constitution came to an end before the Revolution, and in 1833 a new constitution took its place. The habit is white and resembles the monastic habit except that in

1 The Rule of St. Augustine is divided into twelve chapters and contains only general principles (of an extremely elevated character) such as the love of God, and our neighbour, humility, prayer, fasting, duties towards the sick, purity of soul and body, obedience, etc.


choir a rochet, the badge of canonical dignity, is worn, and in winter a mantle also.

This order has rendered signal services to Christianity by its missions on the banks of the Elbe and the Oder and in the Low Countries, by the institution of hospices for pilgrims, the making of roads and canals, the foundation of libraries and schools, but especially by its reform of the clergy and the foundation of parishes. It even had an influence on architecture. It has produced also a certain number of chroniclers, historians, and ecclesiastical writers.

Canons of St. Victor. From the point of view of theology and literature, the Canons of St. Victor hold the first place. Their founder, Guillaume de Champeaux, is known as one of the most illustrious doctors and professors of the 12th century. These canons take their name from a chapel erected in honour of St. Victor, the martyr of Marseilles, on Mt. Sainte Genevieve in Paris. They were, moreover, actually affiliated to the Canons of St. Victor Major. However, it is their most illustrious member among them, who became the greatest theoretician of the mystique. The Canons of St. Victor were established in a number of churches in France (notably in that of Ste. Geneviève in Paris, whence their name of 'Genevain' and also outside France. St. Victor de Paris remained the centre of the institution. Unfortunately divisions soon arose within the order, and after the beginning of the 14th cent. it began to decline. On the eve of the Reformations it existed in a state of mere vegetation.

The school of St. Victor is most important for the history of scholastic literature, and the works of its teachers are still of great value.

Like the greater number of canons regular, the Canons of St. Victor followed the Rule of St. Augustine, with their own special statutes composed by Gillain, one of their abbots, and inspired to a great extent by the Rule of St. Benedict.

Canons of the Lateran. — The Augustinian Canons of the Lateran were founded shortly after the Lateran Council in 1073, and were attached to the cathedral of St. Peter in Rome in 1103. They possessed a considerable number of houses in Italy and Poland. They were obliged to leave the Lateran basilica for the first time in 1299, for the second and last time in 1471. They have to-day houses at Rome, and 24 in Italy and 27 in France. The Church of St. Peter ad Vincula in Rome.


2 Besides Hérot, Heimbuacher, Chevalier (sive. "Laten, Chanoines reguliers," see P. Cavaliere, Bibliotheca compositi degli uomini illustri della congr. de canonicis regulari del SS. Salvatore Lateranensi, Veltier, 1856.
Canons Regular of St. Maurice.—The congregation of Canons Regular of St. Maurice of Agaune in Switzerland owes its fame to the martyrdom of the Theban legion. An abbey existed at Agaune from the 6th cent., in close relation with that of Lérins and having, like the latter, the patronage of St. Martin. In 1031, several monks were transformed into canons regular—an event of frequent occurrence at that time.1

2. Brothers of the Common Life.—This religious society, like that of the Beguines and the Beghards, formed an offshoot from the history of the two monastic orders. From some points of view, it would seem to belong to the monastic order, from others, again, to that of the canons regular. In any case it forms one of the most interesting pages in the history of medieval religious life and mysticism. It is treated separately under the title BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE.

3. Beguines and Beghards.—These congregations originated in the Low Countries. According to some, they go back to the daughter of Pepan de Landen, in the 7th century. But it seems that their founder was, in reality, a priest of Liége, Lambert Beghe (or ‘le bègue,’ †1187). These beguines are not nuns or ‘religious’ in the strict sense, for they take no vows. They are simply pious women living in community. In certain towns a special quarter was given up to them. They lived there in little hermitages, sometimes singly, sometimes several together, under the direction of a superior (known nowadays as ‘la grande dame’). They had a common chapel, in which they met for their religious exercises. Some followed the Rule for the tertiaries of St. Francis, others that for the tertiaries of St. Dominic. The Reformation in the 16th cent. and the French Revolution put an end to many beguineges. Some, however, still exist in Belgium, Holland, and Germany. This institution never had a very wide vogue, but it presents certain original characteristics worthy of note.2

The institution of the Beghards was founded for men on the analogy of the Beguines. They soon underwent the influence of the Lollards and other heretics, and were condemned by several popes and councils.

4. Military orders and hospitalers.—In the 11th cent., sprung up a new class of religious orders which, from a certain point of view, are connected with the monastic order, while possessing their own marked characteristics. Some of these were purely military in character; others were concerned also with the care of the sick (hospitalers). The hospitalers pure and simple form a third category, which will be treated apart.4 The military orders were regarded by the Church as true religious orders. They had the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, celebrated the divine office, were under the discipline of a Rule and an observance of fasts and abstinence, and enjoyed the same privileges as the monks, being exempt from duels, being defended in law, and able to approach the Holy See. Some followed the Cistercian statutes, others the Rule of St. Augustine, and others that of St. Benedict. It is for this reason that we regard them as belonging, in a sense, to the monastic order. Contemporary with the Crusades, their principal object was to fight against the Saracens and to protect the Christian pilgrims to the holy places. Their life may, in fact, be regarded as one of perpetual war against the Musulman. In these orders, at their origin, we have united in one the ideal of the monastic life and of the life of chivalry of the Christian knight. This ideal stood them in good stead in those far-off days, while the Christian world was imbued with the spirit of religion. Unfortunately such an ideal proved to be too high, and elements so incongruous as the religious and the military could not long endure together.

Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem.—This is the most ancient of all the military orders. In 1048 some Italian merchants built a hospice or hostelry for pilgrims and for the sick in Jerusalem. Certain French noblemen who served it formed an order which was approved by the pope and regarded as a religious congregation. This was the cradle of the order. Gérard de Tenque (of Martignes in Provence) organized it into a military order, i.e. an order in which there were brethren attendant on the sick and members who were knights, and who had as their special object to defend the Christian pilgrimage against Muslim hosts and raids. The order was approved by Pope Pascal II in 1113 under the name of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Later its members were known as the Knights of Rhodes and, later still, Knights of Malta, from the fact that they defended both these islands against the Musulman. Foundations were soon established along the shores of the Mediterranean and, at one period of their history they possessed houses to the number of 15,000.

The knights acquired a wide influence and power and also considerable riches, which enabled them to serve as money-agents or bankers to princes and kings.1 They rendered great services to the Christian religion, and their prowess in the wars against the Turks won them great renown. Their heroic defence of Rhodes and of Malta against an enemy six times their number forms a veritable epic. The most illustrious of their grand masters were Pierre d’Anubusson, Villiers de l’Isle Adam, and La Valette. Napoleon conquered their last stronghold, St. Elmo, which he gave to the French and Nelson annexed Malta for the English Government. The title of Knights of Malta still exists as a title of honour. Those who bear it form a society and give themselves to works of charity.

Knights Templars.—Although of more recent date than the Knights Hospitalers, the Templars soon became of greater importance and greater power. Their founder was Hugues de Payens, a French noble, who in 1118 gathered together a number of companions for the defence of the pilgrims to the Holy Land against the Saracens. The name of Templars, or ‘Order of the Temple,’ was given to them because their house in Jerusalem was built on the site of the Temple of Solomon. St. Bernard, in 1128, drew up a Rule for them adapted from the Rule of St. Benedict and the Statutes of Cîteaux. The order comprised the knights (all of whom had to be of noble birth), ‘sеньors,’ who were of the bourgeoisie and who acted as esquires, and pages, who were dependents of the clergy. The first grand master was Hugues de Payens.1

1 Héloy, ii. 27 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 24 ff.; Chevalier, s.v. 'Saint-Maurice d’Agaune'; DACL, s.v. 'Agwayne', i, col. 550 ff.
2 Coudry, 'Beguines et Beghards'; Grégoire Le Breton, 'Beghinecurans, Liege, 1629; J. L. von Mosheim, Die Beghards und Beghardsins, Leipzig, 1794; Héloy, vii. 1 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. s.v. 'Beguines'.
3 Natalis Alexander, Histoire ecclésiastique, Venice, 1773, vii. 538—556; F. A. Zucarri, Teologia, Madrid, 1734, iv. 101 ff.; Gourdon, 'Les Beguines, note 2'; Chevalier, s.v. 'Begards.'
4 We shall say nothing here of the secular orders of knight-hospitallers, which, like the military orders, were included in the history of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, but which did not form part of the military orders but were in reality purely civil and instituted by kings and princes as a reward for the services of their subjects, e.g., the Orders of the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, etc.
The order was purely military. We need not here enlarge on the great part played in medieval history by the Knights Templars, on the influence which they wielded far and wide (they had in the 12th cent. 9000 manors distributed through every land in Christendom), on the services which they rendered to Christianity against the Saracens in the Holy Land. A calcium, which had crept during ages accumulated and which were the cause of their downfall, the abuses which crept into the order, or, finally, their lamentable end under Philip le Bel and Clement v. after the cruel execution of their grand master, Jacques de Molay, and the Revocation of 1307.

The Templars were succeeded in Portugal by the Order of Christ, and in Spain by the Order of Monte-Span.

Other orders were founded on the model of the Templars and the Hospitalers, but we shall speak only of the principal of these lesser orders—the Teutonic Knights, the Knights of St. James, and the Knights of Calatrava and Alcantara.

Teutonic Knights.—About 1128 or 1129 a rich merchant of Germany who had taken part in the siege of Jerusalem, struck with compassion at the sight of the sufferings of the pilgrims, built a hospital for them, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. He was soon joined by others, with whom he organized an order on the model of the Hospitallers of St. John, to care for the pilgrims and protect them against the Saracens. After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin they were constituted one of the military orders (1190 or 1191) and chose their name from 'Hospitaliers of the Blessed Virgin' to 'Teutonic Knights of the Hospitality of the Blessed Virgin.' They adopted a Rule similar to that of the Templars and the Knights of St. John. The order was composed of laymen with their servants, esquires, and chaplains. To the three vows of religion the Teutonic Knights added a fourth—to devote themselves to the care of the sick and of pilgrims, and to combat the enemies of the faith. They celebrated the divine office and other prayers, and were under a superior or prior. At the head of the order was the grand master, and under him the grand commander, the marshal, who was the lieutenant of the grand master in battle, and a grand hospitalier, who supervised the hospitals under the care of the order. The members were always of German nationality. The knights took part at first in the struggle against the Saracens, then joined forces with another military order, the Knights of the Order of Christ in Livonia, which had been founded to fight against the pagan nations of the Baltic. While thus devoting themselves specially to the war against these pagans, they did not cease to take a part in the Crusade against the Saracens in Palestine. The emperors of Germany, Frederick I. and Frederick II., gave the order their protection and endowed it with vast possessions.

When at the time of the Reformation the grand master became a Lutheran, the order was divided, one part following the grand master in his apostasy, the other taking up the cause against the Protestants. The order fell from its first fervour, and Napoleon took measures to abolish it in 1809. It still survives, however, as an order of hospitaliers in Austria. There are 20 professed knights, who are bound to celibacy, and 30 knights of honour, not so bound. Both classes of knights must be of noble birth. The grand master is always one of the imperial archdukes. The order has charge of 50 hospitals in South Germany, the service of which it supports two congregations of priests and four of sisters. Its members also do ambulance work in war-time. There is a Protestant branch of the order in Holland.

Other military orders were founded at the same time in Spain and in Portugal, on the model of the above, in order to fight against the Moors. That of Aviz in Portugal arose in 1147, in the reign, it is believed, of Alfonso I. The knights followed the Rule of St. Benedict in its Cistercian interpretation. They were known at first as the 'New Soldiers,' then as the Knights of Evora, and finally of Aviz. Their campaign against the Moors was conducted with success.

The Order of St. James of Compostella was founded to protect the pilgrims to the shrine of that saint against the brigands and the Moors. Those of Calatrava and Alcantara had also as their aim to make war against the Moors.

The Order of Calatrava owed its origin, in 1158, to a Saracen who became its first grand master, his monks being transformed into knights. It remained in union with Citeaux and was victorious against the Moors. Unfortunately its members took part in the civil and political contests in Spain and were later declared by Pope Innocent II. to be the true and only representative of the power of the Spanish kings, ceasing to be a religious order and becoming an honorary order of knighthood. Meanwhile it became united with the Orders of Aviz and Alcantara. The latter, founded by Archbishop II. of Toledo and also called the Order of St. Benedict and was affiliated to Citeaux. The knights also made war on the Moors, but, like the Order of Calatrava, they took part in politics and ended, like them, in becoming a courtly order of knighthood.

Among less celebrated orders are the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, which claimed to go back to the time of St. Helena; the Order of Christ or of the Sword, founded by Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, for the defence of Cyprus against the Turks; the Order of Alcantara, founded in Livonia in 1234, to fight against the heathen in that country; the Order of the Cross or Army of St. Dominic, against the Albanians; the Order of St. Thomas of Canterbury, an offshoot of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, for the service of pilgrims in England, etc. The innumerable orders of knighthood founded by kings and princes in order to confer honour upon and to reward their dependents were not religious orders and do not belong to our subject.

The Order of St. Lazarus, of which St. Basil was the reputed founder, and which was united with that of St. Maurice de Savoy for the care of lepers, had several dependencies and annexes in Palæstine and was also an order of military hospitaliers. It acquired its military character after the first Crusade, and resembled closely the Templars and the Knights of St. John. This order constructed a vast number of leper-houses.


2 It was the custom at that time for knights to be accompanied, when on horseback, by envoys to require and assist them.
building bridges over streams and rivers for the convenience of travellers. They also built hospitals and houses for the poor, and maintained hospitals and bridges in Spain, Portugal, and other countries. Divided at first into two sections—one under the general of Granada, the other under that of Rome—they were united in 1878. At the present day the order possesses 9 provinces and 105 hospitals with 14,962 beds. There are 1572 members.

With the Brothers of St. John of God must not be confused similar congregations, some of them called by the same name, such as the Brothers of Montauban, the Brothers of Mercy of St. John of God, the Brothers of St. John of God. These others were all local societies founded in the 19th cent., and have not the same importance as the Brothers of St. John of God strictly so called.

Two other congregations, the Brothers of St. Hippolytus, founded in the 16th cent. in Mexico, and the Bethelites, founded in Guatemala in 1655, were devoted, like the Brothers of St. John of God, to the care of the sick and also to educational work. The first of these societies still possesses 12 hospitals in 1885; the second was suppressed in 1820.

The Camilians, who were also occupied with the care of the sick, are treated below. There are, besides, a large number of other communities of hospitalizers, a list of which will be found in Helyot and Heimbucher.

III. THE MENDICANT ORDERS.—1. Dominicans

(a) Origin.—The founder of the Dominicans, St. Dominic, was born in 1170 at Calaroga in Old Castile. He was thus only twelve years in advance of St. Francis of Assisi. He made a thorough study of theology at the University of Palencia, and in 1195 became a canon of Osma and gave himself to the work of preaching. He associated himself later with the reform of those canons upon whom the bishop imposed the Rule of St. Augustine. We find him next in close relation with the papal legates sent against the Albigensians, in the south of France, and it was there that his future vocation was to be decided. He preached against the heretics, not only by word of mouth, but also by example of evangelical poverty. It was then that St. Dominic conceived the idea of founding a religious order for the conversion of the Albigensians—an order consecrated to the work of preaching, but of the mendicant order.


2 A. König, "Der Orden und die Genossenschaft der barmh. Brüder," in Charitas, i. (1896) 145-170, iv. (1897) 130-131; Heimbucher, ii. 245-246, "Die barmherzigen Brüder."
the study of divine things. In 1215 he went to Rome and obtained from Pope Innocent III., during the 4th Lateran Council, the approbation of the new order. The saint returned several times to Rome at a later period, and obtained fresh approbation from Honorius III. and also numerous privileges for his order. The latter developed rapidly, and convents were founded in France, Spain, and Italy. During one of his journeys in Italy St. Dominick had a meeting with St. Francis, in whom he recognized a true spiritual bond. An agreement was made in Bologna on 23rd, 1221.

(b) Constitution. — The Dominicans follow the Rule of St. Augustine, with which St. Dominick had become acquainted while a canon of Osma, and with which he combined the usages of the Premonstratensians, who held a place in the first ranks of the canons regular. From this point of view, the Dominicans form an order that is essentially clerical and hence differs from the monastic order. Their principal object is preaching, with which, as a logical consequence, they combined the exercise of the sacred ministry and teaching in the schools. Unlike the monks, the Dominicans have no bond of stability to unite them to any particular monastery; they may be sent from one house to another and are not necessarily subject to any one abbot. Like the Franciscans, they are mendicants, i.e. they are forbidden to possess property and depend for their maintenance upon Christian charity. They are governed by a master general and a general chapter—an institution borrowed by St. Dominick from the Premonstratensians. The constitution of the order already established at the general chapter of Bologna in 1220 was confirmed by Jordan of Saxony and his successors. At the head of each convent or priory is the prior, at the head of the province is the provincial, and the general chapter is held every three years. It is composed alternately of provincials and definitors or delegates from each province, and has very wide powers. The general is elected by both provincials and definitors united in chapter—originally for life, now only for twelve years. He resides at the Convent of the Minerva in Rome. The provincials are elected by the provincial chapters composed of the priors of the province and delegates from each conven
t. They may be vincible for two years, and the prior is elected by the community for a term of three years. He has under him a sub-prior. The priors are confirmed in office by the provincial, the provincial by the master general. The actual constitutions given to his order by St. Dominick were curtailed and rearranged in better order by St. Raymond of Pennafort, and they are added to and completed by the decisions of the general chapters.

(c) Studies. — The Dominican Order gave itself from an early date to the study of theology. The general chapter of 1248 instituted four provinces—those of Provence, Lombardy, Germany, and England—in order to found, in these regions, a studium generale at the four cities of Montpellier, Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and Tholos. St. Thomas Aquinas greatly promoted the element of study by the brilliancy of their renown. Each province was obliged to send two students every year to the studium generale. The convent of St. Thomas of Aquas (surnamed St. Thomas) soon formed the chief centre of Dominici
can studies. In each convent there was also a studium particular. In 1239 the general chapter of Valenciennes (of which Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas were the memori
tions of a system of studies for novices and lectors to last eight years—two years of philosophy, two of fundamental theology, Church history and canon law, and four for the study of scholastic theology. At the end of this course those who merited it received the title of lector. After seven years of lectorate the student became magister studentium, then bachelor, and finally magister theologii—a degree equivalent to that of Doctor of Theology. For merit in preaching the title of praedictorum ordinis—equivalent to that of Master of Theology, was bestowed.

The life of the Dominican is one of austerity, implying perpetual abstinence, fasting, and other practices of asceticism—silence, life in community, and the observance of a choir. His chief work is preaching and teaching. In 1231 the Dominicans had a Chair of Theology at the University of Paris. They were the first of the mendicant orders to arrive at Oxford in 1221—the Franciscans did not come there till 1224, the Carmelites till 1234, the Austin Friars till 1268. They soon possessed chairs at Bologna, Padua, Salamanca, Cologne, Prague, and Vienna. Their activity as theologians and preachers was directed principally to the Jews, Moors, and Albigenses. They also played an important part in the tribunals of the Inquisition.

There are no fewer than 152 commentaries written by Dominicans on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. Under their influence colleges of Oriental languages are founded for the study of Hebrew and Rabbinic.

(d) History. — In 1214 St. Dominick founded in Rome the convent of Santa Sabina, which has remained a centre of Dominican life. In Paris he founded the monastery of St. Jacques—whence the name of Jacobins by which his sons were sometimes known. He founded other houses also at Bologna, Seville, and other places in Spain. After his death the order continued to make rapid progress, and was reckoned eight provinces—a province in Provence, France, Lombardy, the Roman Province, Germany, England, and Hungary. Later, foundations were established in Norway, Sweden, etc. Under the generalate of Jordan of Saxony (+1287) a great advance was made. The master general founded nearly 250 houses in Europe, Asia, and the north of Africa, and received more than 1000 members into the order. At the beginning of the 14th cent. the order had 562 houses in 21 provinces, and many monastic houses both of men and 64 of women. In 1281 the pope granted to the mendicant orders the privilege of preaching and hearing confessions in any church without having to obtain the special permission of the bishop of the diocese.

During the course of the 14th cent. the era of decadence set in, brought about chiefly by the Great Schism, which divided the order into two ‘obediences,’ each with its rival general chapter and master general. Unity, however, was restored in 1409, and from the time of the schism efforts were made at reform. To one of these reforms belong Fra Angelico and St. Antoninus from the cloister of Fiesole, as well as Savonarola. Another reform was started in 1389 by Raymond of Capua, who became of the order of St. Germain-des
de-Port. This reform had success in Italy and Germany. In the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries reformed congregations arose in different countries—in Holland, the province of Toulouse, Brittany, Provence, etc. In England the Black Friars, or friars of the English Province, carried out reforms that was established in France by Lacer
daire (1850), who won for himself a special place in the history of the order.

To the Dominican Order belong a considerable number of saints, among them founders of monasteries and chapter houses, holy women, and artists. To those already mentioned we may add here St. Hyacinth, Peter of Tarentaise (who

became Innocent v.), John the Tenton, Humbert de Romans, St. Celeus, St. Vincent Ferrer, etc. The order numbers among its members four popes, 80 cardinals, and a large number of archbishops and bishops.¹

Second Order.—This order, founded for women by St. Dominic at Prouille in 1206, also follows the Rule of St. Augustine together with special constitutions. The sisters devote themselves to a life of prayer, silence, and manual labor, and are distinguished by a plaited white crown. The real date of the foundation of the Dominican nuns that of the establishment of their first convent in Rome, the Convent of San Sisto (1219). The Second Order spread rapidly.

(7) The Third Order.—The Third Order of St. Dominic comprises a number of different societies of brethren and sisters, some of whom are ‘regular,’ i.e. live in community and follow the religious life, others ‘secular,’ i.e. live in the world. It is impossible to go into their history here.² The best known among these societies is the Order of Friars Preaching Order of St. Dominic, which was founded by Lacerdaire in 1892, and had the direction of the famous colleges of Arceuil, Oullins, Sorère, etc.

2. Franciscans.—Under the general title of Friars Minor, Franciscans may be reckoned all those ‘religious’ who recognize St. Francis of Assisi as their founder. They are divided into a number of different groups—the result of the divisions that took place among the sons of the saint almost as soon as he was dead, and even during his lifetime.

(a) Origin.—St. Francis, born at Assisi in 1182, is one of the saints who have exercised the most profound influence on the interior life of the living Catholic Church. The example of St. Francis in his youth lived a somewhat dissipated life, but, being converted and consequence cast out by his father, he gave himself to a life of voluntary poverty, depending for his support upon alms. His beautiful and fertile nature, his wonderful gifts, his generosity and heroic sanctity attracted numerous followers. The society thus constituted received an unwritten approbation from Innocent III. in 1209; in a few years’ time it numbered thousands, and was spread all over the world in every part of Christendom. The first constitution for preaching the gospel of poverty and the love of God. In 1212 Clare, a daughter of one of the noblest families of Assisi, associated herself with this apostolate and founded the Poor Clares, the Second Order of St. Francis. Clare and her companions, in 1212, withdrew from the preaching friars and founded an order for lay folk, who were thus affiliated to the Franciscans, while remaining in the world. This was the Third Order of St. Francis, which soon also numbered its thousands and exercised a vast influence far and wide. Francis himself longed to go and preach the gospel to the Saracens and thus gain the crown of martyrdom, but the divisions that so soon arose in his religious family obliged him to give up the idea and to return to Italy. The Rule of St. Francis was published in 1224 on Mt. Alverno and died on 3rd Oct. 1226.² The name by


⁴ Ibn. Helyot, iii. 245 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 169 ff.


which the Franciscans are usually known, that of Friars Minor, was given to them by St. Francis himself from motives of humility and is based on the words of his Rule: ‘et sint minores et subiti omnibus.’

(b) Rule of St. Francis.—The first Rule of St. Francis is very simple. It was approved by Pope Innocent III. in 1209, but underwent frequent modifications in the chapters or general councils of the order held by the saint every year. During his lifetime the Friars Minor were in a grave crisis, in consequence of which St. Francis drew up in 1221 another Rule, more complete than the first. This is known under the very incorrect title of ‘First Rule’ of St. Francis. The saint twice modified or rewrote this Rule, and it was solemnly approved by Honorius III. in 1229. Its most striking characteristic is its insistence on the practice of poverty in its most absolute form, not only by each ‘religious,’ but by the community; The friars could possess no fixed revenues, but lived upon the voluntary offerings of the faithful.

In 1242 fresh difficulties arose concerning the Rule. An authorized interpretation was given by the four chief authorities of the order, at the head of whom was Alexander of Hales. This did not, however, settle the matter; and the form of the order—the Rigorists and the Mitigated. St. Bonaventura, who was minister general from 1237 to 1274, belonged to the latter party. The Rigorists, who called themselves ‘spirituals,’ ended by denying to the Church the right of interpreting the Rule of St. Francis and so fell into schism. The friars of the Mitigated Observance took for their distinctive title that of ‘Conventuals.’ The popes, Nicholas III. (1279), Martin IV. (1285), Eugene IV. (1431), were obliged to interfere in order to regulate the question of the observance of poverty, the source of all the divisions in the order. A party among the spirituals formed themselves into an independent congregation under the name of ‘Poor Celestial Hermits’—a tribute to Pope Celestine v., who favored them. Angelo Clareno, chronicler of the order, and Ubertine da Casale, also famous among Franciscans, belonged to this party. Under John XXII. part of the order took up the cause of Louis of Bavaria, archbishop of Lyons, who succeeded in forming a schism with an anti-pope at their head.

(c) Foundation of ‘the Observance’.—In 1334 certain heritages and convents were established in Umbria and the Marches, in which the observant Franciscans practised their Rule. The foundation of a branch of the Observants, which was revived in all its austerity. These houses belonged to what was called ‘the Observance,’ and the friars were called ‘Observants.’ St. Bernardine of Siena, St. John Capistran, and St. James of the March belonged to this branch of the order. The Observants, kept in the background under Benedict XIII., Alexander v., and John XXII., succeeded in gaining their cause at the Council of Constance in 1415.
by creating two distinct branches of the order—the Observants, with whom were united all the other reformed congregations under the title of Friars Minor of the Regular Observance, and a more approved form of their observance of the Conventuals, or Friars Minor Conventual. (d) Capuchins, Descended, Reformati, Recollects. New divisions soon arose in one or other of the two branches. Among the Observants arose in Spain the Franciscan Order of the Capuchins. In Italy the Amadeans (Blessed Amadeus of Silva) and the Poor Hermits of Angelo Clareno. But the most important of all these reforms is that of the Capuchins under Clement VII. in 1529, to whom they shall return shortly. Besides these are the Recollects, so called from their convents named ‘recollection-houses,’ where a stricter observance of the Rule was practised, and where the more fervent withdrew to renew their spiritual vigour.

The Conventuals also had their difficulties and their efforts at reform. Within a province they broke off from them and attached themselves to the Observants. Nevertheless they continued to hold their own in Italy, France, Switzerland, and other countries. At Assisi it is the Conventuals who have the guardianship of the sacred tomb of St. Francis, and at Padua that of St. Antony.

The Capuchins, however, were destined to become the most prosperous of all the branches of the order. They were founded in 1525 by an Observant friar, Matteo di Bassi. In spite of the strong opposition directed against them from the first and the miserable end of their second founder, Louis of Possonbroecke, who was turned out of the order, they continued to prosper and to spread their influence in Europe, in Switzerland, Germany, Austria, etc. Their constitutions were approved by Urban VIII. in 1643. The name Capuchin, derived from their long pointed hood, has remained their characteristic title. Pius X. restored closer relations between the three Franciscan families—the Friars Minor of the Leonine Union, the Conventuals, and the Capuchins.

(c) Activity of the order. In spite of its divisions and internal strife, the Order of St. Francis has taken an important part in ecclesiastical history. A number of the friars, especially cardinals, have come forth from its ranks. Many of its friars have filled confidential posts at the courts of kings and popes and have been directors of their consciences. St. Francis carried on the apostolate among the infidels by preaching the Gospel in the East. An example of this was the campaign of 1230 the Franciscans founded a house in Jerusalem. Later they evangelized the north of Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Russia, Scandinavia, and Lapland. The travels of John of Plano Carpini in 1245 in Mongolia, of William of Rubruck in Tartary and Tibet, of Odocone of Pordenone in China are well known. Not less known is the mission of John of Parma, sent by Innocent IV. to bring about reunion with the Eastern Churches. In India Thomas of Tomelino was martyred in 1621. The friars were the first to set out for the New World. In the 17th cent. the Capuchins were in the Congo, Brazil, Abyssinia, and the Levant. In the front ranks of the adversaries of the Albigenses, the Teutonic and the Patarians we find the Friars Minor. St. Louis of Toulouse is celebrated for his opposition to the Hussites in 1456; St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen and many others were martyred by the Protestants in Switzerland, England, Holland. In the latter country we have the celebrated Catholic Action. Considerable number of Friars Minor have gained renown as preachers and missionaries—e.g., St. Anthony of Padua, St. Bernardino of Siena, St. James of the March, Joseph of Leonissa, St. Leonid of Fort Maurice, Bernardino of Feltre, Ladislaus of Gielhow, Angelo d’Acri, etc. There were also theologians and savants among them.

In the early days of the order there was a certain degree of hesitation regarding the question of study, because the friars were entirely opposed to the 'secular learning.' But St. Francis never showed himself hostile. As long as the interior spirit of his children was not thereby endangered, study might well find its place in their life. Hence we find at an early period Franciscans teaching in the universities of Louvain, Paris, and Oxford. Certain houses, called studia, were established, as among the Dominicans, for purposes of study. The various branches of the order have produced a large number of theologians and men of learning. The most celebrated of them are mentioned.

2 Cf. in addition, in allusion to Mt. 25:14; 2 Cor. xii. 11; 1 Thess. iii. 13; 1 Cor. ix. 13.
4 Cf. Littré, Dictionnaire de l’ancien français, s.v. Carnes.
6 Cf. Tertull., in Dictionnaire de l’ancien français, t. ii. col. 277.
7 See, however, P. Brochard, De l’origine des établissements religieux, Paris, 1920.
8 Cf. J. B. de la Harpe, in Dictionnaire de l’ancien français, t. ii. col. 277.
9 Cf. J. B. de la Harpe, in Dictionnaire de l’ancien français, t. ii. col. 277.
10 See, however, P. Brochard, De l’origine des établissements religieux, Paris, 1920.
of Berthold and the hermits who lived with him in Carmel under the patronage of Elias. The patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert de Vercelli, gave them a rule which was a literal transcription of the Rule of St. Augustine. The hermit priors possessed hermit cells, and give themselves to manual labour. They met together for the divine office in their oratory. Their life was, in fact, a blending of the cenobitical and eremitical elements, like that of the early monks and of the Carmelites. Other similar foundations of the 11th and 12th centuries.

Foundations were made from Carmel at St. Jean d’Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. They were, however, in part destroyed by the Saracens, some of the hermits suffering death at their hands. Other colonies were founded in Cyprus, in Sicily, at Marseilles, at Valenciennes, and in England. St. Louis of France paid a visit to Carmel in 1254 and brought thence with him some of the hermits whom he established at Charenton and other places.

(b) Migration to Europe.—A new phase in the history of the Carmelite Order is marked by its migration to Europe. At the first chapter held at Aylesford in England St. Simon Stock, an Englishman (1244-1309), introduced some provisions into the primitive Rule to a certain extent, and obtained for the order in 1247 an interim approbation of Innocent IV. The order was finally approved by the Council of Lyons in 1274, though not without some difficulty on account of the decree of the Lateran Council in 1215 which forbade the foundation of new orders. It now undertook a new development. Foundations were made in the towns; community life took the place of solitude; and various mitigations were introduced into the primitive Rule. The solitary life was transformed, in fact, into mendicant friars and obtained the privileges attached to the existing mendicant orders. The original title of ‘Frates Eremitae de Monte Carmelo’ or ‘Eremitae sancte Marie de Monte Carmelo’ was changed into ‘Frates Ordinis B. M. de Monte Carmelo.’ St. Simon Stock, the great partisan of the active life, founded houses in Oxford, Cambridge, London, York, Paris, Bologna, Naples, etc., choosing cities that possessed universities, and always seeking fresh foundations for his young ‘religious’ and also to obtain recruits for the order among the students. But this new and rapid development was not without its dangers; and, when St. Simon Stock died, he left to his successor a difficult situation to cope with. The latter, Nicholas Gallicus (1265-71), was opposed to the active life and wished to bring back the order to a more contemplative ideal, but was obliged to resign his office. In an unedited work entitled Ignis Suppletio he denounced strongly the practice among the Carmelites of preaching and hearing confessions. The order continued, however, to develop in this direction. It met with great success in England, where the kings themselves founded houses. Many of its members were in council the professors of Oxford and Cambridge, and performed important missions for their royal masters. Among these was Thomas Walden, who accompanied Henry VI. to France. The English Carmelites never accepted the reforms introduced into other provinces of the order, and the houses were never properly organized. Under Henry VIII. the greater number submitted to the Act of Supremacy and separated themselves from the other branches of their order. Only two of the English friars remained faithful, and the rest were modelled on the French. For the suppression of the other houses, however, did not prevent the suppression of their order in England, the plunder of their possessions, and the dispersal of their libraries. At the time of the Reformation there were 39 Carmelite monasteries in England.

(c) Constitutions and studies.—The earliest constitutions of the Carmelite order are those of 1284, but it seems that an earlier reduction existed in 1256. The constitutions of 1284 divide the order into two regions, one belonging to the different nations. At the head of all is the general chapter. At each of these chapters he was obliged to give an account of his administration, and was then either confirmed in or deposed from office. His ordinary place of residence was Rome, and he was assisted by regular officials. The general chapters were held at first every three years, then every six years, and even as rarely as once in sixteen years. In England the court usually contributed towards the expenses of the general chapter—the journey, horses, hostels, etc. The provincial chapter chose the definitors for the general chapter. It was the business of those officials to receive reports on the administration of the provinces, to confirm or depose the provincial officials, to appoint the accounts, to nominate the professors for the universities, to revise existing laws and add new ones, and to reward or punish members of the order according to their merits or demerits. The acts of the general chapters of the first century, consisting of fragments and unconfirmable data, such as they are, have been published. The provincial chapter, which was usually held once a year, was composed of all the priors or vicars of the province. Four definitors were chosen at the chapter. These officials exercised in the province the same duties as those exercised by the definitors general in the whole order. They had power to depose the priors, to choose those who were to be sent to the houses of study (studia generalia or particularia) or to the universities, and to decide on the foundation of new houses. Each house had its prior, assisted by a vicar. The administration of the prior was controlled by three guardians. He could be confirmed in office every year, inde- limitly. Certain monasteries were set apart for the study of philosophy, others for that of theology. In 1284 there were eight studia generalia—Paris, Toulouse, Bologna, Florence, Montpellier, Cologne, London, and Avignon. Their number increased until at last every province had its house of study. The houses of study (studia) of Paris averaged 300, in London more than 100. Some students went through a short course only, others remained as long as twelve years in the universities. It may be said that the order, from its approbation at the Council of Lyons up to the Great Schism, continued to develop steadily. There were certain abuses against which the general chapter itself continually raised its voice, such as the entrance into the order of poor students who came for the purpose of pursuing their studies gratis, the seeking of ecclesiastical benefices or posts of honour outside the order by certain of its members, the attempts of superiors to make their office perpetual or the fact that they showed favour to nephews or other relatives. Again, the professors in the various houses, called the singers or from choir, took their meals outside the monastery, caused the lay brethren to wait on them as their servants, etc.

A first attempt at reform was made at Mantua in 1415. The province of England had placed under the general John Soreth (1351-71); another at Atri in 1499, which issued from that of Mantua. In 1514 we have the reform of Mt. Olivet near Genoa; in 1609 that of Rennes, and in 1744 that of Genoa. Another reform was the most important (see below). The reform of St. Elias, or the Italian congregation inaugurated at the instance of Clement VIII., established itself in Genoa, Rome, and Naples, and also in France, Germany, Austria, Poland, and Lithuania. In
1731 this reform numbered 4193 members. It gave
greater scope for activity and the exercise of the
same sort of spirituality. The Spanish Order of the
Diet, the DACL, Mathias Séraphin, Thomas Scott of Norwich and
the Blessed Jeanne de Toulouse.

(d) St. Teresa's reform.—St. Teresa (†1552),
assisted by St. John of the Cross, founded at Avila
a convent in which a more austere observance of
the Rule was carried out in the practice of poverty,
penance, and the contemplative life. The account
of her subsequent foundations and of the reforms
carried out by her in several Carmelite convents,
bOTH of nuns and of friars, will ever remain unique
in the annals of the religious orders. This reform
was introduced into France by Madame Aculeau
(Blessed Marie of the Incarnation) and by the
celebrated Cardinal de Bérulle. It has always
been possessed in France a special character of its own
and has always been very prosperous. Among its
most celebrated members are Louise de la Miséricorde
(Louise de la Vallière), Thérèse de St. Augustin
(Madame Louise, daughter of Louis XV.), and
Anne of Jesus.

(c) Affiliated members.—The Carmelite Order
has also its affiliated members. Several communi-
ties of Beguines in the 15th cent.—notably those
of Gueldré and Dinant—were affiliated to the order
and thus originated the Carmelite nuns. From
these, foundations were made in France, Italy,
and Spain. As among the Dominicans and Fran-
sicans, there was a division of labor, some members
living in the world, while others live in community.

(f) Missions.—The Carmelites had some flourishing
missions in America (Mexico, Peru, Florida,
Rio de Janeiro, Guadeloupe, San Domingo). St.
Teresa, although her great object was to bring
back the contemplative life to her order, favored
missionary activity on behalf of heretics and
pagans. In 1584 the reformed Carmelites sent a
mission to Constantinople, to endeavor to establish
itself at Baghdad, at Basra, and in India.
Flourishing missions were also founded at Bombay
and at Goa; others in China, Turkey, Armenia,
Syria, and North America. The Carmelite nuns
of Spain founded convents in America—in the
Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia,
Ecuador, and Peru. Among the Carmelite mis-
sionaries there were several martyrs. Colleges
existing for the missionaries, which contributed
toward the support of the famous Congrega-
tion of Propaganda at Rome.

(g) Desert convents.—An institution peculiar to the
Carmelite order is that of the 'desert,' or con-
vents where the purely contemplative ideal was
carried out. This institution owed its foundation
to the memory of the eremitical life led by the
ey early members of the order on Mt. Carmel and to
the passages of the Rule and constitutions that
encourage the contemplative life. In these and
in other documents this form of life was recommended
for certain convents to be founded apart from
towns or cities, in forests or desert places. The
idea of the 'desert convents' properly so called
seems to have been originated by Thomas of Jesus,
Discalced Carmelite of Spain. Several of the
brethren in these convents were destined to remain
there always, but the greater number came only
for a year and then returned to the houses whence
they had come. The first 'desert' was founded in
1552, and the last one near Tegus in New
Castle, and soon after one was founded for
every province. The total number was 22. These
'desert' followed the plan of a charterhouse, and
the life resembled that of the Carthusians, but
was even more rigorous. The pietas of the practice of strict silence,
fasting, and other penitential exercises was in
honour. Attached to each 'desert' were
separate hermitages, where the brethren could
retire to lead a life more completely solitary even
than that of the 'desert' itself. There were also
anchoresses and recluses attached to some convents,
among them the famous St. Teresa of Jesus, Thomas Scott of Norwich and
the Blessed Jeanne de Toulouse.

(a) Activity.—We have seen that in many of
their provinces the Carmelites friars gave them-
selves to the active ministry and to teaching in
the universities. There, where their influence was
disputed by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who
were already in the field—there was no room for a
third school of thought. The Carmelites then,
instead of creating a school of their own, followed in
the Dominicans and Franciscans. They have had
among their numbers theologians of renown. St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross
were founders of a school of mysticism which has
produced some remarkable writers.

4 Herrits of St. Augustine.—We have already
dealt with the Canons Regular of St. Augustine
and other congregations of canons who follow
the Rule of that saint. Here we are concerned
only with the hermits of St. Augustine. These
hermits, sometimes called simply Augustinians, date from
the 12th–13th century. At that period there were
certain communities of hermits who, either
or subsequently, followed the Rule of St. Augus-
tine. Chief among these were the Williamites
(Guillemites) founded by William of Malvay
in 1155, near Paris, who were spread almost
in Italy, Germany, Belgium, and France.

Besides these there were the Bonites (so called
from their founder, the Blessed Jean Buonl, †1249); the
Brittish (founded by St. Blasius ofBrittany in
the Marches of Ancona in the 13th cent.); the
Tuscan Hermits of the Blessed Trinity; the
Brothers of the Sack (Frates Saccati, Saccophori,
Saccetti, Saccchesi), so called from the shape of
their habit. The last were also known as the Brothers of
Penam.

So many different congregations, leading what
was practically the same life with the same object
in view, needed to be brought together; and Alex-
ander IV., on 4th May 1526, promulgated the bull
of the 'Carmelites and Realists,' which united them
in a single order under the title 'Hermits of St. Augustin.' He exempted them from episcopal
jurisdiction. A general chapter of all the superiors
was held in Rome in 1526; the Rule of St. Augus-
tine, the only one the order had practised, was
imposed upon the hermits; a superior general was
elected; and the order was divided into four
provinces—Italy, Spain, France, Germany. In
1567 Pius v. included it among the mendicant
orders, giving it rank after the Carmelites. At
the period of its greatest prosperity the order
possessed 42 provinces and 2 vicariates, number-
ing 2000 monasteries and about 30,000 members.
The title of 'Hermits' was not altogether
appropriate, at least in the case of some of the
now united 'Carmelite' hermits, whose members practised
the conventual life and had their convents in
the midst of towns and cities.

In the 14th cent. efforts were made to reform
certain abuses that had crept into some of the
houses of the Order, and new constitutions were
formed—e.g., that of Iliceto in 1385, that of St. John ad
Carbonariam (in the kingdom of Naples) in 1390,
the Congregation of Lombardy in 1430, that of Our Lady of Consolation, and others.1 Two reforms of greater importance were effected in Spain: the first, in 1430, imposed on all the houses of Castile; the second, more austere in 1538. These were the reformed Discalced Augustinians or Recollects, extended to the Spanish colonies, the W. Indies, and the Philippines. There were reforms also in France, among which must be mentioned that of the 'Petits Augustins' who were obliged to live as if they were monks or friars. The members of these reformed congregations had flourishing missions in the E. and W. Indies, in Mexico, Peru, China, Japan, and India. In Spain, where they were always more prosperous than in any of the other provinces, the reformed Augustinians were favoured by Philip II. Among celebrated Augustinians we may mention St. Thomas of Villanova, Panvini, Lupus, Lancillot, Noris, Luis de Leon, one of the greatest writers in Spain, and Florez.

From the 15th cent. onwards efforts were made by the Augustinians to bring about the reform of their order in Germany. One of these efforts at reform—that of Andreeus Proles (+ 1503)—was extended under his successor Johann von Staupitz by the desire of the pope to all the Augustinian friars of N. Germany. Seven houses opposed the reform, and the dispute was settled by the decisions of the Diet of Erfurt, which Martin Luther belonged. The apostasy of Luther brought about the ruin of the Augustinian order in Germany. Many followed the arch-Abbot of his revolt against the Church. But some of these German Augustinians were, on the contrary, determined opponents of the Reformation. In 1526 the communities that had remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church were united to the province of Lombardy. In France the Revolution of 1789 struck another blow at the Augustinians, and the greater part of the 157 monasteries, while in Spain the Revolution of 1835 closed 105 out of 153.

In recent years the Augustinians have begun to flourish once again. Leo XIII. endeavoured to bring about greater unity among them in 1890. Nine constitutions were rewritten, and the Order was divided into 23 provinces, distributed among two congregations, and it numbers about 2300 members. In Rome the Augustinians possess the church of St. Agostino. The famous Angelica library formed by one of their friars, Angelo Rocca (+ 1627), was presented to the Mercedarians. They have also at Genazzano, in the neighbourhood of Rome, a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

Sons of the order of worthy mention are St. Nicholas of Tolentino (+ 1305) and St. John a S. Facundo (+ 1479). Among its members must also be reckoned a certain number of theologians, dogmatical and moral, of erudites, and of missionaries.2 The Assumptionists, who form a branch of the Augustinian order, are treated below, p. 706.3

The bull 'Lietect Ecclesiæ Catholicae' which in 1591 placed the Augustinians among the monastic orders, was never enforced against the nuns. Each convent remained autonomous. To this congregation belonged St. Juliana of Mt. Cornillon at Liége (+ 1528). The reform known as the Recollects was one of its branches.

After the four great mendicant orders come a number of others known as the lesser mendicant orders. We have given a list of these above (p. 5) and can speak here only of the principal ones. The greater number of them follow the Rule of St. Augustine.

5. Trinitarians.—The Trinitarians (or Order of the Blessed Trinity for the Redemption of Captives) were founded by St. John de Matha and St. Félix de Valois, at Cerfroid in the diocese of Meaux, in 1248. The order was created by the founders of the Discalced Augustinians or Recollects, extended to the Spanish colonies, the W. Indies, and the Philippines. There were reforms also in France, among which must be mentioned that of the 'Petits Augustins' who were obliged to live as if they were monks or friars. The members of these reformed congregations had flourishing missions in the E. and W. Indies, in Mexico, Peru, China, Japan, and India. In Spain, where they were always more prosperous than in any of the other provinces, the reformed Augustinians were favoured by Philip II. Among celebrated Augustinians we may mention St. Thomas of Villanova, Panvini, Lupus, Lancillot, Noris, Luis de Leon, one of the greatest writers in Spain, and Florez.

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1. Cf. for details Heinbucher, ii. 184 ff.
2. A. Lübbe, Heinbucher, ii. 190 ff.
4. Pierre de Sainte Hêlène, Abrégé de l'Historie des Augustins déchaussés, Rouen, 1877; Helyot, iii. i. 1.; Heinbucher, ii. 177 ff.; Besse, Augustin, Règle de S. in Diet. de Théol. cath.; Chevalier, etc. 'Augustins, canonises révélées,' 'Augustins, ordre d'ermites.'

6. Order of Mercy.—Another order founded with the same object as the Trinitarians was that of Montjoie in Spain, but it had only a short existence (1180-1221) and was incorporated, after a term of 40 years, with the Order of Calatrava. In 1218, however, St. Peter Nolasco founded in Spain an order that was to become a rival of the Order of the Blessed Trinity. This was the Order of Our Lady of Mercy (de la Mercède), whence the name of Mercedarians, or Fathers of Mercy. Like the Trinitarians, the Mercedarians undertook to save to the Moors, or of redeeming—those occupied by the pirates of Barbary—and were occupied also in the service of the galley-slaves and in missions to the heathen. Their special field of operation lay in Morocco, whereas that of the Trinitarians was in Asia Minor and Algeria. The Order of Mercy was approved by Gregory IX. In origin it was a military order composed of knights, chaplains, and serving brethren. The name of St. Raymond Nonnatus is one that is quoted with pride by the order. The Rule of St. Augustine is followed, and the Order of Mercy has sometimes been reckoned among the Augustinians.2

7. Servites.—The Order of the Servants of Mary, or Servites, so called from their special devotion to the Blessed Virgin, was founded in 1233 on Monte Serrano, near Florence, by seven members of seven patrician families of the city. The Rule is that of St. Augustine together with special constitutions which were approved in 1249. St. Philip Benizi was the fifth general of the order. It was on the point of being suppressed in 1274 in consequence of a decree of the Council of Lyons, renewed by the 2nd Council of Lyons, but it was finally approved by Benedict XI. in 1304. It spread abroad in France, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and even as far as India. In 1910 the order numbered 700 members and 62 monasteries.4

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Christian)

Considered as belonging to the mendicant orders are also certain congregations of women which follow the Rule of St. Augustine. Chief among these are the following.1

8. The Brigitine Order, founded by St. Brigit of Sweden (+1573), resembles in some respects that of Fontevraud (see art. MONASTICISM, vol. viii. p. 796). In each convent there were 60 nuns, governed by an abbess, who had also under her jurisdiction, in a separate house, 13 priests, 4 deacons, and 8 lay brothers. There were houses of the order in Norway and Sweden, Flanders, Prussia, Poland, Russia, and England. There exist now only 9 communities, in Germany, Holland, and Spain, and 1 in England—the last a pre-Reformation foundation.

9. The Ursulines, founded at Brescia in 1537 by St. Angela Merici, devote themselves to Christian education. St. Charles Borromeo gave them his protection. They were very successful. In France alone in 1789 there were 350 convents with 9000 nuns. At present there are about 7000 nuns in some 300 convents scattered throughout the world.

10. Order of the Annunciation, or Annunciades. This order is divided into three branches: the Annunciades of Paris (founded by the Blessed Charles of St. Ambrose), founded at Pavia in 1408, the Annunciades of Italy (or Celestial Annunciades), founded in 1604 near Genoa, the Annunciades of France, founded by the Blessed Jeanne de Valois (+1565), and the Annunciades of England.2

11. Order of the Visitaton of the Blessed Virgin Mary.—These sisters, who also follow the Rule of St. Augustine, desire to place themselves in the history of the religious orders, both on account of their founders, St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and on account of the special spirit of the order and the wonderful fervour shown by its members during the early years of the foundation.

IV. CLERKS REGULAR. — 1. Jesuits. In order of time the Theatines, Barnabites, and Somaschines rank before the Jesuits; but in number and importance in the history of the Church the Jesuits occupy without dispute the first place among the clerks regular. See art. JESUITS.

2. Theatines.—Founded at Rome in 1524 by St. Gaspar de Bengala (+1549), the celebrated Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV. (1555), the Theatines are in order of time the first society of clerks regular. From his entry into the ranks of the clergy, Gaetano was possessed with the desire of forming a community of zealous priests for the service of God and the works of preaching. He founded first the Society of Divine Love, then that of the Theatines,2 which closely resembled the former foundation, but had a stricter Rule. Its object was the renovation of the priestly and apostolic life by means of prayer, the practice of poverty, and study. All its members were to be priests. Poverty was to be observed to an extraordinary degree and in an altogether new manner. The society must possess no revenues, and must not ask alms like the mendicant orders, but simply accept whatever the alms of laymen and guilds might give. This was decided by Clement VII. in 1524, who gave to its members the privileges of the Lateran Canons. He decided, moreover, that the Theatines should take solemn vows, follow the Rule of St. Augustine, and elect their superiors from among their members.

The name 'Theatine' comes from Theate (Chieti), a city of the Abruzzi of which Caraffa was bishop.

1 For congregations of women occupied with the education of girls see below.

2. The Theatines were formed by Gaetano Angli, cardinal of Pavia, and in 1492 established a convent in Florence. In 1502, the pope, Clement VII, confirmed to the Theatines the rule of St. Ambrose.
Cross († 1775), was known for his great austerities and his zeal for souls. Pope Clement XIV. gave them the famous Church of St. John and Paul in Rome, and the church in the Lateran, which was the see of the bishop of Rome. They spread abroad in many lands of both the Old and the New World, and is divided into thirteen provinces with 1400 members. The Passionists give themselves to preaching and mission work.1

2. Redemptorists.—The Redemptorists (Congregatione Redemptoris Mundi) have as their founder the celebrated St. Alfonso Liguori (q.v.; † 1787), whose great theological knowledge has won for him the title of Doctor of the Church, and who exercised great influence on the Catholic doctrine and piety of his times. The members of his congregation devote themselves to the work of preaching in the towns and country districts. Like the Passionists, the Redemptorists are spread all over the world. They number at the present time 4000, possess 215 colleges or hospiaces, and are divided into 29 provinces.

3. Oblates.—The Oblates (of Mary Immaculate) were founded by Mgr. de Mazenod, bishop of Marseilles, at the beginning of the 19th century. Their work is preaching, the education of the clergy, and foreign missions. They have at the present time 3100 members.

4. Marists.—This congregation was founded at Fourvières in 1816. The members follow the Rule of St. Augustine together with special constitutions. Like the Oblates, their work is preaching and religious education.

5. Assumptionists.—The Assumptionists were founded in 1850 at Nimes by P. d’Alzon († 1880). Their activity is employed in the direction of pilgrimages, the press, mission work, the education of children, etc. They form a branch of the Congregation of the Holy Rosary, and their official title is ‘Assumptionists of the Assumption.’14

II. SOCIETIES OF SECULAR PRIESTS.—With these congregations may be compared, as regards date of foundation, manner of life, and special object, certain societies of priests, either with or without lay brothers (oradjiors), who usually take simple vows or are bound only by a promise. These societies, like the above religious congregations, are employed in the education of the clergy, the study of sacred science, preaching, and, of some of them, in foreign missions. They have community life and receive their stipends from a diocesan office, and they are under episcopal jurisdiction.

1. Oratorians.—This congregation has played an important part in the history of the Counter-Reformation of the last few centuries. It is divided into two branches—the French and the Italian. In the Italian Oratory (to which that of England owes its origin) each house is autonomous and independent, while in the French Oratory they are united under a superior-general. The former was founded by St. Philip Neri in Rome, about 1575, as a society of secular priests devoted to the exercise of the sacred ministry and to study, under the title of ‘Patres Oratorii.’ Most illustrious among its many well-known members is the historian Baronius. The names of Aringhi, Bianchini, and Gallandi also deserve mention, while, in England, they are well represented by the immortal lustre of the Oratories of Birmingham and London. Their centre in Rome is the house of La Vallicella with its magnificent library. The French Oratory, founded by Cardinal de Bérulle in 1611, vied with that of Italy in carrying on the work of clerical reform, and presents us with names such as de Condren, Bourgoing, Lejeune, Jean, Moreau, etc. The Congregation has spread abroad in many lands of both the Old and the New World, and is divided into thirteen provinces with 1400 members. The Passionists give themselves to preaching and mission work.1

2. The Lazarists, Eudists, and Sulpicians worked along with the Oratorians for the education and sanctification of the clergy, and exercised themselves in the sacred ministry, preaching, and mission work.

2. The Lazarists, founded by St. Vincent de Paul in 1625, took their name from the priory of St. Lazare in Paris, which had been handed over to them. They form a congregation under a superior-general with assistants, a general chapter, and visitations. Their houses have been established in Persia, Mexico, Chile, Tibet, Constantinople, and Palestine. They possess 240 houses and 3000 members.

3. The Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, or Sister of Charity, were founded by that saint with the assistance of Mlle. de Marillac (Madame de La Gras) in 1634. They are the largest of all the congregations of religious women and form an army of 35,000 members with more than 3600 houses. They are to be found in almost all the countries of Europe and America, and in the greater number of the colonies. They nurse the sick and the poor in hospitals, orphanages, schools, etc.

4. The Eudists, founded by Jean Eudes at Caen in 1643, and dispersed at the Revolution, were afterwards brought together again and now number about 400 members.

5. The Sulpicians devote themselves exclusively to the training of the clergy. Their founder, M. Olier († 1657), belonged to that company of zealous priests who were the friends of St. Vincent de Paul and Père de Condren. In 1695 the Sulpicians possessed 148 monasteries and seminaries in Canada and the United States. They number about 300.1

6. The Salesians, founded in 1859 at Turin by Don Bosco, are occupied with mission work and schools, especially for poor children in order to fit them for the different trades. They developed rapidly, and exercise a wide influence. At the death of Don Bosco 130,000 pupils had passed through the schools of the institute. In 1885 it had 550 members; to-day there are 4157. There are 94 provinces with 339 hospiaces, schools, oratories, orphanages, schools for the arts and crafts, seminaries, printing-presses, and mission-stations. The last are found principally in Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego, and other parts of S. America.

The Sisters of Mary, Help of Christians, or Salesians nun upon foundation, by Don Bosco, are engaged in the education of girls, and number more than 2000. They have 250 foundations.2


3. Missions aux Anglais de l’Assomption, Paris (periodical); Heimburcher, iii. 345.

7. Paulists.—In 1857-59 Thomas Hecker, with a number of companions, left the Redemptorists, to whose congregation he belonged, in order to found his own missionary society—that of the Paulists—whoe principal object should be the conversion of Protestants in America by means of sermons, lectures and public discussions, the press, and social work. The number of converts made by the society from 1838 to 1904 was 1485; in the year 1905 it numbered 1000. The society has to-day about 100 members.1 There are many other less important societies of priests, formed on the above models. For a list of these see Heimbucher, ii. 519 ff.

Heimbucher, iii. 477 ff.


Heimbucher, iii. 508 ff.


Bull. Hist. des societes.


5 H. F. Gillon, L'etat missionnaire et la peuplemente, Rome, 1899, does not enumerate all these societies, and their number has increased since 1900. There are about 200, according to its latest statistics, which is about 30 per cent more than the number it gives for 1900.
VII. TEACHING BROTHERS AND CONGREGATIONS OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN.—I. TEACHING BROTHERS.—Ever since the 17th cent. there has existed an apostolate for the education of the poorer classes. For this purpose new congregations were formed, in which those members are simply "brothers," bound usually, and even by vow, to give up all idea of aspiring to the priesthood. These brothers take simple vows, sometimes only temporary, and their activity is consecrated to the work of teaching, and especially of educating the poor. 

The Brothers of the Christian Schools, or Christian Brothers (to give them the name by which they are commonly known), is the best known of these institutes. They were founded by St. John Baptist de la Salle (1651-81) and have since served as a model for many other societies of the same nature. Before the founder's time there had been several similar attempts, notably that of St. Joseph Calasanz, none of which was so successful. The success of the Christian Brothers is due, no doubt, in the first place, to their vow, to the purity of their founder, his wonderful power of initiative, the excellence of his educational methods, and the wisdom and solidity of the constitutions that he gave to his congregation. At his death in 1719, in spite of the opposition of the Jansenists, schoolmasters, and the authorities, the brothers spread, and in 1791 they possessed 27 houses and 122 schools with about 10,000 pupils. It spread rapidly beyond France and founded primary schools, schools for the arts and crafts, agricultural schools, orphanages, and young men's societies in England, Ireland, Italy, Spain, the United States, and S. America. In 1904 there were 15,472 brothers, 2019 schools, and 326,000 students. The superior-general and his twelve assistants are elected by the general chapter, which is composed (besides the above) of the procurator-general, the secretary-general, the procurator of Rome, the provincial visitors, deputies from each district chosen by the professed members, and sometimes former superiors or assistants. The twelve assistants form the ruling authority and are placed over the fourteen districts.

It is unnecessary to do more than mention the names of the other institutes of teaching brothers, since all are formed on the model of the Christian Brothers of St. John Baptist de la Salle, pursue the same object, and make use of the same methods. Among the principal are the Irish Christian Brothers (an independent foundation), the Brothers of the Society of Mary, or Marianists, in France, the Brothers of Christian Doctrine in Lorraine, the Brothers of Christian Instruction founded by Father Jean-Marie-Robert de Lamennais, the Brothers of St. Gabriel, and those of St. Vincent de Paul in France, the Josephites in Belgium, etc. For these congregations and for their bibliography cf. Heimbucher, III. 336 ff.

CONGREGATIONS OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN.—The greater number of the older orders have seen arise side by side with them foundations for women subject to the same Rule and inspired by the same spirit. Thus we have the Benedictine nuns, the Cistercians and Trappistines, Franciscans, Carmelites, and, still more, the nuns of the various orders of canonesses. These foundations are usually in close connexion with and dependent on the orders to which they are affiliated and, as far as the Rule and constitutions are concerned, possess, with the exception of the Canonesses, but from the 16th cent. onwards we find that, apart from certain institutes already referred to in treating of the Salesians, the White Fathers, and others, the greater number of sisterhoods or societies of religious women that have arisen since that period are entirely independent of any existing order of men. These institutes deserve a special place to themselves in the history of religious orders, since many of them owe their foundation to original ideas, and possess in their annals many an interesting page. But in an article like the present it is impossible to enter into a detailed history or even to give a complete list of these congregations; a few of the principal names must suffice.

1. The Sisters of Wisdom were founded in the year 1703 by Grignon de Montfort. Like the Sisters of Charity, they devote themselves to the education of the poorer classes, to the service of hospitals, and to every work of mercy. In number about 5,400, they are to be found in nearly every one of the Christian nations. The centre of their congregation is at St. Laurent-sur-Sèvres.

2. Sisters of Évron.—This institute was founded in the 17th cent. at Évron in the department of Mayenne, France. Their work is chiefly in the education of children, but they also look after the sick.

3. The Sisters of Nevers were founded in the 17th cent. by a Benedictine monk, J. B. de Sauve, who devoted himself to the education of children and to the service of the sick and to the education of poor children. The institute numbers about 2,200 sisters.

4. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd were founded in the 17th cent. The congregation was re-organized at Angers by Marie de Ste. Euphrasie Pelletier and possesses houses of refuge for women and young girls. In 1906 they had 248 houses and 7,400 members.

The beginning of the 19th cent. witnessed a wonderful increase in new foundations of religious women. We give here some of the most important.

5. The Sisters of Nazareth were founded in 1829 by Madame de la Rochefoucauld. They are an institute of teaching and nursing sisters. They have houses in France, Palestine, and Syria.

6. The Little Sisters of the Poor were founded at St. Servais, Belgium, by B. of St. Joseph, a Benedictine who lived in the 16th cent. and of the aged. In 1906 they had 5,400 members occupied with the care of more than 40,000 sick or old people, in 290 hospitals.

7. The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was founded by Madame Darat (1865) in Paris and has 142 schools and 6,500 members.

8. The Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny were founded for the education of young girls and poor children by Madame A. M. Javeouhey. In 1886 they had more than 300 houses (several of which are situated in missionary countries) and 4,000 members.

For all those congregations cf. Heimbucher, III. 370 ff., 555 ff.

VIII. ORGANIZATION.—I. Internal organization.—The constitutional history of the religious orders may be divided into two periods: (1) the 3rd to the 13th cent., and (2) the 14th to the 20th century.

(1) In the first period religious life presents an aspect of great simplicity and appears in only two distinct forms or types—the hermits, who lived alone, and the groups who lived in community. Somewhat later we find certain forms of religious life in which the eucaristical and the cenobitical elements were combined—e.g., the Cana- doles, Carthusians, and Vallombrosians. The characteristics of each order or family of these orders, are hardly to be distinguished from the monks (cenobites), at least as far as their constitution is concerned. The military orders form a

1 We have drawn attention above (p. 707) to certain exceptions—e.g., the nuns of Pontremult, the Brigittines, etc.

1 For the Sisters of Charity see above, p. 709. 
class apart. They came into existence, moreover, only towards the end of this period, and may be regarded as local and religious institutions of a new kind.1 Hence it may be said that, during the first nine or ten centuries of its existence, the religious state was characterized by its uniformity. We find everywhere the same life either under the monastic (eremitical or cenobitical) or under the canonical rule. Furthermore, as yet, found various religious houses or congregations; each monastery forms, with its superior and various officials, a unit of its own, autonomous and independent of any higher monastic authority. The first attempt to unite monas-
tes, St. Rogier, whose kind of footwork was made in the 9th cent. by St. Benedict of Aniane. But it was unsuccessful and can hardly be regarded as even the beginnings of a congregation. Cluny, in the 11th cent., had more success, and united those monasteries which accepted its reform in a very close union under the supreme authority of the abbot of Cluny as head of the ‘order.’ Under this authority the autonomy of the monasteries—of those, at least, that depended directly on the great abbey—almost completely disappeared. The reform of Citeaux was inspired by a principle of centralization, and the reformation of Cluny, but tending towards the same result. The close union of monastic with monastery was assured by means of a hierarchical organization that sub-
mited some houses to the authority of others, whenever it was reciprocated, in a way that guaranteed the permanence of the system, by the institution of general chapters, visitors, and a superior-general. This tendency towards cen-
tralization continued and increased from the 13th to the 20th century.

2. The second period presents certain new char-
acteristics. In substance the religious life remains the same as in the earlier period, but new forms begin to arise. We have now the foundation of the mendicant orders, or friars, whose life is very different from that of the monks. The clerks regular, again, find the 16th cent. richer as much from the friars as the latter from the monks. Certain congregations founded during the period from the 16th to the 20th cent. —e.g., the Sulpicians, Oratorians, and the various missionary societies—form a new class distinct from that of the monks. The life of these religious women founded independently of any of the existing orders of men are a still more striking development of the religious state. The tendency to centralization is emphasized more and more during the course of this period of history. The friars have a superiors, the general chapters, visitors, prov-
incials. The monastery, which in the preceding period represented the unit of monastic organization, loses all autonomy. The superior of each convent is elected, generally speaking, every three years. Often the nomination of the superior is in the hands of some, not in his hands. He is, in fact, but the representative (and that for only a short period) of an authority whose seat is elsewhere. The ‘religious’ themselves are not permanently attached to any one house, but can be sent from one to another, of the houses, into which the religious houses are united to form a province under the authority of a provincial. The various provinces united together form the order, which is governed by a superior-general and a general chapter, com-
pounded of religious, and deans and dele-
gates elected by each province. The centralizing process reached its perfection in the 16th cent. with the Society of Jesus (see art. JESUITS), which has served, at least in its general outlines, as a model for a great many religious orders and has often been added to a certain extent by some of the older orders.

At the same time, it must be remarked that this law of centralization was not absolute, and it must not be forgotten that at this time certain societies were found, which were defying the authority of the monastic order or of the See, of which the bonds of union between the different communities were, as in earlier times, of a more or less elastic nature. Besides this, the general tendency towards centralization did not exclude another tendency which, at first sight, would seem to be opposed to it, i.e., the development of new forms of religious life. This is, in fact, one of the most striking characteristics of the period with which we are concerned.

Down to the 18th cent., as we have already seen, all ‘religious’ were either monks or canons, the latter scarcely differing at all in their mode of life from the former. In each monastery a similar life was lived and practically the same Rule was followed, and yet, thanks to that autonomy which was the law of primitive monasticism, each monastery was practically independent of the others (affairs introduced by Cluny and Citeaux) possessed its own special physiognomy. The foundation of ‘orders’ like the Camaldolese, the Carthusians, the Vallobrosians, and the orders of Fontevrault and of Citeaux brought new ideas into the old one of religious life. The hospitaliers, military orders, and mendicant orders (Dominicans and Franciscans) accentuated still more the growing tendency to variety, so much so that a reaction took place, and councils and popes in the 13th cent. issued decrees forbidding the foundation of religious orders—a vain attempt. The movement was too strong; first one, then another new order—the Carmelites leading—forced the hand of author-
ity and obtained recognition, in spite of the decrees of councils and of popes.

From the 16th cent. onwards the older forms of religious life seem to have sunk into the back-
ground, and hardly a quarter of a century goes by without the foundation of a new order correspond-
ning to every separate need of society. There are orders whose object is to combat the attacks of heresy, such as the Dominicans, for the care of the sick, preaching orders, mis-
ionary orders, etc. In the 19th cent. it seems as though every sluice-gate had been opened to the flood, and the multiplication of orders attained to such a pitch that fresh attempts were made at the Vatican Council to set a limit to this love of novelty. At the same time efforts were made to amalgamate different religious families having the same object and to reunite those which had been divided into different branches. Hence we see that the tendency towards at least, some form of religious life was counterbalanced by a tendency equally strong towards an excess of individualism.

2. Laws. —The laws of each religious order are to be found in a species of code known as the Rule. We have already discussed in art. MONASTICISM the origin of the monastic Rules. The chief Rules are those of St. Basil, St. Benedict, that attributed to St. Augustine, and that of St. Francis. These four may be regarded as the source from which all later Rules have been derived and the greater number of these Rules adopted by one or other of them. But, since they are usually somewhat general in character—e.g., the Rule of St. Augustine—or because it has become necessary to modify some of their prescriptions, each order or congregation possesses in addition to the Rule its own special usage called ‘Constitutions,’ which


2 The 4th Lateran Council (1215) and the 2nd Council of Lyons (1274).
have the force of law. It is these constitutions, in reality, that give to each order its special characteristics; hence to attempt a classification according to Rules is not practical. The best-known constitutions are those of the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Capuchins, the Theatines, and the Jesuits.

3. Dress and costumes. — It might be said with some justice, that the existence of the various tendencies above referred to could be gathered from the history of the costume of the religious orders alone. From the earliest days a special dress was worn by those leading the religious life, and this soon became traditional. It consisted of a tunic, girdle, scapular with hood, and of the stockings, and sandals; sometimes a kind of breeches were also worn. All these garments were of an inferior quality (see art. MONASTICISM). Naturally, considerable variety existed with regard to shape and colour. This costume was the rule for many centuries and remains so still for the older monastic orders, having undergone but slight changes and modifications in the course of time. The mendicant orders adopted the monastic dress in part—tunic, girdle, scapular, and hood, cloak, or cowl, and stockings. The importance of the recognizance of the details of shape and colour than the early monks. It was the colour of their habit that often gave to these 'religious' the name by which they were popularly known. Thus the Carmelites were known as the White Friars, from the white mantles which they wore; the Dominicans, who wore a black mantle, were called Black Friars. In our own day we have the White Fathers, as the missionary fathers of Algeria are called; while the Cellitines bear the name of Black Friars, and the Beguines are called Grey Sisters, or Blue Sisters, after the colour of their dress. Sometimes it is the shape of part of the habit that provides the distinctive title. Thus, as already mentioned, the Capuchins are so called from the special shape of the hood worn by them, the Friars of the Sack from the sack-like form and stuff of their dress.

Some orders attribute the special form and colour of their habit to a divine vision, as, e.g., the Order of Mercy. Again, the return to a more strict observance of the Rule outwardly symbolized by the adoption of a costume. The adoption of 'Discecd to the reform in the Carmelite order for men and women, and to a number of other orders or divisions of orders.

The military orders adopted a costume that was more in keeping with their character and only distantly related to that worn by the monks, with whom, however, they were connected by their rule of life. It was quite an innovation when the clerks regular, in the 16th cent., forsook the monastic habit together with so many other monastic observances and adopted the costume of the secular clergy.

With regard to the nuns and sisters, those who belonged to the older orders adopted, as was but natural, a form of the habit worn by the monks or friars. The later and modern congregations have, on the other hand, more often and consciously been guided by mere fancy, apart from all tradition. On this point, it is said, the Vatican Council had also intended to introduce a reform.

IX. ACTIVITY: SCIENTIFIC, LITERARY, SOCIAL, TO THE RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS, DIFFERENT WORKS. — We have already seen in art. MONASTICISM that the monks had no special object in entering that state of life beyond their desire to lead a life in closer conformity with the spirit of the gospel. But by force of circumstances and from the fact that both manual and intellectual work had from the beginning a special place in monastic life, they were led to develop their external activity and thus to exercise considerable influence on society at large. The monastery became in most cases a centre of civilization as well as of religious life and often a nourishing growth of art. Many monastic orders had their schools of literature, and of grammar, their song-schools, and their schools for the arts and crafts. Libraries that often became famous were formed in the cloister. It was in the monasteries that MSS were copied and preserved. Thus they were for centuries a refuge for the sciences and the arts. The clearing of forests, the making of roads, bridges, and canals, the cultivation of the wide lands that belonged to them—all this was the work of the monks. It was in the cloister, too, that the great missionaries who went forth to conquer the pagan world for Christ were trained—Augustine, Boniface, Adalbert, Anschar, and many others.

In the 13th cent., the social influence of the monastic order, which had begun to decline, passed by a period of the most intense activity and importance. The latter came to being at a period when Christian society, disturbed and upset by the errors of the Albignoses and other heretics, had begun its process of disintegration. Their object was precisely to arrest this process—in the case of the Dominicans, by means of schools; in the case of the Franciscans, by means of a living example of evangelical poverty and by the exercise of the sacred ministry among the people. The Carmelites, the Augustinians, and the other orders that rose between the 13th and 15th centuries, also engaged in this work. Other orders founded about this time had a more special object in view: for the Order of Mercy and the Trinitarians this was the redemption of the Christian captives taken by the Moors; for the military orders, the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Land and the war to be waged against the forces of Islam; for the hospitals, the care of travellers, the poor, the sick, and those stricken with leprosy. In the 16th cent., and onwards till the 19th, the activity of the religious orders was extended on a larger and larger scale. They fought the battles of the Church with all her foes, by means of their preaching, their schools, and their spiritual direction. The Oratorians, the Sulpicians, the Eudists, and the Lazarists devote themselves more especially to the education of the clergy. The Theatines, the Barnabites, the Passionists, and the Redemptorists show them the example of an austere and holy life, and assist them in the sacred ministry. The missionary societies are spread abroad in every quarter of the globe, to bear the teaching of the gospel to the heathen nations. The teaching brothers and sisters give themselves to the education of the poorer classes of society—each order or congregation has its part to fulfil in the carrying out of the Church's mission on earth.

We may here give a résumé of the services rendered to religion and society by the religious orders. The mission work and that of preaching and teaching, carried out in the earlier period almost exclusively by the monks, the canons, and the secular clergy, is from the 19th cent. in the hands of the mendicant orders—the Capuchins, Franciscans, and others founded at that time. From the 16th cent. the clerks regular, the religious congregations, and missionary societies — Jesuits, Lazarists, Assumptionists, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, etc.—extended far and wide the domains of the Church. It was especially in the 19th cent.
that the missionary movement began to spread. It is estimated that in 1792 of every 557 men 174 were Christians. At the present day for the same number is 158 Christians. This progress is due to the activity of the missionaries. 1

Out of 18,000 missionaries 15,000 belong to different religious orders. Besides these must be reckoned 120 congregations of women with 53,000 sisters and 10,000 nuns. 2 During the period of their prosperity the monasteries served as schools for children and youths. The 12th cent. saw the foundation of the universities, which soon gathered around their chairs of learning students from every part of Christendom. In these universities, after a long and violent conflict, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites succeeded in gaining a foothold and became renowned for the brilliance of their teaching. In the 16th cent. the Jesuits, especially as regards teaching in the secondary schools, are found at the head of the movement, while the societies of teaching brothers take up the work of teaching the children of the poor the elements of learning and the various trades. Other societies, again, like the Sulpicians or Eudists, are founded for the education of orphans and the congregations of women that continually arise devote themselves to that of young girls.

Study, the copying of MSS, and literary work of every description remain, to a great extent, the prerogative of the monastic bodies. In the new orders of mendicant friars, and, later still, the clerks regular dispute this prerogative with them. Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, Jesuits, Oratorians, Sulpicians, Barnabites, and Redemptorists—all these can quote from the names of theologians, historians, critics, mystical writers, and savants of outstanding merit.

Special orders or congregations are founded to preach the Word of God to the country people, too long neglected, or to the poorer population of the cities. These orders have been founded by St. Vincent de Paul, the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri, the Piasts, the Barnabites, the Redemptorists, the Passionists, etc.

From the 11th cent. onwards it is chiefly works of charity that absorb the activity of the religious orders. The friars, however, have been the first of the order, since the work of mercy carried on in early times by the monasteries and to the liberal hospitality shown to pilgrims and travellers in the guest-houses and hostleries that abounded all along the roads leading to the important places of pilgrimage, such as St. James of Compostella, Rocamadour, Rome, etc., and which marked out the various stages on the way and were to be found especially near bridges and ferries. 3 Besides these there were houses of refuge, leper-houses, and other charitable establishments that depended on the monasteries, and abundant alms in money or in kind were regularly distributed at the monastic gates. To give one example alone: we find in the Monasticon Anglicanum and the Notitia Monastica a list of about 115 leper-houses in England and Scotland. 4 The friaries and the centers that followed up to the 15th, with the foundation of the orders of hospital-tellers—already spoken of and of the 'Maisons-Dieu,' the 'Hôtels-Dieu,' the leper-houses, and other charitable institutions, form together a richly developed history of charitable activity, but it is especially from the 16th cent. onwards that the activity of the religious orders in works of charity and alms work is at its greatest extent and is found ready almost every ill that human nature is heir to. Vincent de Paul, Camillus de Lellis, and John of God are counted among the greatest benefactors of the human race. As an example we may notice that the Brothers of St. John of God in Paris, 1792, had 135 hospitals with 41,400 beds, while in that of Rome they had 150 hospitals with 7210 beds.

In the province of charity the congregations of women exercise a more important office even than the orders of men. In 1904 the statistics give us 457,000 sisters throughout the world devoted to works of mercy—in charge of orphanages, homes, hospitals, homes of refuge for penitents and Magdalens, infant asylums, homes for the old, for consumptives, and for lepers, and many others who are occupied with the service of sicknesses. 5 This is just one token of the manifold activity of the religious orders, but the subject, to be treated, would require volumes. 6


P. CABROL.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Indian).—The religious orders in general are already partly treated in art. ASCETICISM (Hindu), HINDUISM, MONASTICISM (Hindu), and some of the different orders in art. AJIVIKAS, JAINESM, PATMOKKSHA, etc.; the doctrines which feed the religious life of the 'friars' are studied in such art. as BHAVAGVAD-GITA, BHAKTI-MARGA, JAINA-MARGA, SAIVISM, VAISHNAVISM, while the artit. AUSTERITIES, FASTING (Introductory and non-Christian), YOGI, DRAVIDIAN (India), vol. v. p. 16, etc., describe some of the outward features of this life.

The aim of the present article, therefore, is to draw up a general survey of them, including the technicalities and especially the intricate and innumerable details of modern institutions, it is possible to state the most important features of asceticism as organized in the religious brother-hoods, and the most remarkable steps in this organization.

I. 'FAUGRI.'—1. Crude asceticism.—The chief

2 Cf. Heimbucher, l. c. 92.
5 Cf. B., where numerous proofs of this wonderful activity in works of charity are given. See also art. CHARTER, ALZINIGUINO (Christian).
element—the raw material—of the Indian religious life is what we may conveniently style 'faqrism.' This word is of course modern and its technical meaning is precise, but it has been chosen in accordance with the Latin word to summarize the crude ascetic, mystical, and orgiastic beliefs and practices which, as far back as our information goes, have been characteristic of the Indian people. Such beliefs and practices may be traced in almost all primitive civilizations. Outside of India, they have been crushed or chastened to a large extent by the progress of social life or of a religion which found its leading motives in ideas more human and more truly religious than a bare asceticism. 5 In India, on the contrary, the ascetic tendencies underwent an enormous development owing to certain climatic and racial circumstances, and, moreover, they were one of the chief factors of the religions and philosophies themselves. From time to time throughout history spiritual leaders succeeded in organizing and moralizing these tendencies, constructing theosophic or devotional theories of no mean moral and spiritual value; but the starting-point of these theories is often to be found in raw asceticism. The Buddhist—the Jain or the Triratna—is a philosopher, but he is also a chaste ascetic. 6 for his purposes Plutarch, which all is in modes but a chastened and moralized asceticism. Outside of India, the ascetic tendencies have remained outside the great orders and formed only lay associations for begging or not much more. Nowadays, even when he is backed up by a Church and professes to be a member of an order endowed with a literature and with high-sounding and holy garb, he is but too often a man of a low intellectual level. His literary or doctrinal knowledge is frequently confined to a few mantras, or formulas; his sectarian peculiarities (form of dress, amulets, etc.) are not much more than a profession of faith. The ascetic is not safe to infer that this state of things is an old one.

The Indian orders are apt to split up and to degenerate. The old crude faqrism is eternal and really unmodifiable. When we compare the data to be found in the Buddhist Pitakas, in the Jain Agamas, and in the Greek sources with medieval and modern descriptions, we are struck by the constant recurrence of the (1) penitential (tapas), (2) mystical (yoga), and (3) orgiastic (prāṇāyāma) practices.

The earliest references that we possess to ascetic mystical practices have been studied by A. Barth and H. Oldenberg. The long-haired ascetic, or munī, naked or dressed in rags of reddish colour, is 'possessed with the gods,' and, inversely, the good Sun is once celebrated under the aspect of a munī. 7 Here we have a living picture of the old Vedic world, still confined as they are in the narrow limits of shamanism, not yet purified by the aspiration to the finite.

(a) Tapas.—The 'religious' of the old and of the new times is often a penitent (tapasa) who indulges in extreme mortifications, or in moral self-torture or mutilation, e.g., the Bákhatas, feeding on excrements (Aghoris), holding the arms or the face upright until paralyzed; 8 imitating the cow, the horse, the dog, or the rock; 9 (govard, aovekara, kakkakautara, kakakvarta.

Tapas culminates in suicide—a common practice in ancient times. While the Brāhmaṇs forbid suicide as a religious act, they nevertheless admit it as an atonement for certain sins. 10 With the non-Brāhmaṇs suicide, by starvation, drowning, fire, or exposure, is a regular way of salvation. 11

(b) Yoga.—Mystical devices, comprehended under the general name of yoga, are as a rule associated with tapas or, at least, with a semi-ascetic life. There are a number of āsana, postures of sitting or standing, with or without a seat, which induce a state of trance, rejection of strange sets of formulas, countings the respiration or stopping it (prāṇāyāma).

(c) Mahāvāna.—On the organic side of faqrism, the use for 'religious' purposes of the live mukārās, the fire that is, is one of the most important. The word is used with all things, fish, alcohol, copulation, and mūdra—we are too well enlightened as regards medieval and modern times; but we are rather in the dark as to old Hinduism. With the Jains (q.v.), before their reformation by Nātapūta, and with the Buddhists, mukārās were not one of the obligations of the ascetic. There are unmistakable signs that the unliminality of the modern Sāttas is not a new development. In the days of the Jatajñali (2nd cent. B.C.) the violence of the fanatical devotees was already a proverb; in the words of the sūtras, this was not one of the obligations of the ascetic. They are unmistakable signs that the unliminality of the modern Sāttas is not a new development.

By penance and trance a devotee obtains important advantages and is supposed to obtain some sort of immortalization.

(1) This mode of life, not always very uncomfortable, assures a living. No one will refuse alms to an ascetic mendicant. Further, the ascetic is able to render many services, either of white or of black magic. The mass of the ascetics practised the 'low arts' which are enumerated in the Buddhist suttas as unworthy of a monk. 8 The list is a long one and is as valuable for modern times as it is for ancient.

(2) A religious mendicant, especially when

43 See Strabo, xv. l, 61, 69; art. HINDUISM, vol. vi. p. 701, on the Tirthabhakshas, Nākina, Akṣamahāk, etc., according to Indian historians, and to the British Museum, the MSS. of Strabo (63), which has been translated into several languages.
45 Cf. the Suron.
46 Strabo, xv. 62, 68, 73; Plutarch, Alexander, l.c. See art. JAINISM, KEDARKATHI.
48 See art. BARH, p. 181.
49 See art. KARB, p. 181.
qualified in penitential observances, in ecstatic devices, or in thamaturgic formulas, is supposed to possess magical powers. One of the methods or sādhanas of the classical yoga, elsewhere bhūtis, was able to communicate with all sorts of supernatural beings, male and female. He was assured of a happy rebirth, as a god or a demon. But Śākyamuni states that the yogin (govercita) a man is reborn, not as a god, but as a cow.

2. The task of the religious leaders.—This was in short (1) to group ascetics under a certain rule of life, and (2) to give a spiritual meaning to the ascetic, mystical, and orgiastic practices of the Vedic period.

While adherents of a formulaic religion are the earliest steps towards the organization of the orders. All the evidence points to the conclusion that religious non-Brahmanic bodies had been flourishing for a long time when Indian history begins with the Jina and the Buddha. The former was only the redoubled brotherhood and the latter adopted from the non-Buddhists some of the most important rules of the cenic life (fortnightly meetings, etc.). A dogma of both Jains and Buddhists is that there have been in the past a number of Jinas and Buddhhas; this dogma is historically true. (2) While a mendicant, who was hitherto his own master, has to become a member of an organized body, to undergo a novitiate, to submit himself to the authority of a fixed rule or of the elders (thera, thiri), he is expected to become at the same time a philosopher who strives towards a supernatural goal. Penance, trance, and even the maṅgāras are turned by the spiritual leaders into means of spiritual progress.

Some leaders try to check the exaggeration of penance and ecstasy and prohibit the maṅgāras; others systematically approve of the most morbid form of asceticism. Nevertheless, the various degrees of discipline may be illustrated by two instances: (1) the gods were scared by the penances and the pious deeds of the future Buddha, fearing that he would dethrone them by the magical power which was the natural fruit of such penances and deeds. The future Buddha comforted them: a saint does not care for the outer advantages with which his only aim is nirvāṇa. (2) The mystic discipline is two-fold—raja-yoga, an intellectual theosophy, and hāṭhayoga, a theory or mechanical theosophy in which medicine and trance are mixed. The former represents the loftier side of Indian mysticism, and is the work of the thinkers; the latter embodies the doctrine of the ascetics.

A few topics may be mentioned. (a) Ancient Brāhmāṇism regarded penance as a method of atonement for sin, and Jainism strongly emphasized this view, which is a general one. 'With the Buddhists penance, either moderate or severe, is expected to crush desire. With the devotional sects one pleases the gods by self-torture. (b) As concerns trance, a Brāhmān employs in the grand tour of deliverance in this life the very devices through which a ājñā induces trance and obtains magical powers. Since the nāma-sūtra is used and the Soul dwells in the heart, an ascetic might draw the self from the non-self' and concentrate his individual soul in the real soul. With the Buddhists trance does not directly work out nirvāṇa, it is none the less necessary; in order to be efficiently efficacious, it must be 'with the hand.' The devotional sects the devotee realizes during trance a transitory union (yoga) with his god, a foretaste of heavenly happiness. (c) As concerns the maṅgāras, no moral distinction can be made between them. The former, the Vaiśeṣika, and the latter, the Jaina, ceremonies, whether Buddhist, Śaivite, or Vaiṣṇavite, which aim at the identification of the ascetic (yogin) with the god—by intercourse with the god, or by impersonation of the god (abhiseka) or 'marks' (nyāya), has been transformed into a Bhagavati (a female Budha), into Bhairavi, into Dādā, a Buddhist becomes the Buddha Vajrasatva, a Śaivite becomes Bhairava, a Vaiṣṇavite becomes Kṛṣṇa—and, on the other hand, the gods are turned into ascetics who have an immense proclivity to the fanatical girls known as 'mothers,' yogini, dākinī, etc. But the Tantric ceremonies are looked upon as a path to deliverance: the orgy is a sacred song; moreover, we are told that house of the ascetic addicted to that 'worship' interpret even the most shocking obscenities of the books of the Tantric religion in an allegorical way.

II. ANCIENT BRAHMAŅIC ASCETICISM.—The Brāhmāṇic asceticism was influenced by the established ideas on penance, but it remained foreign and hostile to faqirism. While it did not directly give birth to religious orders properly so called, it developed both the type of the Indian friar and, as far as the earlier period is concerned, the leading ideas of the religious life.

In short, the brāhmaṇachārī is the type of the Buddhist monk, śrāvaka, or the Jina, and the ascetic (bhikṣa) is the type of the bhikṣu (Kern). On the other hand, the goal aimed at by the Brāhmāṇic ascetic is the nirvāṇa, which is considered as the only way to deliverance, and the secular life is considered as a servitude and as a student in the sacred lore (hence his name brāhmaṇachārī); he beggars his food, avoids certain articles of diet, and practised continence. The last feature is important, and the very term for novitiate or studentship (brāhmaṇacharyā) comes to mean continence and, in the time of Śākyamuni, religious life.

While the speculations on rebirth and deliverance from rebirth were ripe, continence was regarded not only as the way to heaven, but as the best means of deliverance from rebirth. The idea of their debts to the gods (by sacrifice) and to the dead (by the birth of a son), abandoned secular life (sannyāsin) in order to reach holiness before dying, young men agreed to spend their whole life as brāhmaṇachārins in the house of their parents. This house was a lumbard, and there were the Harsāchardīs beautiful pictures of the quiet retreats of the gūrdās.

In contrast with the settlements of the hermits devoted to meditation together with moderate asceticism, and not averse to sacrifice, early Brāhmāṇism had 'penitent hermits' (tāpasa), the mundis or prīs of the Mahābhārata, either of priests or of kindly parentage. The mundi have abandoned sacrifice; they feed strictly on roots and fruit;
they perform severe penances (the tapas properly so called, 'heat'), but they remain dignified and free from vulgar charlatanism.

The sects assume a number of Brahmanical mendicants or wandering ascetics (yati, bhikṣu, parivrajaka), although we know only two associations of such men.

The law-books (in which is embodied the smṛti) regard this mode of life with little favour.

The sects hold a few details concerning the jātīlas, jātīlakas, or divyajñātaka, 'ascetics with matted hair', who joined the Buddhist order when Śākyamuni proved his magical efficiency to them. Their Brahmanical character is established no less as much as the sacrifice to the fire.

III. RELIGIOUS ORDERS: GENERAL REMARKS.

1. Sects and orders.—Apart from pure Brahmanism—i.e. Brahmanism freed from any tinge of Saivism or Vaiṣṇavism, as it was at the beginning and as it has remained in certain circles—religious India is sectarian. On the whole there are three (with exceptions) each sect—a fluid group of the worshippers of a certain deity, or of a certain form of deity—has its religious order, sometimes two or three religious orders. The prima visā view is that, in early times, the orders—e.g., the Buddhist brotherhood (the saṅgha, sāṅghika) in connexion with the mass of the people: a number of ascetics followed a certain discipline, both practical and doctrinal, and the good people who fed them were left to their own religious beliefs, a mixture of jāganiṃ and old inherited family, tribal, and tribal customs (Buddha included adherents who did not join the order and who formed a body of laity, a sect, whether Buddhist or Jain. In contrast with the lax associations of wandering mendicants, like the modern Aghoris, no organized monasticism could develop without being backed by a sect from the saints, especially the Master and his predecessors, the relics, the holy places, the symbols (tree, etc.), were the focus of a popular Buddhist devotion. The title of Rhy's Davids' book, Buddhist India, is somewhat misleading, for India, as a whole, has never been Buddhist, but the sects have always been the most important sects of India, and is really a Church.

If we are right on this point, we have to infer that the modern development of Indian sectarianism is really very old. There is a sect which finds its unity in the worship of a god, either a natural or mythological god (Siva, Viņu) or an euhemerist god (Buddha, Jina). The sect is divided into two sections: (1) the laity, more or less initiated into the theology of the sect (saṃpradāya, darsana, mātra), and (2) the ascetics, or vairāgis; some are hermits (vāmāprastha, dhyānapraṇī, āṇguśra); some lead a common life (savoṣha, māṭhādhāra) in a convent (vihāra, matha), in the neighbourhood of a temple or a holy place as a rule; some wander from one matha to another, from one chaitya to another, as wandering mendicants (tīrthaka, the Circumcellionis of the West).

2. Evolution of the doctrines of the orders. While emphasizing the permanent character of the Indian religious institutions—there is no great difference from a certain standpoint of the temple order, in the form of a chaitya and that in the form of a liṅga-shrine—it is necessary to avoid wild anachronism as well as pedantic chronology. The beliefs of the sects have not been completely modified; everywhere and always a certain monotheism, more or less orthodox, monism, Brahmanism, is retained, in spite of an overwhelming mythology and polytheity. It is quite unlikely that 'India fell asleep Vedic or atheist some centuries B.C. to awake devotional, Saivite or Vaiṣṇavite some centuries later.' But there has been a revolution in the leading ideas of the 'intellectuals' of the sects, i.e. of the ascetics. The institutions which we study (below, IV.) as 'ancient religious orders' are, as a rule, atheist; the Buddhist monk, like the Brahman samnyāsin of old, aims at nirvāṇa, and he does not expect any help from any god or saint. Buddhism and Jainism, if the doctrines of the brotherhood only are taken into account, are not 'religions'; they are atheistic paths of salvation,2 like Śaṅkhyā or Vedānta. With the mediæval or modern orders (below, V.) bhikṣu, an ardent devotion to a 'deity of election', goddess, or god, can be clearly noticed in the doctrine of grace (sannyāsha). The neo-Buddhism (see art. MAHĀYĀNA), contrasted with early Buddhism (see art. HITAYĀNA), illustrates the change: it aims at a rebirth in Sūkhāvatī, not at a dissolution just as the devotee of Viṣṇu aims at a rebirth in Goloka, not at a dissolution (losing oneself in the Absolute). But the idea of nirvāṇa has altogether disappeared in neo-Buddhism, although it is kept in the background; and, in the same way, the monism or semi-monism (auroveda, etc.) of the Upāṇisads, Vedānta, schools furnishes the sects of bhikṣu with an esoteric or 'superior' theology.

3. Religious vows.—Of all the Indian orders, the Buddhists seem to have understood the nature of the religious life best. The theory of the vows in the Ābhāḍharmakānda reminds us of Western theology.

A Buddhist is a man (or a woman) who has taken the vows of the religious life (saṃviveka, 'restraint, discipline'), i.e. who, after taking refuge in the Three Jewels (Buddha, dharma, ariya), has dedicated himself to live his whole life under the rule of Śākyamuni. The vows are either (1) the vows of a bhikṣu (the vows of a novice and of a nun are different in practice, but the same in kind), or (2) the vows of a layman (upāsaka) or laywoman (upāsikā): an upāsaka is not, as generally understood, a worshipper, but a 'religious'; he is actually a member of the third order, a tertiary.

The bhikṣu binds himself to avoid all occasions of sin (i.e. of desire), and practises a mortification which develops the humility and the energy necessary to salvation. The upāsaka avoids the occasion of many sins and plants roots of merit which will ripen in a future life. The difference between the two rules of life is characterized by the saṃpradāya on carnal desire; while the bhikṣu is absolutely continent and therefore remains untouched by the fire of passion, the upāsaka is either a mystic lover (bhijnī mithyādāra), either intercourse with an angaṇī (neighbour's wife, nun, etc.) or illicit intercourse with his own wife.3

3 A remark often emphasised by A. Barth.


3 See Poussin's remarks, i. e. 1. 222.


5 A bhikṣu follows the Ten Precepts (ERĒ vii. 320). An upāsaka follows the first five of these precepts—the third, continence, being understood mutatis mutandis.

6 In Puranahtāyikā, ii. (vol. i. p. 43), the saradāraśānta, 'avoiding adultery, is styled brāhmākāya, 'continence.'
A point worthy of notice is that an upasaka is expected to take the eight vows of an upasikastra every fortnight, i.e., live twenty-four hours as a monk (continue, not eating at a prohibited time, etc.). The man who has taken vows of either a bhikṣu or of an upasika is a 'disciplined one,' a 'rule-guided one'; he is not like other men, for the vows create the special sort of karman which is styled vijnapti.\(^2\)

In Mahāyāna Buddhism the old organization of the order remains, theoretically at least, as it was; but a new saṅgha—the saṅgha bhikkhus and upāsakas—has arisen whose Buddha—coining the usual term—bhikṣu bhikkhus and upāsakas have to undertake the duties of a saṅghakara, i.e., to produce the thinking of becoming of a Buddha and to practise the perfect virtues. Now, according to the dogma and the legends, a bodhisattva may be married; and it has been pointed out that a man, after taking the vows of a bhikṣu, may 'exchange' these vows for the vows of a bodhisattva and marry. The consequence was that the Buddhist order contains the saṅgha bhikkhus of the Buddha, that is, the order of bhikkhus of the Buddha who have been married.\(^2\)

V. ANCIENT RELIGIOUS ORDERS. From about the 8th to the 6th cent. B.C. a number of religious leaders gave a regular form to the wandering ascetic life. The best of them has a high moral standard and a high intellectual standpoint; they condemned in theory, even when they were forced to tolerate in practice the less honourable devices which were popular among their followers (magical performances, etc.); they preached a path to salvation, and contrived to adapt this to the kind of the ascetic and the religious practices. They were great organizers and also greatbrothers of whom, like the founders of the family to which they had established were living, robust organisms, they themselves became the gods of new religions.

1. BUDDHIST AND JAIN. The rules of the Buddhist\(^3\)

2. See art. BHIKSHU.


5. See art. BHIKSHU: E. Kern, The Early History of India, 1896; E. Bernard, Uber das Sakya-Leben, 1882.\(^3\)


7. See art. BHIKSHU: E. Bernard, Uber das Sakya-Leben, 1882; Id., Uber das Sakya-Leben, 1882.\(^3\)

8. See art. BHIKSHU.
Theology. — Bhakti, i.e. devotion to God — a Heavenly Father, and often, like the Vaishnava avatāras, an incarnate Saviour — gave rise to a lofty mysticism. 2

2 Asceticism has a truly religious meaning. Religious orders — especially the ascetic orders — have also in the powerful and intense sectarian worship which has been since the Bhagavat-Geôta (q.v.) the leading forces of Indian religious thought. 3

Bhakti, whether Buddhist or Hindu, has its drawbacks and its failures.

1 It was deemed the essential condition of salvation; it became the unique condition. A single act of faith, a single sincere invocation to God, cancels a life of sin. Finally, the exegesis of bhakti destroys bhakti. 4

To pronounce the name of Avalokiteśvara or of Kṛṣṇa, even by chance, even in a blasphemy, is enough. Further, the devotion due to God is due to the guru, who is often regarded as an incarnation of God Himself; Hinduism, in that direction, went almost into the same realm as Islam. 5

3 Bhakti and bhakti were also (2) to specialized forms of God and to idols; hence all forms of superstition. Again (3) devotion is often paid to the śakti, or female energy, of God; hence the 'religions' justification of the eroticism of the Śaktas (left-hand worship).

1. The role of the religious orders has been sometimes to purify bhakti from its pagan features, sometimes to emphasize those features and to organize the puṣṭimārga, or salvation by dace. They may be described either as Vaishnava or as Śivaite, according to the name that they give to God.

(a) Vaisnava. — (1) Rāmānuja (q.v.), and (2) Rāmānanda, who belonged to the school of Rāmānuja and was perhaps the immediate guru of (3) Kābrī (q.v.); (4) Anandatirtha, who originated the Mādhvas (q.v.); (5) Chaitanya (q.v.), and (6) Vallālāhāchārya (q.v. 16th cent.), with the (5th) Kārtābhājāya and the (6th) Čharan Dāsī (18th cent.), with the (5th) Radāvallābhās, the Sakhibhās, etc.

2. The religious orders and the Bhakti movement have been a means of progression for the progress of society in the direction of Hindu revivalism and the enforcement of the higher Hindu duties. The other great religious movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the Bhakti movement, which gave rise to the development of the Śivaite and the Vaishnava orders. These orders were characterized by a strong sense of devotion to God, and they were especially popular among the lower castes and among the untouchables. The Bhakti movement was a great reforming movement, and it played an important role in the development of Hindu society.

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entered the monastery, either for a period of years or for life-long continence. Under the care of a master they were employed in weaving and embroidery, filling the incense-braziers, and preparing bread for the priests. 1

The Totonacs had a strict order devoted to Centeotl. Its members were widowers over sixty, of irreproachable character, who lived a secluded and austere life, and in his ten years they lived on no meat. They were much respected by the people, who consulted them, and regarded their answers as oracles. 2

2. Peruvian.—In Peru the most remarkable example of a religious order was that of the ‘Virgins of the Sun,’ girls who had been dedicated to the service of the god in infancy, and at the fitting age placed under the care of matrons in convents. Here they lived in absolute seclusion, for none but the Inca and his queen could enter. Their employment was to watch over the sacred fire and to weave and embroider temple-hangings as well as the dresses for the Inca and his household. They had to live a life of strictest continence, and any one who failed to do so was buried alive, while her lover was strangled and the village or town was entirely razed. Yet from their numbers the most beautiful were selected as ‘brides’ or concubines of the Inca. The ‘houses of the virgins of the sun,’ or monasteries, were low ranges of buildings, surrounded by high walls, to exclude all observation. 3

3. Both in Mexico and in Peru there were orders of knights corresponding to the European religious orders of chivalry. The initiation to these orders was protracted and severe, testing both the bravery and the endurance of the candidates. 4

Literature.—See the works cited in the footnotes.

J. A. MAXWELL.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Muslim).—In this article attention is confined mainly to the N. African orders. For the religious orders in other countries reference should be made to the series on religion in MUHAMMADIANISM. See also artt. Dervish, Suffis.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. — I. Preliminary observations.—In the East the religions orders of Islam are not numerous, but their members are subject to religions obligations of the same kind, to a most rigorous discipline alike in spiritual and in temporal things, and to a strictly defined procedure in political matters, so that they are at once initiates (in the exact sense of the term) and agents of their official head. In N. Africa, and especially in the Maghrib, on the other hand, the orders are found in large numbers, but their organization is lax. Thus, as we proceed from Morocco to the Far East, we notice that the orders gradually decrease in number and importance; while, in passing from East to West, we find an unmistakable ebb in the current of Pan-Islamism. It would seem, in fact, that the ideal of the religious order is incompatible with that of Pan-Islamism; each tends to exclude the other. In the East and the Far East the breath of Pan-Islamism has sometimes excited, or threatened to excite, the Muslim populace to revolt; while in N. Africa, where the Pan-Islamist idea is but little diffused, it is the orders that have now and again disturbed the public peace or provoked conflicts in the colonial or protected countries.

It should also be noted that in the Maghrib the fact that the Sharifs, i.e. the real or supposed descendants of Muhammad, are found in great numbers tends to diminish the importance of the orders. The Sharifs form a highly-esteemed religious class, and their descent itself forming a sufficient basis for their authority. As it is not to their interest that religions associations which may divert to their own uses some portion of the religious offerings should be making headway alongside of them, the Sharifian families are essentially hostile to the orders, excepting those which they have founded and in a sense absorbed, thus appropriating the advantages and emoluments of both the Sharifate and the order.

The orders are very numerous in N. Africa, and the majority of them have a large, some even an enormous, membership. To enumerate their adherents is altogether out of the question. In countries subject to European Powers, as Algeria, statistics have been compiled and published, but they have only a relative value. In independent Muslim countries, such as Morocco, the numerical estimates are purely fanciful. Questions put to native members of one and the same order or community will elicit the most remarkable diversity of estimates; thus, as regards a particular confraternity, one will speak of a hundred thousand members, another of several millions, while a personal investigation will perhaps reduce the total to a few dozens or even units. Still, after making all allowances, we are safe to say that the membership of the orders in N. Africa is very considerable. One fact is to the effect that in opinion that in Morocco about three-quarters of the male population belong to these communities.

Another noteworthy fact of a general character is that some orders are specially connected with particular districts or particular tribes. Thus the order of the Nāṣiriyah and that of the Mālikī would recruit their ranks almost exclusively among the inhabitants of the Wādī Dra‘a (S. Morocco); while, as an instance of a group wholly confined to a certain ethnological stratum, and affiliated with a religious order, we may refer to the Bīkhāra (plur. of Bīkhār), a descent of the old Spanish Guard instituted by the sultans of Morocco, whose privileges were ratified by an imperial decree in 1667; this negro aristocracy belongs in the main to the Islāwiyyah (below, II. 1).

Finally, in the category of religious orders properly so called we exclude certain associations possessing a religious character (all associations in Islam may be said to have a religious character—corporations, trade guilds, shooting clubs, etc.), but having nothing else in common with the orders (of which religion is the sole raison d’être, and those which have an essentially religious purpose). Thus we do not regard the acrobatic society of Sāns called the Ulād Sīdī Ḥammad u Mūṣa as a religious order; still less the Gānawa, the negro jugglers of the public grounds and market-places. Their open-air performances and their manner of taking the collection do not suggest a religious fraternity.

2. Organization.—At the head of the order (called friga, ‘way,’ or tāfiya, ‘band’) stands the shāhīk, who exercises absolute authority. Under the shāhīk is the khālid, a sort of vicegerent or deputy, and, in more remote parts, represents him and his authority. Next come the muqaddams, heads of the various groups into which the order is divided, and engaged in the work of propaganda and management; they enrol new members, hold initiation processions, and convey the instructions of the shāhīk to members within their jurisdiction; in short, they are pre-eminently the agents of the order. The members, again, are styled khāwīn, khawīn, brothers (Algeria, etc.), jaftār (plur. of jaft, ‘poor’) (Morocco), or, more rarely, darvishes, which is rather an Oriental term; one also hears
of the word eshāb, 'companions.' The several chiefs of an order are kept in touch with one another by foot-messengers (rayğāb); the naqīb is a kind of master of ceremonies; the shākih is charged with temporal affairs.

The members of an order hold regular meetings, called haddūkh, at stated times, and at these they engage in their devotional practices—prayer, singing, dancing, etc.—and hear the instructions and counsels of their muqaddams. The order has in an establishment called the zuvvīyāh. This word is rather vague in its denotation, but in a general way it signifies an abode of murābīt, or monks, and is thus often rendered 'convent,' 'monastery,' or even 'desert' (ṣiliṣtāt styled ḥabāz). The prerogative of the shākih rests upon tradition and derives its sanction from the 'chains' in which the tradition is embodied. There are two kinds of chains: (1) the chain of initiation (ṣiliṣtāt al-iḥlāṣ), or series of 'saints' from whom the founder of the order received his instruction, and (2) the chain of benediction (ṣiliṣtāt al-barakā), or series of shākihs who successively held the headship of the order, and so transmitted the divine benediction. The former goes back from the founder to Muhammad, through a complete series of real or supposed personages directly linked with one another, and then ascends, with the archangel Gabriel as intermediary, to Allah himself.

4. Mysticism in the orders.—Mysticism (ṣufism) is one of the fundamental elements of religion, if not indeed its very essence, was, in Islam, the needed, and in a sense the inevitable, recoil from the intellectualism of the Qur'ān. Mysticism is highly developed in the orders, and in some of them reaches its zenith. It takes various forms. It appears in the 'saints' chains mentioned above, connecting the founders of the orders with Muhammad, and through him with Gabriel and Allah, thus securing for them their divine authority. The significance attached to these chains rests wholly upon the mystical element. It manifests itself strikingly in the religious language—formula of initiation (wirād) and of prayer (dhikr, etc.), instructions and counsels of the shākih, speculations regarding the stages, and descriptions of the psychic states, through which the votary passes in order to attain to ecstasy and union with God—speculations and descriptions that recall in striking fashion the analogous theories and delineations of Christian mysticism and Buddhist asceticism.

5. Ritual and ceremonial.—Mysticism, though in origin and principle a reaction against the systematizing and the abuse of rites and formulae, has given rise in the orders to a ceremonialism of its own. This finds expression, first of all, in litanies—the manifold repetitions (extending to 50, 100, 1000, 10,000, and even 100,000 times) of the same religious affirmations or invocations. In some orders the members devote all their energies to the recitation of the dhikr, spending the day and sometimes the whole night in repeating the same form of prayer. Ritualism and religious formulism, one would think, could hardly go any farther.

Ritualism appears also in the strange ceremonies and practices characteristic of the social orders (see below, II. 1)—forms of ritual which secure for such orders an extraordinary influence over the mass of believers.

6. Political aspects.—The orders differ greatly from one another in their political aspects. We shall confine ourselves more to a single country, Morocco, where these communities, in contrast to the important political rôle which they formerly played, have now all but ceased to manifest any activity whatever in this respect—a fact well worthy of note. From the end of the 15th cent. till 1830—the beginning of the French conquest of Algeria—N. Africa was dominated by two rival authorities, viz. the Sharifs of Morocco and the Turks of Algiers. These two powers had sprung into being almost simultaneously as the result of a religious movement against the Christian conquest of Muslim Spain and against the active designs of Portugal and Spain upon Morocco. This twofold activity on the part of Christian Powers aroused the fanaticism of the Berbers and the Arabs, and kindled a revolution which, directed by the orders, was fitted through its pivotal position to strike the dynasties, these being replaced by sovereignties established through the influence of the orders and the murābīt. In Morocco the first of the new dynasties, that of the Saʿādīan Sharifs, was Abu ʿAbdallah al-Qārīn ibn Amrailhu, who, after an age till 1509—10. In the eyes of the people this dynasty stood for a government constituted according to the purest traditions of Islam.

To-day, the orders, though they are a cause of disorders, these orders, in spite of the anarchy prevailing in Morocco, have all but ceased to exercise any influence whatever in political affairs. In essence the causes are two: (1) the divisions and rivalries existing among the orders, these being particularly rife in Morocco; and (2) the prerogative of the Makhzen, i.e. the Moroccan government, which is now able to have the highest positions in the leading orders conferred upon its foremost representatives—ministers, the imperial family, and even the sultan himself.

7. Place in social life.—Among the various religions is a decidedly a social concern than it is among Christian peoples, the social rôle of the orders is closely connected with their religious aspect. Mysticism, which is cultivated more or less in all the orders, has a strong fascination for the African peoples, both those which an labour under the violent and arbitrary administration of native governments (Morocco) and those which have been forcibly subjected to the rule of infidel Powers, such as France and Britain; and, by enabling its votaries to become absorbed in God, or at least to engage without restriction or hindrance in religious practices to which the authorities take no objection, mysticism offers to the oppressed not only an open gateway towards heaven, but also a means of deliverance from all the trammels and miseries of earth. Now, to this powerful attraction of mysticism in the orders is added the no less inviting aspect of their social function. The religious order is a form of association peculiarly congenial to the Muslim mind. Among the Muslims of Africa in particular the spirit of combination and co-operation is remarkably well developed. Every active form of social life tends to embody itself in associations—trade guilds, shooting clubs (which are very numerous), charitable societies, etc. This intense need of
RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Muslim)

acting everywhere and in all things in conjunction and communion with one's fellows is then invested with a sacred character by religion. Thus, on the one hand, the mysticism of the orders acts as a social force in bringing individuals together under the regis of religion, while, on the other, the orders, as religious associations, form one of the most active and effective potential phases of the social entity known as Islam.

II. THE SEVERAL ORDERS. — I. 'Isawiyah. — This order, one of the most important in Africa, was founded by Muhammad b. Isâ, who was born of a family of that name in Mecca, and died (c. 523-24) and was buried. Having become a member of the Shâdhiliyyah Jazâliyyah (below, § 30), he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and either in Arabia or in Egypt was in touch with certain dervishes who instructed him in the observances of the Oriental orders Hâjiriyah and Sâ'diyyah. Returning to Morocco with the reputation of being thoroughly proficient in mystical theology and capable of performing the most wonderful miracles, he became so popular that the sultan himself took umbrage and gave orders that 'Isâ should be put to death.

It was during his exile that, when on one occasion his disciples were in the last straits of hunger and crying out for food, the master bade them eat what was to be found upon the road. There was nothing but stones, snakes, and scorpions; yet such was their confidence in their leader that they devoured these without hesitation, and his miraculous powers warded off any ill effects of the unnatural meal. This incident was probably the origin of those singular practices of a similar kind in which the 'Isawiyah family still engage. Legend ascribes a great number of miracles to 'Isâ, and the report of these led the sultan to recall him to Mekinez.

The chief convent of the order is in Mekinez, and the supreme council of forty members is housed in it. The order has a loose organization, and appears to lack cohesion, though in Morocco, where it is strong in numbers and influence, it is more compact and better organized. As regards doctrine the 'Isawiyah are fundamentally at one with the Shâdhiliyyah; and indeed their founder used to serve in the court of the sultan of the Sûfis, that of the Shâdhiliyyah. A Muslim savant has thus summarized their teachings:

"In religious things—continuous progress towards the deity, sobriety, fasting, absorption in God carried to such heights that bodily sufferings and physical mortifications are unable to affect the now impassible senses; in moral things—to fear nothing, to acknowledge no authority but that of God and the Saints, and to submit only to such as permit the principles of the Sacred Book to be carried into practice."

In doctrine, accordingly, the 'Isawiyah are mystics.

The remarkable ritual practices for which the 'Isawiyah are noted have often been described. The German traveller, H. von Maltzan, who had an opportunity of witnessing them at Mekinez, has given an account of an 'Isawiyah meeting, and this, being little known, we may give here, more especially because the present writer regards it as the most accurate and authentic of its kind, and because, having been present at similar functions in Morocco and Algeria, he is able to confirm the circumstantial character of its details.

The religious ceremony opens with the masl hailing of the mystics expressing the Muslim confession of faith, La Ilaha illâ ills "There is no god but God"); repeated over and over. Then the mystics are chanted in all tones to the point of satiety, yet always in measure. The mystics at one point, when the chanting and the outcry, accompanied by the regular beating of the drum, are at their height, and a certain degree of excitement. The brothers of the order rise up and begins the religious dance (tablîh). The tablîh is not in the strict sense a dance, but we have no better word by which to render the Arabic term. It consists in regular movements of the body—slow to begin with, then more and more rapid, and at length convulsive. At the close of the dance there are poetic encomiums on the upper part of the body, and deep and rapid bowing. The dancer having continued to perform these motions for some time, a sudden sense of elation then overcomes him, and the 'Isawiyah are lying with one another in vehement swaying and bending. This preliminary scene lasts for almost an hour. Each member of the fraternity, in the same attitude, kept on till he comes to the paroxysm of the tablîh. The movements become more and more rapid, the bending deeper, and the turning of the head and the body more and more violent, until at length the exhausted 'Isawiyah are seized with violent trembling, fall on their backs, and, ngooning in their sockets and roll with the shifting gaze of the insane, and the fanatical dancers fall staggering to the ground; they have gained the desired religious rapture.

The state of physical prostration signifies that the spirit of the founder of the order has gained control over the disciple, so making him capable of swallowing with impunity the most virulent poisons and all things that inure or cut. Soon the six 'Isawiyah are wallowing upon the ground in wild disorder, giving vent to frightful yells of an altogether unhuman character, and resembling now the snorting of the wild boar, now the roaring of the lion. Some of them, like wild beasts, grind their teeth, from which drips a whitish foam. In their disordered and threatening movements, it would seem as if they are about to rend and mangle their clothes in the air.

A large dish is then brought forward, and is uncovered by the mawqaddam who presides over the ceremony. It contains serpents, scorpions, and venomous creatures. Hardly has the mawqaddam removed the cover when the six frenzied mystics fall upon the food mass, and devouring things that are perilous and distasteful to men. In a moment the whole is torn in pieces and devoured. No man of Mekinez here but a reptile, with his teeth, while the blood of the serpents and the alluvial secretion of the scorpions mingle at the corners of the mouth. This revolting sight is followed by a most dangerous. A dish of broken glass, needles, and cactus leaves is brought forward, and its contents are immediately snapped up and swallowed, the glass pieces being found in the gazelle, the cactus leaves on the tongue, and the sap of the cactus leaves trickles over the cheeks; the blood of the injured mouth mingle with the juice of the plant. Finally, a receptacle is brought forward, and the mawqaddam spits three times into it. The miraculous saliva suffices to itself to endow the neophyte with the power of swallowing poisons, glass, or cactus spines, without injury to himself.

These extraordinary performances are to be explained, less as phenomena of a psychical kind—phenomena of which the ecstatic state has yielded countless examples in all ages, among all peoples, and in all religions. In 1900, at Rabat (Morocco), in the house of M. Dr., formerly French consular agent in that town, the present writer saw a most interesting collection of instruments of torture used by the 'Isawiyah in their exhibitions—huge and heavy clubs studded with large nails, flagellants' rods formed of short supple sticks strung together in a ring, etc. It would, in fact, be quite within the power of the 'Isawiyah as jugglers and tricksters. It is certainly the case that, e.g., in Algiers and elsewhere they are ready enough to exhibit their performances for money, and at Cairwan the present writer was offered—on terms—a view of their frenzies; but the allocations of a group should not throw discredit on the members generally, who (in Morocco, at least, where the present writer has studied their mode of life) are in the main honest and peaceable tradesmen and tillers of the soil.

The 'Isawiyah are very numerous in Morocco, being found in all parts of that vast country. They draw their members from all ranks of society. At Marrakesh, in 1900-01, certain exalted personages of the Shaybani court were mentioned by name to the present writer as belonging to the order; the former sultan, Malâî Hasân, was a member (cf. also the reference to the Bukharâ above, I. 1). The order is also well represented through-

¹ Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika², Leipzig, 1898, iv. 476 ff.
out Algeria, where, in 1900, they numbered at least 3,500. The most important of their zāwiyahs (of which there are about a dozen in this country) is that of 'Ali b. Muhammad in the Daur Uzara, where the panther's skin on which the founder of the order is said to have slept is preserved as a relic; a skin with the identical claim is preserved at Mekinez. The 'Isawiyyah maintain a footing likewise at four points, and are found in almost all important localities; they are met with also in Tripoli, at Benghazî (Barka), in Egypt, Syria, and the Hedjaz.

2. Hamadsah.—The Hamadsah or Hamadshayn, another Moroccan order, though far behind the 'Isawiyyah in influence and expansion, are closely akin to them in their peculiar usages, and are noted for their practices of striking the head with an axe and of throwing cannon-balls into the air and catching them on their skulls. They are often met with in company with the 'Isawiyyah. Their name comes from that of their founder, 'Ali b. Hamdush, who lived in the 16th cent., and is interred near Mekinez.

M. Quedenfeldt 1 mentions religious orders or sub-orders related to the Hamadsah, but says little in their favor. A following text states that they are more or less connected with the Hamadsah in origin or religious practice, have but a small membership.

3. Dagahuqiyin.—The patron saint of this group, Hamad Daghuqi, who was near of kin to the founder of the Hamadsah, was born near Mekinez (Jebel Zerhun). A characteristic practice of his community is that of throwing cannon-balls and clubs into the air and catching them on their heads.

4. Sādiqiyin.—Muhammad al-Sādiq, the patron saint of this order, came from S. Morocco (Tafilalet, Drâa, Tuat). The members in their dances butt their heads violently against one another.

5. Rihān.—Their patron saint is al-Amir Rihān, who belonged to Mekinez. His followers stick the points of knives or forks into the lower front of the body without drawing blood.

6. Melāliyyin.—Māli Meliāna, the founder, was a native of Mekinez; his votaries are fire-eaters, and swallow live coals.

Māliyyin are found in communities, related to the foregoing in origin and tendency, scarcely anything is known to us but their names and the fact that their membership is exceedingly small.

7. Alamin.—Founded by Qaddur al-Alami, of Mekinez.

8. Sejīn.—Founded by Hamīd Sejīn, also of Mekinez.

9. Qāsimin.—Founded by Qasīm Bū-Asia, who belonged to the neighbourhood of Mekinez.

10. Ammāriyyin.—This Algerian order, whose religious practices are like those of the 'Isawiyyin, is found in Algeria and Tunisia, and in those countries has over 6,000 members and 36 zāwiyahs. It was founded by 'Ammār Bū-Senna, born c. 1712 at Smala ben Merād in the Wādī Zenāti (Alg.), and was reorganized c. 1815 by al-Ḥijj Emārīk al-Makāni. It is still in existence. 2 Although a Moroccan who belonged to the famous negro aristocracy referred to above (I. 1), it is reported that a dissenting branch exists in the district of Guelma (Alg.) under the leadership of a certain b. Nahāl.

11. Tūhāniyyin, or Tūbahiyin.—The Moroccan order, which in Morocco differentiates the former name and in Algeria the latter, was instituted in 1678–79 by Mūli 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm, a member of the Jazūliyyin (below, § 30), and the founder of the zāwiyah of Wazzān, which subsequently gained such fame. The great political rôle once played by this order was due to the noble lineage of its founder and of his successors in the hierarchy.

For the Sharifs of Wazzān—or is the title given to them—belong by blood to the house of Mūli 'Idrīs, a descendant of Mūhammad, who founded the first Moroccan dynasty in 778, and this lineage ranks in Morocco as, if not more genuine, yet purer and better established, than that of the sultans themselves.

The name Taybiyin is derived from that of Mūli 'Abdallāh, the successor of Mūli 'Abdallāh in the government of the order, and a contemporary of Sultan Mūli Ismā'il (17th cent.). The order powerfully assisted the latter in his efforts to gain the throne of Morocco, and was one of the many successor groups from that of Mūli al-Tūhāni b. Mūhammad († 1715), who won distinction by his reorganization of the order.

From the time when Mūli 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Khāji al-Arbi b. Wazzānī, a former head of the order († 1894), became a protect of France, 1 it has in a manner been at the service of that country—a circumstance to which, it seems, it owes its subsequent decadence. Its influence in Morocco is nowadays quite inconsiderable, as is evident in 1904, when M. Pernot was a captive in the hands of the Isma'ilids and the intervention of the Sharifs of Wazzān utterly failed to secure his liberation. 'Abd al-Salām had strong leanings towards European culture; he renounced his native wives in order to marry an Englishwoman; he liked to model them on the uniform of a French general of artillery. His successor in command was his eldest son, Mūli al-Arbi.

The Tūhāniyyin are found principally at Wazzān, where their parent institution is, and in N. Morocco; in the rest of that country the present headquarter lies a little in the rear in T💩iiti, where a substantial portion of the women and the girls are found. In Algeria the Taybiyin are represented mainly in Oran; in the whole country their membership has been computed at over 22,000, while they have only eight zāwiyahs—a fact that speaks well of their organization and cohesion. The order has a numerically following also in Tuat.

12. Tājāniyyin.—This Algerian order was founded by Ahmad b. Mūhammad b. al-Mukhtar al-Tājāni, who was born at 'Āin Mādī, near Laghnan (Alg.), in 1737 and died at Fez in 1815. He was the great-grandson of the renowned Tājāni, who had built the zāwiyah of 'Āin Mādī. The order has spread far and wide; in Africa the majority of its members are found in Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, the Sudan, the Congo, and in Adamawa, Adrar, and Tuat, with some even in Egypt, and it has zāwiyahs also in Constantinople, Beirut, Medina, Mecca, and Yambo. In Algeria, where its membership was found recently to be over 25,000, with 32 zāwiyahs, it has been split since 1875 into two branches—that of 'Āin Mādī and that of T ENABLE (Wādi Ghir). The direct descendants of the founder reside in the zāwiyah of 'Āin Mādī. The two rival divisions stand quite apart from the rest of the Algerian and foreign orders, and are crippled by their dissensions and (in the Tamasin branch) by the personal conduct of some of their chiefs. The Tājāniyyah, however, have all along supported the French ascendancy, and have rendered great service to the Government, while, as an aristocratic society of liberal outlook, they have shown themselves markedly accessible to European influence. Some cases are very different in Morocco, where the order, while certainly aristocratic, has assumed a narrow national character. Here, indeed, it is to be regarded as standing quite by itself. Its central convent is in Fez. Tājāniyyah residents in Tafilalet, Gārara, Tuat, the French Western Sahara, and Senegal are under its control, and apparently

1 On the law of protection cf. the Treaty of Madrid, art. 16.
acknowledge its spiritual authority. In Morocco it reverts its ranks from the Arab (i.e. the Andalusian-Moorish) element, which forms the best educated and most intelligent, though the most fanatical, element of the population; and it has adherents also in the higher commercial class and even in court circles. It manifests considerably more internal cohesion than the other Moroccan orders, and, in virtue of its aristocratic character and its wealth, exercises a considerable social influence. Like all other orders, it is marked by a certain amount of intolerance, and by a certain lack of tolerance for those who differ from it.

The Tijaniyyah of Adrar seem to have made notable progress, and their zaieyjah at Shingeti is said to have established branches at Walata and Kaarta, as also farther West, among the Moors of the right bank of the Senegal and in Toro. The founder of the order was a man of liberal mind. While taking his stand upon the rule of the Khalwatiyyah (below, § 34)—a ceremonial and ascetic mysticism—he drew his inspiration chiefly from the Shadhiliyyah (below, § 34). His teachings and principles are set forth in a work which he composed at Fez between 1798 and 1800, and which is commonly called Kunash, a corruption of its real title Min kalbi nashin, ‘Gathered from Everything,’ i.e. a chrestomathy. The prevailing spirit of the order is that of a spiritual system and yet, as with other orders; it counsels no asceticism, no harsh penances, no prolonged retreats, and favours a simple ritual; and it presents generally a synthesis of temporal and spiritual interests that is conducive to broad-mindedness. We quote two characteristic sayings from the work.

‘The law follows the law: all that comes from God is to be held in respect,’ i.e. the law before all things, and the believer.

‘I all that befalls man by the will of Allah, and in that love the unbeliever (kafir) has a place as well as the believer.’

13. Derqaawi. — This is a Moorish order of great importance. It was founded by Mulail i'-Arbi al-Derqaawi, who died in 1823 in his own zaieyjah of En Barli (territory of the Banu Zarwali, north of Fez, in the Jihal). The chief convent of the order is situated there. The Derqaawi, who adhere to the traditions of the Shadhiliyyah, are found in great numbers throughout Morocco. The Sekhaliyyin, a Shirali idiom at Fez, are connected with the order, which is largely represented also in other orders (al-Zarwal, i.e. the zaieyjah of Zarwa, nearly all in Oran), in Tuit, in Gura, and in the Sahara as far south as Timbuctu, while adherents are met with in Tunisia, Tripoli (cf. Madaniyyah, below, § 14), Egypt, and Arabia. The Derqaawis are a mendicant order, and are noted for their ascetic practices and for the absolute submission in which they uphold themselves to their shaikh. Of all the Muslim fraternities the Derqaawi perhaps come nearest to the monastic orders of Roman Catholicism. The founder's final counsels to his disciples are as follows:

The duties of my brothers shall consist in overcoming their passions, and, in performing these duties, they shall seek to imbibe.

Our Lord Mussa (Moses), in always travelling with a staff;

Our Lord Abi Bakr, and our Lord 'Umar b. al-Khattab, in wearing patched clothes;

Jafar b. 'Abi Talib, in celebrating God's praises by dances (tang),

Bilal Barrir (Abu Hurira), the Prophet's secretary, in wearing a rosary round the neck;

Our Lord Iza (Jesus), in living in solitude and in the desert.

They shall travel, eat, drink and sleep, associate only with holy men. They shall avoid the society of men occupying places of power. They shall keep themselves free from all financial transactions. They shall keep little, spend their nights in prayer, and give alms. They shall tell their shaikh of their more earnest requests; it is important to them to be more earnest in those more important actions as well as of the most insignificant. To their shaikh they shall tender unrestrained submission, and shall at all times be in his hands as the corpse in the hands of those who wash the dead."

1 From a text published by L. Rinn, Marabouts et Khawans.

This final exhortation has been aptly compared with Loyola's 'perinde ac cadaver.' In Algeria and Morocco the Derqaawi have on the whole remained loyal to the spirit of their founder, renouncing all earthly ambition, and maintaining an absolute detachment from the goods of this world. Still, this attitude has at times shown itself capable of developing into fanaticism, and in both Morocco and Algeria they have now and again taken an active part in revolts against governmental authority.

The outward appearance of the Derqaawi is most characteristic: a stick or rod in the hand, chaplets of huge beads round the neck, the body covered with rags, and frequently—as a mark of pre-eminent devotion—the green turban mud-washed. The tattered and offensively foul garb which they affect has in Morocco earned them the nickname of Derbaliiyyah ('wearers of rags'), and explains the sarcastic saying of the talebunah (students) of the Jihal—'The dog and the Derqaawi are one and the same.' In Morocco the order seems to have lost ground because of its divisions; it has three distinct branches there.

Its adherents are regarded as extreme devotees of monothelmism. Their founder is said to have been so conspicuous of the dogma of the divine monothelm or the unconditional duty of giving glory to God alone that he commanded his followers to repeat aloud only the first part of the creed ('No god but Allah') and to rest satisfied with a merely mental affirmation of the second ('Muhammad is His Prophet').

14. Madaniyyah. — This is a Tripolitan order which, though an off-shoot from the Derqaawi, has come to exhibit a spirit diametrically opposed to the teachings of al-'Arbi. It was instituted by a Derqaawi named Muhammad b. Hamzaath Zafir al-Madani, and began to preach c. 1820; about that time, too, he founded the zaieyjah of Mezrata, which is still the central convent of the new order. The development of Sannulism (cf. below, § 38) about the beginning of the latter half of the 19th cent. rested, in the case of the Maydaniyyah, with the Yacoubiyyah; have remained stationary but for the fact that in 1875 the turn of events brought the head of the order, Muhammad Zafir, son and successor of b. Hamzaath, in touch with Abd al-Hamid, the future sultan of Turkey. From that point the order became one of the most prosperous and one of the most hostile to European influence. With the support of Turkey, it has intermeddled on a vast scale with questions of Muslim politics. Its sphere of activity has gravitated towards the East, and it is now represented mainly in Turkey (Constantinople), Syria, and the Hejaz, while, as regards Africa, its members are found in Egypt, Tripoli, and Algeria (where it has 1700 adherents and two zaieyjahs).

The doctrine of the order, as formulated by Muhammad Zafir and his disciples, is based on two principles: its members with the ecstatic mysteries; they manifest an unusual intensity of religious exaltation. In the statement of their regulations a drawn up by Muhammad Zafir for his disciples that war upon the infidel is a no less imperative duty than the observance of religious duties.

15. Qadiriyyah. — This order is the most widely spread and most popular in all Islam; its domain extends from Morocco to Malaysia; or, to speak more precisely, the order has found its way into that part of Islam which itself has penetrated. It was founded by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (g.v., † 1166), born in Persia, and buried at Bagdad, where also is situated the central convent of the order. The Qadiriyyah are noted alike for their philanthropic principles and their mystical emanations.

1 Nîr al-Sûtâ: 'The Sparkling Light'), Constantine, 1855.
tion. 'Abd al-Qâdir practised a boundless charity; he acceded a peculiar veneration to Sidna 'Isâ (**our Lord Jesus**), and admired his measureless benevolence, though at the same time he preached and practised a doctrine of mystical ecstasy and the extinction of the human personality by absorption in God.

In Africa, except as regards Egypt, the order shows little homogeneity. In general, its members have remained faithful to the benevolent and tolerant spirit of the founder, but fanatics and irreconcilables are scattered in European civilization, and found among them. As regards the Egyptian Sûdân, the Mahdi of Khartum and his troops belonged to the Qâdiriyah, while in the immense region of the Western Sûdân the supreme head of the order there, the famous Shaikh Ma-al-'Amin-al-Shinâ'etik—a spiritual potentate of most extensive sway—who sometimes resides at Shinâ'etik in Adrâr, and sometimes to the south of Sagiat al-Jumârâ, and has at present great influence in Morocco, is a determined antagonist of French activity in those various countries. The Qâdiriyah and the Qadiriyyah in Tunisia have almost entirely united in the whole of Africa, according to a recent report, they numbered 24,000 (of whom 2600 were women), with 33 zâwiyyahs.

16. Bâ 'Alîyyah.—This Tunisian order, an offshoot of the Qâdiriyah, has its origin only in Tunis and the province of Constantine (Alg.), was instituted by Bâ 'Alî, whose tomb, as also the chief monastery of the order, is at Nefta (Tunis). The members engage in practices similar to those of the Isâwîyyah.

17. Bâkkiâyyah.—This order, belonging to the Western Sûdân, and related to the Qâdiriyah, was founded by 'Umar b. Sidi Ahmad al-Bâkkiâ, c. 1552–53. Its central monastery is in Timbucto, and it is represented also in Tuâf, in Adrâr, and among the Tuaregs.

18. Arâsiyyah, or Salâmîyyah.—This is a Tunisian order, founded by Abû l-'ABBâs Ahmad b. al-Ârâsî, who died in Tunis in 1460. The name Salâmîyyah comes from the celebrated 'Abd al-Salâm al-Asmar, who reorganized the order c. 1796, and gave it the thauâmaturgic character that it bears at present. It is connected with the Qâdiriyah, and its typical features are a highly emotional mysticism and performances similar to those of the Isâwîyyah—frantic dancing, walking through flames, swallowing fire, etc. The order is well settled in the Sûdân, but has afterwards spread, and while in Algeria it can hardly claim 100 members (all in the extreme east of Constantine); a few are found also in Mecca and Medina.

19. Sa'dîyyah.—This is an Asiatic order, founded in the 15th cent. by Sa'd ad-Dîn al-Jabâni of Damascus, and now represented both in Asia and in Africa. Its Egyptian branch was at the zenith of its prestige in the 17th cent., and at the present day that group, together with a body of adherents in the Sûdân, forms the leading rami-
fication of the order. It is found in all the countries of the Sûdân, and in the province of Oran (Alg.), where members are also met with in the Hedjaz. The Sa'dîyyah are an ecstatic order; they are allied with the Riffîyyah, which have a regular, as well as a dissident, branch in Egypt, and which sprang from the Qâdiriyah in the 16th cent., and is found also in Tripoli, in the Hejaz, and in Syria.

20. Badawiyyah Ahmadîyyah.—This Egyptian order is connected both with the Qâdiriyah and with the Riffîyyah, and was founded by Ahmad al-Badawi, who died in 1276 at Tahtah in Egypt. He was a seer of a Sharî'îan family belonging originally to the Sûdân, but afterwards resident at Fez. Ahmad had gone from Morocco to Egypt, and settled at Tahtah, where the chief convent of the order still is. The order is now split into three independent branches, found chiefly in Egypt and the Sûdân, while it has also members in the Hedjaz and in Syria. Legend ascribes to its founder the gift of working miracles, and in particular the power of making barren women bear children—hence the licentious organs which take place round the saint's tomb on his festival day.

21. Shâdhiliyyah.—This African order—or theological school, rather—was founded by Abû l-Hasan b. 'Abd al-Jâbbâr al-Shâdhi, who was born, as some report, in Morocco, or, according to others, in Tunisia. He lived in Morocco, and in the celebrated Sabîl-al-Dîn (1277–98), a Moroccan disciple of Sha'âbî Abû Mâdiân al-Andalusi, a native of Seville, who died at Tlemcen in 1197–98. This Abû Mâdiân had travelled in the East, where he had become one of the personal followers of the famous 'Abî al-Qâdir al-Jilî (cf. above, § 15). Al-Shâdhi settled at length in Egypt. At the outset he engaged in ascetic practices, but afterwards devoted himself entirely to teaching. He gained an extraordinary reputation and was highly venerated. The uni-

versity and conditions, and an ecstatic mysticism springing out of fervid love to God. This high-wrought mysticism, impelling the disciple to lose himself in the divine, was regarded by al-Shâdhi as inconsistent with all fanaticism and intolerance, and it certainly bears the stamp of a genuine spiritual charity.

At the present day the Shâdhiyyah form not so much an organized order as a school of doctrine maintained by numerous orders and taught in numerous zâwiyyahs. The most genuine representa-
tive of al-Shâdhi's teaching are now those of the religious societies in Tunisia under the name of the Tafassîli, which, by any proper constitution, make a watchword of the master's name, and it is these—indeed zâwiyyahs—which most faithfully reflect the primitive community. We find them scattered throughout the whole of N. Africa, more particularly in Algeria (where there are over 14,000 adherents), Tunis, and Tripoli; also in the Hedjaz, Syria, and Turkey—countries in which they play an important rôle.

The following twelve orders (22–33) are of Shâdhiyyah origin.

22. Habibiyyah.—This Moroccan order, mentioned by L. Rinn, was founded by Abû Mâdiân al-Hasbî al-Lamît († 1572–93), a native of Taifâlît. We have little definite information regarding it. Its members are confined to Taifâlît (in which stands the chief monastery) and the province of Oran (Alg.), is very small, and the order is said to be animated by a tolerant and unworlly spirit.

23. Wafaiyyah (Ufâiyyah).—The Wafaiyyah, an Egyptian order, was founded in the 14th cent. by the Wafâ, a Sharî'îan family belonging to the Mamluk family in Egypt; its first chief was Muhammad Wafa, and it has survived to the present day under the control of the same family.
RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Muslim)

24. Nāṣiriyah.—This Moroccan order, now of diminished importance, was founded in the 17th cent. by Muhammad b. Nāṣir al-Drāṣ († 1669), who claimed Aḥmad b. Ẓūyuf († 1524-25) as his spiritual master. The chief convent of the order and the founder’s tomb are at Tamagrut (Wādī Drāṣ), the headquarters of the brotherhood. The members are found mainly in the south of Morocco; outside that country very few are met with in Algeria and Tunis.

25. Shāhiyyah.—The Shāhiyyah, or Ulūd Sīdi al-Shāhi, belonging to the Sahāra, and holding to the doctrinal standpoint of the Shāhīyyah, are not so much a religious order as an aristocratic caste of a political and religious character. Their founder was ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad, afterwards styled Sīdi Shāhi († 1615), a great feudal lord who had once been a muqaddam among the Shāhīyyah. He erected at al-Abīd the first of the ṣūr (citadels) now found in the Sahāra, and exercised a strong moral and religious authority in that region.

The Shāhiyyah are located principally in the south of Orān, in Tuāt, Tīdkilt, and Gūrara. In Morocco, where a few are met with at Taflālt and around Figīg, their influence is inconsiderable; they are here regarded as hostile to Europeans. In the main, feudal, family, and marabout influences prevail so largely among them that the bond of connexion between them and their associates is now very loose.

26. Karzāzīyyah.—This Saharan order, founded in S. Morocco and S. Orān, was instituted by Sharīf Aḥmad b. Nūṣa († 1608), who belonged to Karzāz, an oasis to the south-east of the Figīg, and taught the doctrines of the Shāhīyyah. The order was formed for the protection of the oasis and the zāviyyah of the founder at Karzāz is still a refuge for the poor, and, in times of adversity or oppression, for residents of the neighbouring ṣūr.

27. Ziyāniyyah.—Also a Saharan order noted for philanthropy; it was founded by Mūlā b. Bū Ziyān († 1733), who belonged to a Saharian family resident in the Wādī Drāṣ. The saint’s tomb is at Kenatsa, between Taflālt and the oasis of Figīg, and there too is situated the central convent of the order. The members are found mainly in S. Morocco, Taflālt, Figīg, Tuāt, Gūrara, and the province of Orān; in Algēria, according to a recent computation, they numbered over 3000. They adhere to the doctrines of the Shāhīyyah. They act as conductors of caravans, and in the Sahāra protect them against robbers and brigands. The order has always shown itself well-disposed towards French people and the colonial administration.

28. Hansalīyyah.—This Moroccan order was founded by b. Ẓūyuf al-Hansālī († 1702), who, as his name indicates, belonged to the Hansālī, a section of the Banī Mṭir, a tribe living in a district to the south of Fez. Formerly the order held a position of great influence in Morocco, but it is now almost extinct there; in Algēria it numbers not more than 400 members, belonging to the province of Constantine (the zāviyyah of Shettasba); and it is represented also in Tunis. Its adherents are noted for works of charity.

29. Zarrūqīyyah.—The Zarrūqīyyah, a Moroccan order, was founded by ʿAbīl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Zarrūqī († 1494), who belonged to the tribe settled near Fez. In Morocco the order is dying out, but in Algēria it has about 2700 members, with a zāviyyah at Berruaghia.

30. Jazūliyyah.—This Moroccan order has almost ceased to exist as an organized community in Morocco, although the doctrines of its founder are still taught at Fez. Its founder was ʿAbī ʿAbd-allāh Muḥammad al-Jazūlī († c. 1465), a native of Jazūlī in Sūs, and the author of a famous work entitled Dārā al-firāq (The Best Argument), on which are based the teachings of the Jazūliyyah.

31. Yusufīyyah.—This is an Algerian order, founded by Aḥmad b. Ẓūyuf, a native of Morocco, but remains more truly so, as some of its members are in Orān. This celebrated visionary (muṣṭaḥfaz), to whom are ascribed numerous proverbs and epigrams, died in 1524-25 and was buried in Miliana (Algiers). There are few traces of the order in Morocco, but in Algēria there is at Tīt, in the extreme south of Orān, a zāviyyah founded by Muḥammad b. Ẓūyuf Milūd († 1877), a descendant of b. Ẓūyuf, which can still claim some 1500 members. The order has little influence in Algēria, but it has all along maintained excellent relations with the French authorities.

32. Ghāziyyah.—The Ghāziyyah, a Moroccan order, founded c. 1526 by ʿAbīl-Ḥasan al-Qāsim al-Ghāzī, is of feeble growth, has a very limited expansion in the Wādī Drāṣ, and possesses a zāviyyah at Fez.

33. Shabbīyyah.—The Shabbīyyah is a Tunisian order, founded in the 17th cent. by Aḥmad b. Makhlfūt, a descendant of Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Drāṣ, the founder of the Nāṣiriyah (above, § 24). This Shabbīyyah had been sent to Tunis to extend the operations of the latter order, and had settled in Sidi Šāhīn, to the east of it. At the end of the century it was under the care of its founder b. Abīl-Hatīf. It is found in Tunis, and also in Algēria (Aurēs), where it has about 1500 members.

34. Khalwātīyyah.—This Asiatic group, the name of which is ultimately derived from the term khāwāt, ‘retreat,’ ‘solitude,’ is a school rather than an order, and goes back to the philosophical school founded by the Persian thinker ʿAbīl-Qāsim al-Junaidī († 110-11), but its actual (or at least its eponymous) founder was ʿUmār al-Khalwātī (1397-98), also a Persian. At the outset the order had no graded organization, and in Asia, where its expansion was on a great scale, it soon broke up into various groups—independent and local. At the beginning of the 17th cent. they formed for a time a religious association in the true sense; but there too, though the order made less rapid progress, it soon fell apart into divergent and independent branches or groups. The teaching of the Khalwātīyyah began to take root in Egypt as early as the 16th century. At the end of the 17th a Syrian Khalwātī called Mustafa al-Baqrī, a professor in the university of al-Azhar in Cairo, endeavoured to incorporate the members of the order in Egypt, and the united body, having grown considerably in numbers, assumed the name Baqrīyyah, to distinguish them from other Khalwātīyyah. This new organization, however, did not last long, for at the death of al-Baqrī (1709) three fresh groups detached themselves from it, viz. the Khalwātīyyah, the Sharqawīyyah, and the Sāmānīyyah. Further disruptions took place, giving rise to other independent branches and zāviyyahs, so that, as indicated above, the Khalwātīyyah do not so much form an order as represent a type of doctrine. They nevertheless exercise great influence in social life, and are ascetics, mystics of a mystic fervour; they have recourse to the retreat and the austerities which it involves; they engage in iterative prayers—repetitions of formula, names of God, etc.—sometimes continued for five or six consecutive hours. This intense religious fervour has often excited the members to fanatical outbursts and, as in Egypt, the Egyptian Sūdān, etc.,
brought them into conflict with the authorities, both Muslim and Christian. Like some other orders (cf. §§ 15, 35, and 39), they admit women as members.

35. Ṭalḥānīyāh. — The Ṭalḥānīyāh is an Algerian order, founded chiefly in Constantine, and elsewhere only in Tunis. It sprang from the Khalvätāyīyah, and resembles them in doctrine, practice, and lack of cohesion. It was instituted by Mouhammad ʿUthman al-Ḥajjār, who went to the Hedjāz and died at Taʾif in 1017 (1605). He gave to the order a title of leadership, which was afterwards assumed by his son, ʿAbd al-Qurān († 1793–94), who belonged to the Kābley tribe of the Ait Samhâl; his surname, Bū Quwaīn (from the two tombs), became the legend according to which his body was divided into two parts, buried respectively in Kabylia and at Haunna near Algiers. It is a most popular and influential order in Algeria, where it played the leading part in the great insurrection of 1871; its membership here is 156,000 (including 13,000 women), with 177 zāwiyāt, and comprises several independent groups. Like all other offshoots of the Khalvätāyīyah, it is marked by a want of cohesion, of discipline, and of central control.

36. Emīrghanīyāh. — This is an Oriental order, known also as the Mīrghanīyāh or Marghanīa, founded by Muhammad ʿUthman al-Ḥajjār, who was a descendant of the Mahdi, and took the title of Bū Ṣiddīq al-Ḥajjār at Taʾif, and died at Taʾif in 1833. He joined the then brilliant school of Ahmad b. Idrīs, a native of Fez, who taught at Mecca from 1797 till 1833. At the death of the latter, in 1837, Emīrghanī was standing among the ʿIrādīyātīyāh enabled him to complete successfully his spiritual education and to assume the leadership of that body. Presently, however, he began to modify the rule of Ahmad, and then founded the order that bears his own name. When he died, dissensions and rivalries divided his followers into isolated sections and local branches. The order has a considerable expansion in Africa, throughout the basin of the Red Sea, and in the Egyptian Sudan.

By the founder himself the order was named al-Khatematīa, 'the sealing'; hence the title Serr al-Khatem, the master of the seal, given to his son Muhammad, who became the head of the confraternity. It is a mystical and ecstatic order, and from the first—even in its very origin—it assumed a political attitude hostile to the Sanūṣīyya (§ 38). It was closely involved in the Mahdist movement; it played a rôle in the establishment of the order, and is not distinctly favourable to the Anglo-Egyptian government. The French traveller Bonnel de Mézières, when on a mission to the Sudan in 1905–06, spoke of the order as entirely in the hands of the English, and this connexion has lowered its prestige both in the Sudan and in the Hedjāz. A religious order that allies itself too openly with Europeans inevitably diminishes its influence among Muslims (cf. above, §§ 11 and 12).

37. Naṣibhānīyāh. — An Oriental order, one of the best known in Islam, the Naṣibhānīyāh has the largest membership of any in Central Asia. Its characteristics are contemplative mysticism and ecstatic ritualism; and, by reason of the varied and flexible forms of the mysticism which it enunciates, the purity of life for which its members are noted, and the spiritual prestige ascribed to them, its influence is indeed great. It was founded by Bakhtrārī al-Khwājā Muhammad Bahāʾ al-Dīn1 († 1390), an eclectic reformer (combining Sunnite orthodoxy, Shīʿīsm, and Ismāʿīli teachings). Etymologically the name Naṣibhānī is a diminutive of Naṣibhān, 'a scribe', and we have the idea of a sect or school of scholars that reflected the influence of the great male Muslim writer, to which life taken by Bahāʾ al-Dīn from the philosophical theories of the Ismāʿīliyyah Bāthaniyya ('interior Ismāʿīlians', i.e. those practising internal meditation both ecstatic and contemplative). In Africa the order has only one zāwiyya, which draws its members exclusively from the Turkish element of the population.

38. Sanūṣīyyah. — The Sanūṣīyyah, an Algerian order, was founded in 1835 by Shāhḵī Shīrūnī Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Lanūsī († 1859), who belonged to the vicinity of Mostaganem, and claimed to be the Mahdi. The chief monastery was for a long time at Jarabūb (Jaghībūb) in Tripoli, but has been removed to the hills near Sbeitla in Tunisia (1849). It has a firm footing also in Egypt and especially in Arabia; but its following is very small in Algeria (under 1000 members), Morocco, and the districts to the south of these countries. The founder claimed to be a reformer of Islam, one who would restore the primitive purity of morals according to the Qurʾān; he also maintained that he formed the synthesis of all the other orders, especially in their mystical aspects. The order of the Sanūṣīyyah has nothing like the vast influence and the fanatically anti-Christian and anti-European character that have been ascribed to it. Its attitude to Europeans is friendly or hostile according to locality and circumstances; but it should be noted that although its practices are not very different from those of the other orders, it still remains a strong force, and its successor as head of the order, took up a position of direct antagonism as the Mahdi of Khartum.

39. Ḥaddāwī. — This Moroccan order was first made known to Europeans by Auguste Coppolani.1 Its founder was Śiddī Ḥaddī, who lived in the 13th cent., and was a contemporaneous and opponent of Mūḥammad ʿAlī b. Salām. M. Meslīsh, the great saint of the Jībāl; his tomb is at Ṭażīzirn, among the BeniʿĀrūs in the Jībāl, and there stands the chief monastery of the order. The district in which he settled and had a zāwiyya built is now called Uṣr (plain) Śiddī Ḥaddī, and the fish of the stream that traverses the district have since ranked as sacred. The Ḥaddāwī (pl. of Ḥaddāwī) are a mendicant order of the lowest type, and have a most repulsive appearance. They are clothed in rags and go bare-headed, with the staff that is fastened to their hand and the chaplet round their neck; they are a byword for filthiness, and are said to live in promiscuity; they admit women into their membership. They like to have animals, especially cats, about them; and they are great smokers of hashish. Though few in number, they spread over an extensive district. All our information regarding them tends to show that they form an antimonalian order.

40. Muḥbūnī. — The Muḥbūnī, a little known Moroccan order, first noted by Jules Erckmann,2 was founded by a devout man named Ḥaddūlāb ʿAlī, also called Muḥbūn (Bū Nāḥ), a native of the Wāḍī Drāʾa, in which the Mahdi was also situated. The central convent of the order is in Tahliят, and there was recently at Marrakṣa a minor convent of the same name numbering about 200. The members—they seem to be relatively few—wear as a badge a white cap of knitted wool.

LITERATURE. — Of works dealing with the subject as a whole, few are available, and those devoted to particular orders are constantly appearing. Of the former class we cite here only those that may claim to be of scientific or documentary value: L. Rünn, Marrabouts et Rhôanais; Etude sur L'islam en Algérie (with an indication of the geographical and religious importance of the orders), Algiers, 1885; O. Depot and X. Coppolani, Les Confreries religieuses marocaines (with a map showing the geographical spread of the orders—Algeria, Africa, Asia, and European Turkey), do. 1897; A. Le Chatelier, Les Confréries marocaines dans les régions désertiques de l'Atlantique algérien à l'âge de bronze (with a map showing the geographical spread of the orders), Algiers, 1900; valuable information is supplied by A. Le Chatelier, Les Confréries marocaines dans le Hédjaz, do. 1905, which gives a detailed bibliography of the subject down to 1877.

E. MONTE.
3. **Theological significance.**—Remorse assumes its acutest form and acquires religious significance when it is a sense of having violated the laws of God or of having outraged His love, thus in either case incurring His wrath. Its specific nature is then relative to the idea of God involved. Remorse with its repentance the divine law, and the element of despair is here especially prominent because the Greek mind was apt to identify the divine in the last resort with inexorable fate. In the OT Cain and Saul are two notable examples of unavailing sorrow for sin. In each case there is a sense of guilt, a burden of penalty, a consciousness of complete and final alienation from God, and a paralysis of the spiritual life (Gen 4:15, 1 S 28:19-20). A NT writer also represents Esau as ‘rejected (for he found no place of repentance) though he sought it diligently with tears’ (He 12:17); and the first evangelist represents Judas Iscariot as having ‘repented himself,’ and, when he found repentance useless, ‘he went away and hanged himself’ (Mt 27:5-6).

But in the OT and the NT sorrow for sin more usually involves no repentance (r.g.), because God is merciful and forgiving, able and willing to reconcile the sinner to Himself, to blot out his guilt, and to open before him a new door of hope. Remorse differs from repentance in that, while both are sorrow for sin, the former is without repentance, but the latter is a first step to a new life wherein the mistakes and failures of the old may be recovered. In Protestant theology remorse may be either (1) the first stage of conversion for sin, a work of the law unrelieved by the

1. As a psychological phenomenon.—Remorse is an emotion. Although predominantly a very acute feeling of pain, it is also a complex mental state that can emerge only at the conceptual and self-conscious stage of mental development.

William James propounded a theory that, if we abstract from any emotion ‘all feelings of its bodily symptoms,’ nothing would be left, which is an exaggeration of the fact that bodily states are a necessary element in all emotion, though not the whole of any emotion. Moreover, they do not enter so largely into remorse as into emotions like anger, since as James, and later others, have pointed out, because it is a calm and deep, but none the less intense, rather than a violent, emotion.

It is described as having ‘a certain positive colouring, in which organic sensations, notably in the throat and digestive tract, there is also a certain setting of the muscles of throat and brow. The “groaning” of remorse, by which it occupies consciousness and conduits, seems to arise from these sensations.

As a persistent mood it would undoubtedly change the entire tone of the visceral organs as well as the facial expression.

Remorse is to be distinguished from a general emotional mood, because it has a unique character of its own and involves some idea of the self and a judgment upon the self. It is a feeling of strife within the self, or of an irreparable breach between the ideal self that might have been and the actual self whose act has produced the conflict. But the feeling arises partly from a judgment of the difference between the two and of the inferiority of the actual self, but still more from a repression and a paralysis of the active side of consciousness. G. F. Stout traces the feeling quality in all emotions to ‘occurrences which powerfully thwart or further pre-existing conative tendencies.’ Remorse is an apt illustration of this principle, because, while it is ‘perhaps the very worst quality that can belong to suffering,’ it is the emotion that exercises the most deadening influence upon life.

In it there is a collision between what we have actually done and what we now desire that we should have done. Thus in reflection on our past self, the free course of our present idea activity is crushed and repressed by the memory of our actual behaviour.

But, as the developed self is conditioned by other selves, so are its emotions. There may be remorse for wrong done which apparently affects only ourselves, but it is more general and intense in respect of wrongs done to others, because the freedom of our selves is indirectly threatened by what another, whether God or man, is thereby restricted or stopped. Yet it always includes the utter misery and hopelessness of our own condition. Despair is always an element in it.

2. As an ethical quality.—It is obvious therefore that remorse is a form of suffering. It involves free agency and responsibility. One feels grief for misfortunes, regret for mistakes, remorse for sins, for acts which one has freely caused and ought to have prevented. It is a painful conflict between the ideal and the actual self, and it has been held to be the most acute and irreparable sense of guilt. It is the most elementary form of that which differentiates between moral and non-moral nature. It is the root and beginning of the moral faculty.

Darwin, in his account of the rise of morality, almost identifies remorse with conscience.

‘When past and present impressions are judged by the ever-enduring social instincts . . . [man] will then feel remorse, repentance, regret or shame, . . . He will consequently resolve more or less strongly to act differently for the future; and this is conscience.’

This is not a very accurate use of terms, and Darwin has omitted the peculiar, unanalyzable, moral quality which pertains both to remorse and to conscience. But our view of the ultimate nature and source of remorse, whether it be the reproach of neglected self-interest, or of injured society, or of some transcendentally moral intuition, will depend upon our theory of the moral criterion, whether it be that of future, or of social welfare, or some transcendentual ideal.

Yet it is not strictly accurate to identify remorse with conscience. It is rather the result of conscience judging and condemning. While it is irreparable from moral judgment, it is peculiarly the feeling element that accompanies the reproach of conscience. On the other hand, it cannot be reckoned among the virtues or the vices, for it is too intimately bound up with the essence of moral nature, and with that which constitutes and defines right and wrong, virtue and vice.


DPHP ii. 463 ff.


hope of the gospel, but followed at length by repentance, faith, and justification—

But the law doth rather shew sin, accuse, and terrify the conscience, that we cannot with-stand the wrath of God, and drive to desperation: 1 or (2) a legal conviction of sin associated with permanent unbelief.

Remorse for sin does certainly prove that the soul is not dead, it is a sacrifice of the heart; on the contrary, it is an exceedingly dangerous one, and the soul may die of it, as truly as the body of acute pain. It often drives men to despair, to frenzied iniquity, and thus to final hardness of heart.

Such would be the condition of one who felt that he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost or who had fallen from grace beyond recovery (He 6:6).

Almost parallel to the difference between remorse and repentance is the better-defined distinction in Roman Catholic theology between attrition and contrition.

Attrition is not quite the same as remorse, but it seems to occupy the same position in the progress of the soul from sin to salvation as remorse may do when the fear of God and the condemnation of the law hold a man under the conviction of sin and still in its bondage for a season, though at last he may emerge into repentance and faith. But Protestant theology would not ascribe to remorse such a formal place as attrition or as a motivation as Catholic theology does to attrition. Yet it is true that circumstances in many cases lead to conversion when the revelation of the grace of God supersedes. 2


R. REES.

RENUNCIATION.—In a sense the entire history of ethics might be said to turn on the question of the nature of renunciation. Every system has been forced to admit it as an element; it is the amount admitted that varies, and this varies enormously. Some reduce it to a minimum; there are others that have made it cover the whole ground. At the one extreme we have the thoroughgoing forms of Hedonism, such as Cyrenaicm and Epicurean,-ism, which, taking the maximum of pleasure for the mere individual as the goal, are yet compelled to recognize that some pleasures must be renounced. And this because not only do desires conflict with the individual himself, but even those that are harmonious with the full in this world. At the other end we have the systems of self-denial, of which perhaps Buddhism might be taken as the type. Here renunciation seems pushed to its utmost limits, since the anni-hilation of all passion and desire is the supreme aim.

It may be a question as to whether this niretia of calm goes so far as to imply the death of all consciousness. If so, it would be in an extreme form. The question is, can it be good for man to renounce everything, since by the very terms of the renunciation there is no longer anything living to possess a good. This might perhaps be answered by holding that conscious existence is intrinsically so miserable that the only good that can be had for it is to be abolished. But this, it would appear, would be the answer of Schopenhauer and of von Hartmann, the modern preachers of asceticism based on pessimism.

Between these two extremes lie the systems of the world. Greek ethics kept always in view the conception of a fundamental harmony as at least conceivable. Socrates and Plato demanded renunciation only of those illusory pleasures which an enlightened mind could recognize as of no real value. And this, it really was. Aristotle, in admitting the possibility of utter self-sacrifice—say, death in battle without the hope of immortality—practically admits that a man may willingly give up what is most worth having from a purely individual point of view for the sake of serving others. This clash between the happiness of self and the happiness of others was to be felt more keenly as time went on. Meanwhile Aristotle was at one with Plato and Socrates in conceiving that the vast majority of our desires were reasonable, and in part at least to be satisfied, and that renunciation was not really needed. It is only in the view of Kant that there is nothing 'in the world or of it' absolutely 'good except a Good Will' (Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten, sect. 1, int.), and that moral action consists in following the Imperative of Duty without regard to personal values.

With Christianity and Christian ethics the question enters on a new phase, and becomes extremely intricate. The definite recognition of the principle of love foreshadowed in Stoicism makes it impossible ever again to dissociate entirely an individual's highest good from that of his fellows; on the other hand, the hope of belief in an ultimate heaven of individual blessedness prevents renunciation from being the final word. Merely selfish pleasures have doubtless to be surrendered, but the compensation will be abundant for them, for the further question, and one keenly debated, what these selfish pleasures include, some have banished all the pleasures of the body and many of the mind. This was undoubtedly the view of the medieval ascetics (see the writings of Bonaventure, published by the Fathers of Quaracchi, and it was to a certain extent repeated by Tolstoi in modern times, though it was the doctrine of non-resistance rather than of renunciation pure and simple that he made the keynote. All asceticism, however, seems to have a variance with the childlike spirit beloved of Christ—for no child is ever an ascetic—and indeed with the general impression which He made on His contemporaries as a man who 'came eating and drinking' (Mt 11:19).

The pressure and complexity of modern life have brought out a new stirrer of renunciation. Many a philanthropist, e.g., must give up pleasures which in themselves he admits to be high and desirable. Is this from his point of view reason-able? The difficulty of this question does not seem to have been fully realized by the older utilitarians, such as Bentham. The sense of it has led the latest exponent of the system in England, Henry Sidgwick, to suggest that a heaven where such sacrifices will be compensated supplies the only means of reconciling
the divergences between the good of the one and the good of the many, and so completely rationalizing
of ethics (see The Methods of Ethics, bl. iv. ch. 2). Of renunciation the followers of Sannyas, and
Conte and Herbert Spencer—are content to re-

1 E.g., Laws of Manu, vi. 94.

2 Renunciation (Hindu).—1. The ideal and

pursuit, Positivism.

LITERATURE.—H. Sidgwick, History of Ethics, London, 1902; The Methods of Ethics, do., 1907 T. H. Green, Preconceptions


Glasgow, 1893; T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhism, rev. ed.,


MELIAN STAYELL.

RENUNCIATION (Hindu).—1. The ideal and purpose of the Hindu who adopts the life of renunciation and poverty.

To a greater degree also the Renunciation in the West this renunciation is dictated by religious motives. The mixed motives which among Western peoples lead to the renouncing more or less completely of cherished aims or convictions, often on trivial or even selfish grounds, have no place among the motives which were responsible for the renunciation to action. Theoretically his sole purpose is to secure freedom for himself so that, untrammelled by worldly ties, he may pursue the one aim of union with God. The world with its attractions and its cares is an obstacle in the way which must be cast aside (sannyasa). This duty is laid upon him by his religious faith and profession. Renun-

ciation of the world is not a matter of choice, but a religious obligation and command incumbent upon all. It would appear, however, so obviously impracticable for an entire community to render liberal obedience to an injunction of this nature that probably the author or authors of the codes of law did not conceive or intend that the rule should be universally observed.

2. Renunciation in practice.—This ideal of the renunciation life is not a life of separation, but a life of renunciation which is of very ancient date and origin in India. In the oldest literature the figure of the hermit or ascetic who has broken through the fetters that bind to this world and has adopted a solitary and contemplative life is familiar. The ideal motive for the renunciation of the ordinary life was for the most part at least predominant, and the longing for undisturbed communion with the divine; but it is perhaps more than doubtful whether so much can be claimed to-day for the great host of devotees and ascetics who have filled the monastic orders of India. A craving for notoriety and for the influence which a reputation for self-denial and the practice of the ascetic life gives in India prompts some; with many others it is sheer idle-

ness or the desire for the travel and strange life which is in part involved in self-support or the support of kindred and relatives. The hardships and sufferings, however, that are voluntarily undergone, the laborious and dangerous journeys to distant shrines, and the self-denial involved in the assignment of wealth and property to others often prove how sincerely, if mistakenly, truth and holiness are sought in a life of renunciation of all worldly ties and claims. In India such a life is and always has been facil-

itated by the generous fertility of the soil and the kindly climate, conditions under which bodily needs are few, and the simple requirements of a contemplative and unemployed mode of existence are easily met and satisfied. Moreover, the religious obligation to give alms to the wandering ascetic is never disowned by the Hindu housekeeper; and the sannyasin is always received and entertained by whatever village he may present himself in the course of his wide and varied wanderings.

The numerous descendants and offshoots of Hinduism in later times adopted the ascetic motive and ideal. Buddhism in particular enforced the duty of renunciation, and carrying its doctrine and the enthusiasm for its ideal to Egypt and Western lands, where, accord-

ing to some authorities, it was taken over into Christian usage and became a recognized feature of the Christian ecclesiastical order. If so, the genealogical descent that traces Western monastic
RENUNCIATION (Hindu)

Observance to an Eastern origin is of great interest. Too little, however, is known of the details of the history for a secure verdict to be pronounced on the extent of the indebtedness of the West to the East for teaching and example in this respect. Room must certainly be left for a not inconsiderable measure of spontaneity and initiative.

3. Conditions and obligations. — Accordingly, in theory at least, there is in the Hindu conception and practice no middle term from the unworldly renunciation and enjoyment of the things of the world and complete abstinence. Renunciation is of all or of none. Nor is the theory modified to any considerable extent in practice, as in many Christian monasteries of the Middle Ages, and as in a few instances in some Buddhist countries at the present day. Resignation of this or that pleasure or distraction, or severance of the one connexion with retention of others, has presented no attraction to the religious-minded Hindu; while, on the other hand, the ease with which a minimum of bodily wants was satisfied has always, and perhaps increasingly, drawn to the ranks of the ascetics many who were actuated by no higher motive than the craving for an indolent life free from anxiety and care. Of such there are not a few in India, of whom the lower classes Hindus themselves are ashamed.

The Indian renunciation, that is closely connected with the doctrine and obligation of the four śramaṇas (q.v.; see also art. ASCETICISM [Hindu], vol. i. p. 91 f.), the successive stages or periods of life through which, theoretically at least, however, the Hindu must pass from his early years to death. Here again the theoretical conditions and demands were greatly modified in practice; and in particular no restriction was placed upon the adoption of a life of abstinence and renunciation at any age, even the most youthful. The only person who according to the Christian theory is excluded from that of the śrādyāna closing the series as the most exalted and refined. It was not necessary, however, to have reached an advanced age before renouncing the world. At any period it was admissible at will to withdraw from worldly pursuits, abandoning the career in time or at any period previous stages, and assuming even in early youth vows of unworldliness and poverty. Instances of return to a worldly life appear always to have been rare.

On the other hand, recent history affords many examples of the ascetic or religious-minded who at the close of an honourable career have renounced the world, and, abandoning house and home, have given over their remaining years to a life of severe and self-imposed restrictions, to meditation and solitary communion with God. To a high-minded and devoted Indian gentleman of this class, Swāmī Śrī Śaṅcīdānanda-Sarasvatī, formerly prime minister of the Native State of Bhaṇṇagar, Monier-Williams makes reference in the preface to his Brahmanism and Hinduism (p. 177), as did the late Rabindra Nāth Tāgore might be cited as an example of the same gentle and self-denying spirit. Those, however, who adopt the ascetic life from mere idleness and a shrinking from responsibility and work are an undoubted loss and burden and even a hindrance to the society that, in any reasonable or changed. In theory at least it is still recognized as best that a man should abandon the world, and seek his own salvation and the satisfaction of his spiritual cravings in a life of meditation, severed from his people and the pursuits of the busy crowd. An increasing number, however, endeavour to find that satisfaction in altruistic service in the world rather than in selfish aloofness. More or less consciously they have been influenced by Christian example and propa, have by scientific and medical doctrines taught in the schools of the importance and interests of the body, by the emphasis laid upon hygiene and the obligations of social service. The example and initiations are also the means by which civil servants, doctors, and of professors in the colleges and seminaries of the world, have counted for much. For the most part it is the members of the higher classes and castes whose conceptions of duty and of life have been thus transformed. The modes of living and the ideals of good of the middle and lower classes have undergone little change, and the convictions of the great majority of the Indian peoples with regard to the duty and efficacy of entire renunciation of the world remain the same; these, however, have neither time nor inclination to put into practice what is for the most part a dimly realized obligation of their religious faith. It is among the leaders of the people, present and future, the intellectual and leisureed classes, that a new ideal has been created, and to many of them renunciation has come to mean renunciation of self and evil, that the good may be pursued not only to the world beyond but to the world within.

The motives that under these changed circumstances urge to a new renunciation and to real altruistic service are not always unmixt. In some instances at least, perhaps in many, rivalry with Christian methods and institutions, dishonor of the intentions or disinclination of Christian activities, or emulation of British achievements and success in the amelioration of the lot of the common people has aroused a spirit of antagonism which has found expression in opposition. Moreover, it is by many of the Christian converts, or for those who have avowedly submitted themselves to Christian influence that have proved thus capable of the highest forms of self-renunciation. It may be that in all instances there has been the inspiration, indirect and unacknowledged, of Christian example and practice, the example of the Brāhma Samāj, of the Arya Samāj, and of other native sects and Churches who have not confined themselves to mere doctrinal propaganda, but frequently with a self-sacrifice and devotion worthy of high praise and respect renounced the world, in order to lead a more worldy ease and emolument to serve their fellows, and that for the sake of definite religious and communist aims which were not selfish. In the future, therefore, there can be little doubt that the ancient Hindu ideal of renunciation will give place slowly to one which appears thus to be more practical and in its present and general issues more helpful and beneficial. The earlier conception, however, is far from having lost its hold upon the imagination and affection of the people in general, nor, as far as judgment and comparison are possible, with the number of Hindu conversions, the number of themselves the vows of abandonment of the world less than in former years. But the practical spirit of the age is against them; and that will ultimately prevail, even in India, not without regret at the loss of such an example and a contrasting unworldly and unutilitarian as it might be, was not seldom productive of saintly character, and at least set the example of disregard of mere worldly good.

RENUCENINT AT BAPTISM. — See ABREXUNTIO.

REPHENTANCE. — In its broadest sense repentance describes the act of the soul in breaking away from its past as a preliminary step to the work of ethical reform. In this wide significance it is not peculiar to the Jewish or the Christian religion; on the contrary, it is implied in all the higher religions of the world. The element of morality. Man’s capacity for repentance is grounded in his nature as a moral being.

1. We have a capacity," says Bishop Butler, ‘of reflecting upon actions and characters, and making them an object to our thought: and on doing this, we naturally and unavoidably approve some actions, under the peculiar view of their being virtuous and of good desert; and disapprove others, as vicious and of ill desert."

It is because man has this power of self-judgment that he is also capable of the act of repenting. All moral advance takes the form of a breach with the past. Hence Socrates, in identifying virtue and knowledge, vice and ignorance, taught that only by the removal of the former condition could one attain to knowledge. Plato held that in every man there is a potential faculty by which he can distinguish the lesser from the higher good, and renounce the former for the sake of the latter. He contended that in the soul is the turning of the eye from darkness to light. Just as the light of the sun evokes and strengthens the power of bodily vision, so spiritual truth has the power to educate man’s faculty of knowledge. This is the meaning of the famous allegory of the cave in which the soul is described as escaping from the darkness of material objects into the light of spiritual realities.

2. The idea and the term. — It is only in Judaism and in Christianity that the idea of repentance is developed, and is treated not as a merely preliminary step to the higher life but as a permanent condition of all spiritual achievement. Only within these religions, too, are the presuppositions of repentance in the deepest sense of the term made possible. Belief in a personal God, in the reality of sin, and in the freedom of the will—in the light of such principles repentance becomes a fundamental virtue and is seen to be at once ethical and religious. It has been recently stated that the idea is peculiarly Jewish, so much so that its ethical force is lost in the dogma of the atoning Christ. To this it may be replied that, as a matter of historical fact, one of the great motives to repentance has been and is a realization of the righteousness and the love of God revealed in the death of Christ. That death has proved itself to be a means of atonement by the very fact that it works repentance in him who understands its meaning and feels its power; and thus it removes the subjective hindrance to peace and forgiveness.

The noun ἐσχάθηθ (‘repentance’) occurs only in post-Biblical Hebrew, but the verbal form śāb is common in the OT. The latter word means literally ‘to turn’ or ‘to return’ in a physical sense. Running parallel with this use is the use of the word in a spiritual or ethical sense, ‘to return from sin and evil to God or to righteousness.’ In this usage the word means not merely to change the course of our life but to turn in the opposite way (cf. the refrain in Am 4:6—7: ‘yet have ye not returned unto me, saith Jehovah’; for other examples cf. Hos 6:1, Is 1:17, 55:7, Jer 3:23, 30, Ezek 18:21; the LXX translates nìkheí by repent, and nìkheín by repentance, which should be rendered ‘I will change my mind or my purpose’ rather than ‘I will repent’).

The Syr. Bible has for μετανοεῖν (Vulg. parantium agitare) in Jr 29:11 translates ἑσθαθήσουμαι, and ‘repentance’ translates μετανοεῖν, but, as will be shown below, this rendering is not adequate. The RV seeks to differentiate between μετανοεῖν, ‘to repent,’ and μετανοεύομαι, ‘to regret,’ by rendering the latter as a reflexive—e.g., ‘Judas repented himself’ (Mt 27:7), which should rather be rendered, ‘Judas was smitten with remorse.’ The RV makes an exception to this by translating μετανοεῖν by ‘regret.’ Cf. Ro 11:28, where ἀλλοτριομοσθήσάται is translated without repentance. The Amer. RV translates it ‘not repenting.’ The RV seems to have paid but little attention in a marginal note to the difference in meaning between the word ‘repentance’ as commonly used and the Greek word ἐσχάθηθ. A satisfactory version of the NT will include a new translation of a word that expresses the initial and prevailing idea of Christianity.1

2. Repentance in the OT. — Two strains of thought run throughout the OT religion, one priestly and legalistic, the other prophetic and ethical. Modern Judaism inherits the double tendency. The priestly conception of the relations between God and man is embodied in a Levitical sacrificial system which, in germ, existed from the earliest times in Israel. The priestly element in sacrificial was developed in an elaborate system, but it laboured under one serious defect—the ritualistic and the ethical were not clearly distinguished. Unintentional transgressions and various impurities of a ceremonial character, such as uncleanness and defilement, are dealt with in a narrower sense of repentance, while only those acts which were deemed to be offenses against the holiness of God—i.e., against His character as One infinitely remote from contact with the human and the physical. On the other hand, it must be allowed that the systematizers of the post-Exilic worship believed it to be ‘a very important means towards the great end of keeping the people of Israel faithful in heart and life to God.’

The prophetic preaching marks a great advance in the conception of sin with a corresponding advance in the conception of repentance. For the prophets sacrifices were secondary to normal moral life. They cared little about the details of ritual, and insisted on the paramount claims of justice, truth, and social righteousness (Jer 7:5). In a word, they were the preachers of ethical and social reform, and they proclaimed the necessity of repentance as a necessary prerequisite to a new order of things. Still further, the call to repentance was made in close connexion with the idea of judgment. One of their most passionate convictions was belief in the day of Jahweh, on which an overwhelming and inevitable judgment was to fall on the whole people (Am 5:20-27, 9:10, Is 2:2-3, 13:9). The call to repentance was addressed primarily not to the individual but to the nation as a whole. The covenant of Jahweh was with Israel conceived as a personality with a continuous moral life, and therefore the duties and judgments were made directly to the amendment. The sins charged against Israel were in the main social—crude to the poor, bribery of judges, immorality connected with idolatry and worship. On these the prophet invoked divine judgment, both public and individual, by a call to repentance, i.e., by a change of mind leading to a

1 For a valuable note on the Classical, LXX, and NT usage of these words see Hult. and Linguistic Studies, 2nd ser., Chicago, 1908.
2 A. B. Bruce, Apologytides, Edinburgh, 1852, p. 265.
change of conduct. 'Seek good, and not evil,' cries Amos, 'that ye may live: and so the Lord, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph' (5:14). Hosea through a bitter domestic experience had learned the need of repentance on the part of Israel. The root sin of Israel was disloyalty to God. She had gone after other gods and had broken the marriage covenant with Jehovah. Jahveh, the prophet, was not let go to the woman that he loved, but cared for her and through sorrow redeemed her, so he felt that Jehovah, who had chosen Israel as His bride, would not give her up, but would win her back by the greatness of His grief and His compassion (25). Repentance will lead to restoration, and repentance comes through a deeper knowledge of God.

It is because Hosea's doctrine of God is so rich, so fair and so tender, that his doctrine of repentance is so full and gracious. Like the book of Amos, Amos and Hosea, Hosea's book is filled with the technical term, repentance, and, as the prophetAmos had used also the phrase with frequency; again and again he had appealed to the people to seek God and Jacobs God and make their ways right (Am 2:3, 10, 15). When Hosea thought of the Jews as a pursuing voice, a voice crying in the wilderness. Hosea lets loose behind it a heart, word, and beseech all who hear it to turn back to God, to care about them, not the voices only, but the atmosphere, of love. 'I will be as the dew unto Israel,' promises the Most High; but the Jews have turned their backs, 'why do ye deal treacherously with the God of heaven?' (Hos 6:3). Moved by a profound intuition, Jeremiah breaks through the bonds of the moral solidarity of the nation, and glimpses the truth of individualism (31:26). But the realization of this truth belongs to the future age. Ezekiel takes up the message of personal responsibility from his earlier contemporary, yet his message is addressed to the nation: 'Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O children of profaneness? Turn you, and live, ye children of profaneness' (Ez 18:30). This makes an advance over earlier teachings by announcing that God Himself will take the initiative and give repentance to Israel (36:25-27); but this is an idea alien to the genius of Judaism, which emphasizes the thought that in repentance man takes the initiative and God grants forgiveness because of man's changed attitude towards Him.

In Psalms and Job the feeling about sin is deepened. It is something in itself evil, breaking the bonds that bind the soul to God. Moreover, sin is now seen to be a universal experience of man. In such Psalms as the 19th and the 51st this deepened consciousness finds expression, even though we should accept the view of some critics that the primary reference is to the sin and repentance of the Church-nation. Still it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that this practice is a teaching of themselves as sharers by personal experience in the spiritual acts described.

3. Later Jewish teaching.—The idea and practice of repentance receive a rich development in later Jewish thought. Repentance now becomes the fundamental feature of the OT. The penitential prayer is frequent in the literature of the time. The high value set upon this virtue is illustrated in the Prayer of Manasseh. Even for the most wicked of Jewish kings the gateway to life is opened by penitence. Other examples of penitential prayers are found in Dn 9, To 31-34.

In the book of Wisdom, which was written under the influence of Greek philosophy, we have the thought brought out that the forbearance of God is meant to give the sinner opportunity to repent. Thus, 'If they repent, inasmuch as the days of life to which they may repent' (11:3). We get a prelude to the teaching of Paul (Ro 2:4) in another passage: 'Thou hast made thy children to be of good hope that thou givest repentance for sins' (2:4).

Throughout later Judaism the idea of repentance played an important part in developing penitential feeling. The old idea that suffering was a sign of divine displeasure still held its ground, and, the more keenly men felt suffering, the deeper was their consciousness of sin and their desire for reconciliation. Distress and pain were proofs that sin had been committed; whether it was possible or not to say what the sin actually was.

In the later rabbis the word tishahab ('repentance') has become a technical theological term. Sin, it is taught, is removed by good works, repentance, and confession. A consistent doctrine of repentance, therefore, is set forth from a purely ethical standpoint is not to be looked for in the rabbis. A deep spiritual conception is found side by side with external legalistic views. As an example of the latter may be cited the Talmudic teaching that three books are opened on New Year's Day; the righteous Book of Life, the wicked for death, while the 'intermediate' remain in suspense till the Day of Atonement. By good works and repentance they can make the swaying balance incline in their favour. Of similar character is the interpretation of the word 'repent' by the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near' (Is 55:5), which are taken to mean 'Seek him especially between the New Year and the Day of Atonement when he dwells among you.' On the other hand, it is to the rabbis that we owe some of the most beautiful things about repentance. C. G. Montefiore has collected much material of this kind in his article 'Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance.'

The following are quoted: God's hand is stretched out under the wings of the heavenly chariot to snatch the penitent from the grasp of justice. 'Open for me,' says God, "a gateway of repentance as big as the eye of a needle. For the eyes of the Lord search all the earth to punish those who wrong their fellow-men, and save those who have a heart that is true.' "If your sins are as high as heaven, even unto the seventh heaven and even to the throne of glory, and ye repent, I will forgive you." The main differences between the rabbinical and the modern teaching about repentance are, according to this writer: (1) the rabbinical doctrine is on the whole particularistic, while the modern teaching is pronounedly universal; (2) the rabbis are more stern towards the sinner, especially the religions sinner, the heretic, the apostate, the unbeliever; (3) whereas, according to the modern teaching, punishment after death can be only remedial and temporary, the rabbis held that for sins committed outside the Bible, there was no share whatever in the blessedness of the world to come.

4. Repentance in Christianity.—Jesus, though opposed to the prevailing tendencies of the Judaism of His time, took over and developed the deeper motives of the OT prophetic teaching. Among these was the demand for righteousness which can be satisfied only by repentance. The Baptist had already echoed the cry of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah, 'Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand' (Mt 3:2). He was a preacher of the repentance unto the remission of sins in view of this judgment. Thus the eschatological movement, which was destined to affect powerfully the history of Christianity, was begun by the Baptist's summons to amendment of life. Because

2. P. 290, quoting Pesh. 119 a; Shir. R. on v. 2; Pesh. R., 185a.
of the approaching end of the age, which was to be signalized by the appearance of the Messiah, John called on men to renounce their worldly every-day life in order to fit themselves for entrance into the Kingdom. They were to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. Jesus, on His first public appearance, replied to John's inquiry, "What is this, therefore, which "the heaven signifies. [Lk 3\59; 2", cf. Mk 1\27; Mt 3\29;]."

The whole ministry of Jesus may be described as a ministry of repentance. With grave irony He summed up the purpose of His life in the words: 'I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance' (Lk 5\2; cf. Mk 2\27; Mt 9\29;). What Jesus was to the Nineteens that He was to His generation—a preacher of repentance (Mt 12\1; Lk 11\23;).

More specifically it is clear that His preaching of repentance stands in closest connexion with His preaching of the Kingdom and with His healing ministry. The ethical requirements for admission to the Kingdom as expounded in the Sermon on the Mount imply the profound change in mind and life that the call to repentance was clothed with. The mission of the Twelve had for one of its main purposes that of proclaiming the duty of repentance (Mk 6\6;). The parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the lost son are motived by the thought that there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repentance (Lk 15\7;). The events of contemporary life, the calamities and tragedies that befall the world, bore a spiritual message and a solemn warning: 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish' (Lk 13\1; cf. 19;).

Now, with this emphasis on the repentant attitude of mind, Jesus is in line with what we have already seen to be the prophetic doctrine. Like that of the prophets, His moral teaching is conditioned as a whole by the coming Kingdom; like them He sees that repentance is necessary as a preparation for the Judgment that in turn ushered in the Kingdom. Hence many NT students argue that the ethics of Jesus is conditional, an Interimzeit, and was proclaimed in indissoluble connexion with the eschatological expectation of a state of perfect blessedness to be supernaturally brought about. But it is clear that repentance was clothed with a terrible impressiveness and intensity, from the fact that the Kingdom was believed to be at the door, that call is permanently valid for man's life throughout all time. Instead of the idea of the Kingdom to be achieved by a cosmic cataclysm, Jesus, through His miracles, brought the ancient hope of an immortal blessedness. With a view to the realization of that hope, repentance is as much as ever a demand of the spiritual life. Not only our Lord's preaching but also His healing ministry—its evidence that the Kingdom was in a sense already present—was designed to awaken in the hearts of men desires for a better life. It was the tragedy of His life that this design was frustrated by the dullness and indifference of those who witnessed His gracious activity in lifting the burdens of disease and sorrow. As the Gospel was spread and the cities wherein most of His mighty works were done, because they repented not (Mt 11\20;). But behind His preaching and His healing activity was His personality. Wherever He went the alleviation of sin and sickness and sorrow were felt and in time began to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not (Mt 11\20;). But behind His preaching and His healing activity was His personality. Wherever He went...
in repentance primary, whereas in reality it is secondary. Tertullian marks the beginning of the process. He defines repentance as an 'emotion of distress' among those issues that were finally subsumed under the rubric of 'penance.' In the course of time it became involved with questions of Church discipline and with the ecclesiastical doctrine of penance. This doctrine is that repentance is only part of the sacrament of penance; the two other elements being confession and absolution.

Luther's doctrine was that repentance consisted in sorrow for sin and faith in Christ. He maintained that the whole life should be a penitential act. The Reformation started as a protest against false or partial concepts of repentance.

1 The higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, but about the misery of his country. He is more concerned with the future of his children than with his own. 2 The higher man of to-day has repented of his sins, and has found in them an opportunity for self-sacrifice, and an opportunity for service to his country.

3 The higher man of to-day is no longer content with penance, but demands absolute justice.

4 The higher man of to-day is not content with penance, but demands absolute justice.

5 The higher man of to-day is not content with penance, but demands absolute justice.

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31 The higher man of to-day is not content with penance, but demands absolute justice.
may be originated by impressions received from contact with more highly developed personalities or through a bitter experience of pain and disillusionment. A new conception of duty, a revelation may spring from the experience of others. The pain of those who have suffered through our actions, the impress of a noble spirit that rebukes our weakness and that acts as a spur to all that is not dead within us, and the vision of the love of God incarnate in the life and work of Jesus Christ, may be the factors into the stream of our experience and may set up there new causal connections involving far-reaching consequences. The law of continuity still holds good, for these factors, once they have entered into experience, bring about their results in accordance with the laws that govern the psychic world.

There is in repentance a certain quality of infinitude. With the penitent mood comes new insight, fresh illumination leading to an almost painful anxiety to make atonement to the person or persons wronged, to society, to the spiritual order which has been violated. The repentant man stands ready for any task however great, for any service however distasteful. Repentance is thus transformed into a moral dynamic. It reinforces the will with boundless energy; its eyes are ever uplifted to new visions and greater ethical achievement. Hence the marks of genuine, as distinguished from spurious, repentance are the presence of ever new and deeper insight into duty and of a passion for atonement, which is itself part of the redemptive process as well as reflected in the very nature of repentance: is at once a gift and a task, an inspiration and a deliberate movement of the will, a present possession and a future attainment.


**Saul. McComb.**

**RepenTance (Muhammadan).**—There are two words used to denote repentance in the theological sense of Islam—*tawbah* and *nadam.* The former denotes merely remorse, regret, or vexation at having done something or at having left something undone. It is used especially in the poets. The 'repentance' of the satirist Farazdaq (A.D. 639–729), after he had divorced his wife Nawâr, is proverbial.1 The word is used also in the Qur'ân. After Cain had killed his brother, and a raven had showed him how to hide his crime, he became 'of those who repent' (v. 34; so frequently, i.e. he felt remorse (tawbah)), but which would not be said of him that he showed repentance (tawbah) in the religious sense. The latter word, which etymologically means 'returning,' it is, in fact, the Heb. *těnhîbâh, Aram. tēnhîbâh—* 'returning of' is of itself is explained as synonymous with *nadam.* It is defined as 'remorse for an act of disobedience (in respect of its being an act of disobedience), accompanied by a determination not to return to it, even if one has the power;' it must be for 'an act of disobedience,' because Regret felt for doing something that is right or, at least, not wrong is not repentance. The phrase 'in respect of its being an act of disobedience' is added because regret for having drunk wine on account of weakness or self-respect is not repentance. Mention of the 'determination not to return to it' is by some regarded as superfluous, seeing that that is always an element in remorse—whence they explain the traditional saying of Muhammad, 'Remorse (nadam), is regarded as tawbah. The meaning of the most ancient authorities do not admit the condition that ability to commit the sin again must be there. They think, e.g., that the remorse of the sinner at the point of death may be repentance. In this they are in conflict with the Qur'ân.

In accordance with its etymology, *tawbah* means in the first instance turning to God. Hence the complete phrase is 'repentance unto God.' Moses regretted his request to be allowed to look upon God and said, 'I repent unto Thee' (Qur'ân, vii. 141), and frequently. In the case of those who have been brought up in idolatry or polytheism this turning to God is synonymous with 'conversion' to Islam. The convert is represented as saying, 'I repent unto Thee and am of the Muslims' (xvii. 4; cf. xli. 114, and elsewhere). In this form of the expression (nadam) is regarded as tawbah. The implication is that the three persons of the Trinity—or, as the Qur'ân puts it, saying that 'God is the third of three—'is a form of polytheism (v. 77 f.). But, as perfection is unattainable by a mortal, penitence is a mark of the pious Muslim, not only at the beginning of his religious career, but all his life long (ix. 113, lxvii. 5). Repentance is necessary and will be accepted from all Muslims who have sinned in such ways as the following: hypocrisy, i.e. strictly the hypocrisy of the citizens of Medina who pretended to acquiesce in Muhammad's authority there, whilst secretly working to undermine it (iv. 145); opposing Islam by force of arms, provided that repentance is made of free will, and not as a result of defeat in battle (v. 38); skepticism (ix. 127); idolatry (ix. 3, ii. 51); perverting or persecuting Muslims (lxxv. 10); and anything similar. It may be 'expected' (v. 13), or 'desired' (ii. 279) and other offences (vii. 117, iv. 20). The one sin after which there is no repentance (cf. Ho 6:18) is that of apostasy (iii. 83), but this verse the commentators refer to the Jews,1 and in any case the preceding verse appears to leave a loophole of escape even here. In the last chapter of the Qur'ân, composed at a time when Muhammad could afford to be lenient, a door is opened even to the apostate (ix. 73). Apostasy is, of course, allowed under persecution. But those who die in unbelief, i.e. all non-Muslims, are *kafirs.*

1 The world full of gold shall in no wise be accepted of any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom'' (Gil. 84).

Repentance must be sincere for sins committed through ignorance (v. 12), and can be procured by intercession. 'Ask forgiveness, thereafter repent' (xi. 3, 54, 64, 92). The converse order, which one would expect, is also found (v. 78). True repentance is followed by faith and good works.

2 'Those who repent and believe and do good works (six, xx. 56, xx. 54, xx. 77, xxviii. 67 repent unto God with (true) repentance (xxviii. 71).'

RepenTance has its counterpart in the forgiving nature of God. Man's repentance is always met by repentance on the part of God.

1 'Whoever repents after wrongdoing and does right, God repents over him. Truly God is forgiving and compassionate' (iv. 43, and v. 39).

Man repents unto God; God repents over man. The latter phrase is equivalent to 'is sorry for
him' (lxxiii. 14, lxiii. 20). Al-Tawwâb ('the much-repentent') is one of the ninety-nine 'beautiful names' of God (ii. 35, and frequently; cf. JI 22, etc.), though it is also used of men (II. 222). It is really explained, however, as merely denoting 'much in other words, true repentance', or 'turning man to repentance'; but it is no doubt used in the same sense in both references. If God did not feel sorry for man in this way, He would always punish him. Hence the opposite of to repent (on God's part) is to punish.

'It is no business of thine whether God repent over or punish them' (ill. 123, and so elsewhere).

Fortunately God wishes to repent over men (iv. 32), but His repentance is voluntary. He repents over whom He will (ix. 15), so that it is folly in man to count upon His repenting (iv. 109).

The chief advantage of repentance is forgiveness—not as a matter of course, but as a result of the divine repentance or sorrow (ii. 51, etc.). The angels intercede with God on behalf of those who repent (xi. 7), and the Muslims are hope less to their repenting. The whole teaching of the Koran on this matter is well summed up in the following verses:

'Repentance is incumbent upon God only towards those who do not come in ignorance and then repent without delay. Over such God repents, and God is knowing and wise. Repentance (on God's part) is not due to those who do evil until, when death comes to one of them, he says: 'Now I repent,' nor to those who die in unbelief. For such we have prepared a painful punishment' (iv. 21 f.).

It is worth noting that it is never said in the Qur'an of any one that he actually did 'repent unto God'.

The orthodox Muslim tradition takes little or no account of repentance. The more liberal Mu'tazilites and the Sufis, or mystics, have more to say about it. The Mu'tazilites distinguish three elements in repentance: (1) making restitution, (2) not returning to the offence, and (3) continuance of the feeling of remorse. The orthodox (Sunnis) do not regard these as essential. They say that repentance consists of three things: (1) leaving off disobedience in the present, (2) intending to leave it off in the future, and (3) regret at having done it in the past. That the Muslim may go on repenting and sinning, that (and in this the Sufis agree with them) he may repent of one sin and go on doing others, and that his repentance of the one will count. The Mu'tazilites would probably hold that the penitent must keep himself aloof from all deadly sins. The Muslim who does not do so is neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but simply a reprobate, and, if he does not change, he will suffer eternal punishment.

With the mystics repentance occupies an important place. It is the first 'station' on the 'mystic path'. They recognize three degrees of repentance. The first is called simply repentance (tawbah), it is an attribute of all Muslims (Salim). The second is in turning from sins actually committed. Its motive is to seek the divine forgiveness. The second degree of repentance is called inabah ('returning'). It is an attribute of the saints and those brought near to God (I. 32). Its motive is the desire for the reward. The third and greatest repentance is sara'ebah (which also means 'returning'). It is an act of love of the apostles and 'sent ones' (xxxviii. 44). Its motive is neither fear of punishment nor desire for the reward, but the love of obedience. In it, for the mystic, everything ceases to exist except God. Otherwise said, it is pure love, and entailed on him a large amount of reward, a large number of blessings.

(cenna, khâs, and khâs khâs). The mystics, however, are very loose in their use of terms.

Ibn Abî Abeerah is elsewhere defined to be 'turning the all to Him whose is the all,' or 'turning from negligence of God to its opposite and freedom from estrangement to friendship.'

In regard to the mystic, repentance is either (1) sound, when one sins, repents sincerely, and yet falls again into sin; (2) clear or sincere (mâshah), when the heart becomes estranged from sin and finds it hateful, so as to be no further attracted by it (Qur'an, lxvi. 8); and (3) corrupt, when one repents with clear words, but does not feel the change all the while the love of sin is in the mind.

Muhammad's cousin Ibn 'Abbas defined 'sincere' repentance as 'remorse in the heart, asking forgiveness with the tongue, throwing off with the body, and resolve not to do again.'

Repentance is a favourite subject of homilies and theme of religious poems, such as those of Ghazalî, Bahâ al-Dîn al-'Anâlî, Zamâkhshârî, and others. Stories in which repentance is inculcated are frequently told in connexion with Jesus. The notion of repentance bringing its reward in the present life does not seem to have occurred to the pious Muslims.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see Ibn 'Arabi, Futuhi al-Makkîyih, Cairo, a.h. 1329 (A.D. 1911), p. 7; see also e.g. Ibn Hâshim, Kashfi al-Makhtûb, Cairo, a.h. 1386 (A.D. 1965), pp. iv, p. 18; R. A. Nicholson, Kashf al-Makhtûb, Eng. tr., London, 1911, and Kitab al-Lumma' (both in Gibb Memorial Series), do. 1921.

T. H. WEIR.

RESISTANCE AND NON-RESISTANCE.

1. The teaching of the NT.—The term non-resistance is applied to the refusal to use force sometimes only in war, sometimes in any circumstances. As we shall see, the two positions, though often confused, are by no means identical. The origin both of the term and of the idea is to be found in Christ's command not to resist evil, and the nature of the article will be to examine the teaching of the NT on the subject, together with the ethical principles involved.

The chief arguments in favour of the view that it is wrong to appeal to force under any circumstances are derived (a) from the recorded teaching of Christ, (b) through the general principle of the supremacy of love involved. Though in many cases, particularly in recent times, it is argued that the position does not depend so much on the interpretation of isolated texts as on the general tenor of Christ's teaching, in the NT there is no such text. His actual words have in fact been the starting point. In any case we note the reminder, which is useful in many connexions, that it is impossible to arrive at the true meaning of any passage in the Bible so long as it is taken out of isolation. The Sermon on the Mount itself is not the whole of Christianity, and it can be rightly understood only if interpreted in the light of the practice and teaching of Christ and His immediate followers, taken as a whole. A primary fault of Tolstoi and many of his followers is to confine themselves to arbitrarily selected sayings. Such a limitation is involved in more than a lack of proportion, but also a failure to understand rightly even the passages to which attention is directed.

The central passage is:

'Be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather be afraid of Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.'

Matt. 10.28. (Roughly the same wording is in Rom. 12.19, though the idea is more fully developed there.)

2 Jurjânî, Thürif't, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1845, s.e. 5 p. 222; Ibn al-Farîd, Cairo, a.h. 1305 (A.D. 1887), pl. i, p. 200.

3 An interesting example of non-resistance on quite different grounds is to be found in the refusal of the Jews to fight on the Sabbath (1 Mac 232, 2 Mac 61). The logic of facts compelled the abrogation of the scriptural (1 Mac 249. 942).
thou away. Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you, etc. (Mt 5:38; cf. Lk 6:27 and the Restitutions).

With this may be compared the recurring stress on forgiveness, in the Lord’s Prayer and elsewhere, even ‘unto seventy seven times seven.’ Similar teaching, though in a milder form, meets us in the sayings of Christ. (Ro 12:18; ‘Tender to no man evil for evil... Avenge not yourselves,’ etc.), Eph 4:26, 22; Col 3:13, 1 Th 5:16, 1 P 2:22-23. These passages, taken in combination with Christ’s own example of meekness and non-resistant, and the general insistence on the principles of love and brotherhood, do constitute a prima facie case against the appeal to force, and pre-eminently against war.

We should note, however, that among the passages of this type that from the Sermon on the Mount stands alone as the most extreme and uncompromising.

We ask what indications are afforded by the rest of the NT as to a different and complementary type of teaching. Too much stress need not be laid on Christ’s employment of the scourge to cleanse the Temple. It is recorded in St. John alone (John 2:15), and the NT, it seems, is apparently used only against the animals. But the whole incident shows that, when Christ found Himself confronted with an abuse, He was prepared to take active measures to remedy it. More important is His attitude towards the NT, the NT soldiers (Mt 26:35, 36; Mt 4:9). As is well known, they nearly always appear in a favourable light; there is no hint that when converted they are expected to abandon their profession, or that that profession is regarded as in itself wrong and un-Christian. Further, the attitude towards life adopted in the parables is significant as interpreting the hard sayings of the Sermon on the Mount. There is in fact no parable which turns on the virtue of non-resistance; the ordinary discipline and penalties of life are assumed throughout.

The mouthed or dishonest steward is dismissed; even forgiveness is not unlimited to the slave who cannot forgive others.

Finally, it is clear from the NT that force or coercion of some kind forms an important element in Christian teaching. The Church accepts the belief in a hopeless and never-ending ‘hell,’ penalties and discipline after death are undoubtedly contemplated for the sinner. We may believe that these will be remitted; if so, they become part of the armoury of love and forgiveness themselves. They further follow from the very gift of independence and free will. God respects man’s personality and does not compel him to do right. This implies that, when he obstinately refuses to yield to the promptings of love and higher motives, force must step in, at least for the time, in order to prevent him from using his independence indiscriminately to the injury of his fellow-man. And, if man is made in the image of God and is called to imitate His Father’s perfection (Mt 5:48), what is right and consistent with love in God must also, with due qualifications, be right for man. If God under any circumstances can use force and compulsion, so may man; when he may do it, and whether he does not appeal to it too readily and lightly, are questions which do not affect the main principle.

It is therefore clear on the evidence of the NT itself, and as an initial to any difficulties of interpretation or application, that the more extreme sayings about forgiveness and non-resistance cannot be understood quite literally as forbidding recourse to any form of force or penalty under any circumstances. We are free to ask what these sayings mean in the light of the general teaching of the NT, and are justified in applying to them those canons of interpretation which are recognized as valid in the case of other ‘hard sayings.’ Orientals are not likely to do this, of course, but it is possible to isolate one side of a truth. Christ constantly used the method of startling sayings worded in such a way as to force men to think. His teaching had not the precision of legal formalities; it was never His purpose to lay down a new code of fixed law or external rules. We recall sayings such as ‘If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife... he cannot be my disciple’; ‘When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinmen’; ‘Call no man thy father upon the earth.’ None of these sayings was not, nor were they meant to be, applied literally; and the same principle holds good of the non-resistance sayings. We may note that in the quotation given above from Mt 5 the apparent absolute prohibition of force occurs in the same context as equally absolute commands to unlimited giving of goods and service which have never been consistently applied au pied de la lettre, even by those who have attempted to follow out the one saying about non-resistance quite literally.

These sayings illustrate the thought that the idea of the good even of the sphere of private relationships, which our Lord evidently had primarily in mind,1 Much more are they true of those international relationships which He did not and could not have directly before Him. Within the NT the teaching of non-resistance is taken up from a certain point of view, according to which Christ’s whole teaching and career were dominated by the belief in an immediate end of the world’s history, it is clear that He did not deliberately contemplate or provide for a long period of historical development, nor did He legislate with a view to the relationships of independent Christian or semi-Christian communities. (b) The historical conditions of the day excluded international problems and the claims of patriotism in our modern sense. The Jews had no independent existence as a nation, and the last thing that Christ or His followers desired was rebellion in order to regain it. The Gentile was a member of the Roman Empire, and war between its constituent elements did not come into question. It is idle to seek for a direct answer to the modern difficulties connected with war from a period in which the conditions were so completely different.

2. Ethical application.—We may hold, then, that, in spite of the prima facie impression made by single texts of the NT, the question of the legitimacy of the use of force, whether in war or in other forms, is really an open one, and must be decided on the general principles of Christian ethics. It will be useful to distinguish three stages:

(1) The degree to which non-resistance may rightly be carried when one’s own personal interests and safety alone are directly involved must be a matter for the individual conscience to decide according to the circumstances of each case. The moral effect of a refusal to resent a blow or to resist injustice is often very great, both in dealing with those who are actors may be the more effective if it become therefore as immediately open to the appeal of higher motives and also in dealing with the outcast or criminal, on whom the very strangeness and unexpectedness of the attitude adopted may have a startling effect. There are, however, two caveats to be borne in mind: (a) it must be clear that the meekness is really due to the higher motive of love and not to cowardice or cynical

1 That He was not, as sometimes maintained, thinking only of the relation of Christian to Christian is shown by the command to go two miles with the representative of the heathen government.
indifference; in other words, it must be in keeping with the general character; (b) it must be remembered that ultimately nothing that we do has a purely private bearing, since every action has its inevitable effect upon society as a whole. If an act of non-resistance, instead of converting, merely encourages the wrong-doer, obvious harm is done. To yield to blackmail in any form or, it may be, to refuse to prosecute a criminal will involve a mischief to society at large which will outweigh the benefit.

(2) A further set of considerations arises when the interests of others are directly involved. It may be right in this connexion that a man should require some degree of sacrifice from his wife and family, but he is not justified in carrying it to any point where their welfare or even their lives are involved. Still less can he impose such sacrifice upon others on whom his claim is more remote. What would have been the duty of the Samaritan in the parable if he had come upon the scene at the moment when the robbers were about to attack their victim? It is hard to believe that Christ intended the principle of non-resistance to be applied in such a case as this. He certainly cannot have intended that a man should not use force to save his wife or family, or women and children in general, in any case, just because the matter involves questions of property and rights, while a man may do what he will with his own, he cannot practise an unlimited generosity when he acts as a trustee for others.

(3) The case of war, where national interests are involved, follows naturally on this principle. The responsible rulers of the State are trustees, not only for the nation as a whole, but also for future generations. If, as we have argued, the use of force is sometimes legitimate, the community cannot be debarred from using it to protect its members, to secure their fair interests, and to defend weaker nations. Primarily this principle covers the operations of the police and criminal law, but it also extends to war. The fundamental difficulties with regard to war do not really lie in its connection to the community as a whole, for the facts that there is no guarantee that force will be always used to uphold the right, or that it will succeed in doing so, and that the coercion is applied not merely to the actual offenders and transgressors, but to comparatively innocent members of the nation drawn into the net of war, or that the consequences which would ensue if this were to happen. He is saving his own conscience and saving his own soul, while allowing others to take what he regards as the lower course—a course which actually protects him from the result of his own action. A distinction is drawn by the adherents of pacifism between the duty of the State and that of a pacifist individual. And in fact we note historically that the examples of anything like combined non-resistance have come from the control of worldly affairs would pass into the hands of the barbarian and Christianity would be unable to exist; it owed its peace to the Roman Empire. Such a position cannot be final or satisfactory. The Christian is also a citizen; if it is right for a State to engage in war, it is not only right but also a duty for its citizens to support it. The State in the end consists of the citizens who compose it; it is not ethnically permissible for one section to contract itself out of its obligations in obedience to a supposed higher law and at the same time to wish to control the lives of the rest who are following the ‘lower course.’ In other words, if non-resistance in war is right, it must be thought of as the attitude of the whole nation and not of a negligible minority, and the results of such an attitude must be definitely faced.

It be the annihilation of one nation or the of the world is a whole, if they would involve grave evils and sacrifices for others and for future generations, together with the triumph of injustice and the oppression of the whole, also of the language which will be among fallible men. But it must be clearly realized, in connexion with the particular problem before us, that such schemes do not adopt the principle of non-resistance in place of force. The ultimate functional and sound as a whole, the non-resistant member or outsider would still be force, whether applied by economic boycott or by war, but it would be force directed as nearly as possible by the principles of law and justice. Nations will not be applying the principles of the
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only alternative. And, if so, it should be clearly recognized that from the point of view of ethics this is not, as is often supposed, the choice of the second best. The problems of ethics consist in choosing the best course which is open under given circumstances; if it is really the best, it is in the absolute sense 'right.' To say that war, or indeed any appeal to force, would be unnecessary if all men lived up to the principles of Christianity, is true, but irrelevant; this is only to say that evil will not exist when the Kingdom of Heaven is fully come. We are concerned here and now with the right course to take in a world where evil does exist and where men do in fact do wrong. It takes only one to make an attack; if, as is the case under existing conditions, war is the only means of resisting such an attack, it becomes right in the fullest sense, however unsatisfactory it may be as a method of establishing justice. The mistake arises when the admission of this principle is held to absolve men from the duty of trying to work out some better method for the future, or when, with regard to the use of force in any form, it is regarded as the final solution of the problem. As against the evil-doer who refuses to obey the voice of reason, we need to be armed with a weapon that is not some lesser right, no less for his own sake than for that of others. But the ultimate purpose is not that he should be prevented from doing wrong, but that he should cease to desire to do so. In all cases this should be kept before us. Non-resistance, as a principle, and the conscience should not rest content till it is reached.

4. Historical examples.—For examples of attempts to apply the principles of non-resistance reference must be made to the relevant art., esp. ANABAPTIST; DOUHOKODORS; FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF; TOLSTOI. Some account of the medieval sects will be found in H. C. Lea, History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages (London, 1888). The Wahakens held homicide to be unlawful under any conditions; though sometimes provoked by persecution to break this rule, they generally fell an easy prey to their enemies. The Bohemian Brethren were in line with the Waldenses. In the case of the Cathari such tenets were connected with theories of transmigration; they refused to take the life even of animals.

On the early Christians and their attitude to service in the army see especially Harnack, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. It should be noted that the refusal to serve was by no means universal, and that where it existed it was due as much to the various compliances with heathen rites and unlawful practices required of soldiers as to a belief in the unlawful-ness of war per se. Objections were felt to the holding of civil office no less than to service in the army. With regard to the whole question, which has been said above as to the historical conditions and the absence of national wars must be borne in mind.


C. W. EMMET.

RESPONSIBILITY.—Responsibility is the human sense of answerability for all acts of thought and conduct. Christian responsibility is answerable to the ideal set up by Jesus. About responsibility two things have to be decided: the relation of a person and the object to which it is answerable; and of Christian responsibility two further matters require elucidation: the extended sphere of answerability in the light of Christ's teaching, and the unique attitude of Jesus to the human conscience.

i. Responsibility and freedom of choice.—With the various theories invented to explain or account for freedom (see art. FREE WILL) the religious consciousness has little to do. Any theory which leaves free choice a real function of man is condemned. The concept or explanation which would destroy its reality is out of harmony with Christian experience. The pleas urged, the sanctions offered, and the rewards promised by Jesus have no force unless men are able to conceive or to refuse higher values; for real freedom of choice there could be no real moral responsibility; and the sense of it, if it were still felt, would have, like the sense of freedom, to be classed as an illusion (Sheddworth H. Hodgson, The Metaphysics of Experience, London, 1898, iv. 190 ff.). In his dealing with men as free agents Jesus acknowledged and endorsed the ordinary sense of responsibility.

To the religious mind this is never, however, an absolute freedom; for over, around, and within the religious state is the immanent presence of God. It is the freedom within gracious boundaries, within the full tide of Divine love and mercy. As the founder of a new religion, Jesus was conscious of the Divine power working in His favour; if men believed in Him, it was the result of the Father's will. In giving God's kingdom Jesus brought a new and higher discipline to the life of the disciple. In the discipleship of some of His followers, it is because God has given Him these sheep (16:20); and, if humble Christians credit their faith in Jesus, without peril to human responsibility, to the election of God, they are of the same mind with their Master (II Cor. 3:19). How human freedom and the kindly control of God can comport together in any philosophical theory has not concerned the religious, who have with extraordinary persistency declared both, and held them somehow reconcilable.

Jesus further acknowledged the impoverishment of personal freedom by continued moral indiffer- ence. To the Jews who boasted of Abraham as their father Jesus replied that their inability to recognize His message as a deliverance from God was due to their kinship with the devil (Jn 8:39). There is here no reference to any original difference in the natures of men, but an assertion of the obvious moral fact that minds deluded by evil motives may become insensitive to the attractions of the heavenly offer. This fatal obstacle was one which Jesus recognized, and it was not their misfortune but their fault. Moral insensibility may absolve from responsibility.

ii. The object to whom or to which responsibility is owing.—Modern teachers have described the object to whom answerability is due as either oneself, or one's neighbour, or one's God; but, as the enforcement of each of these spheres of duty lies with the conscience, the subject is really
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responsible to conscience as the authority which imposes commands. For the most part Jesus accepted the popular Jewish sense of responsibility, which was essentially unanswerableness to God. For every idle word men shall give account in the day of judgment (Mt 12^39); the obligation to seek perfection rests upon men because they should be as their Father in heaven (5^0); and, though our Lord lays down strict duties to our neighbour, love to enemies, almsgiving to the poor, and feasts for the hungry, these duties are substantially obligations to God, for so men will be the children of the Father which is in heaven. All duties to neighbours clothe themselves in our Lord's mind with a new and higher sense.

After the same manner He conceives obligations for which a man is responsible to himself—these are indeed duties towards God. Men owe it to themselves to accept the higher ideal when they see it. So Jesus went preaching the Kingdom of Heaven and summoning men to repent. Blessedness, the chief aim of ordinary life and the perennial cry of self-preservation, was to be sought, according to Jesus, in such states as meekness, poverty of spirit, and peace-making—all these, indeed, being called the children of God. Responsibility to self may imply the sub-ordination of every interest to that of the Kingdom of Heaven; and the reason offered is, 'Thou shalt have treasure in heaven,' i.e. with God. (Here again, where is the meekness, where is the generosity, and responsibility for self-culture is obligation to God, who provides men with opportunities rich in moral possibility.)

In one word, duty to God absorbs duty to self and to neighbours; for self is conceived as always and everywhere the child of God; and neighbours, whether good or bad, desirable or otherwise, are conceived as deserving of our benefaction because they are all the recipients of God's loving-kindness (Mt 5^6).

Extended sphere of answerableness in the light of Christ's teaching.—It is the unique distinction of Jesus to have at once enlarged the sphere of responsibility and intensified the feeling of it. Our Lord expanded the idea of one's neighbour, who is not only the man of one's own nation, but also that of all the earth. He insisted upon an opportunity of helping (Lk 10^25-37). With the dissolution of the Good Samaritan vanish all the artificial boundaries by which men have sought to confine their neighbourly obligations. Among friends, again, the Master has included the poor, whom He obliges us to ask to our feasts, though they cannot ask us in return (Lk 14^14). A new set of obligations to hospitality are thus laid upon the disciples of Jesus. Still more wide does the horizon of responsibility become when He obliges us to include in our friendship all men, friend and foe alike, those who persecute us and those who despairfully use us (Mt 5^4). No man may be treated by us otherwise than in love. The last acre of foreign territory is brought within the sphere of human obligation when Jesus, who expects to be taken as an example, declares that He came to call not the righteous, but sinners (Mt 9^1). Among those to whom we owe duties for which we are answerable to God must be included the outcast and the degraded. So extensive a field of responsibility may be the despair of a moralist, for who is the free-chosen territory of the disciples of Jesus?

Having annexed all mankind under the obligation of love, Christ proceeds to enhance the sense of responsibility. Not only the outward act, but the inner thought has to be answered for. As well as for murder, so also for the angry thought from which murder issues, a man must hold himself answerable (Mt 5^22). Not only for licentious deed, but also for unholy imagination is there responsibility (v. 28). To offer prayer is good; but, if popularly has been the motive, only punishment can follow (9^). High and insolent deeds will provoke a just reward; but high thoughts are in no better state, for humility is a duty (18^). As a matter of fact, the obligation to be moral is an obligation to preserve the heart in purity and love, 'for out of the heart are the issues of life' (15^0). The culture of morality is the culture of the heart.

Besides extending the sphere, Jesus adds a higher quality to moral responsibility. The idea of self-preservation is enhanced when the things which are worthy of our search are meekness, mercyfulness, and humility, and the obligation to self-culture is so described by Jesus as to include the lofty conception of a sacrifice of the lower nature—a sacrifice not only desirable but necessary (Mk 8^0). In the same way the obligation to forgive enemies is enhanced. An enemy is to be forgiven not only seven times, but 'until seventy times seven' (Mt 18^2). To an unstinted and uncalculating forgiveness the disciples of the Master are bound. And, with the demand for love towards all men, human duty is raised to the height of Divine duty. And if this is the case, men are to entertain towards each other and, by inference, to all men is a love such as existed between the Father and the Son (Jn 15^0). In this way Jesus has both extended and intensified moral responsibility.

The secret of this new moral content and new moral intensity must be sought in Christ's high conception of God's fatherly relation to men. It is God's loving-kindness that obliges men to seek first the Kingdom of Heaven (Mt 6^30); the same reason is given for the duty of unlimited forgiveness (18^); a similar ground provides the obligation to a cheerful acceptance of God's will (7^9); and the same tender mercy calls men to the exercise of a gracious and thoughtful love (Lk 7^5). God loves His creatures, desiring above all that they should become His children; and in that tender, holy desire lies the secret of that sense of responsibility which Jesus has at once extended and intensified.

With the sense of childhood in God's family and in enjoyment of the Divine favour, the burden of responsibility, felt by humanity under a moral system, is greatly eased. Love makes obligation light; the love of God turns duty into pleasure. In that relation the yoke of sonship becomes light, and the strictest obligation easy. Whom Jesus makes free are free indeed (Jn 8^36). By turning the hearts of men to the love of God, Jesus at once increased the sense of responsibility and relieved its burden. How easily a child of God carries this enhanced moral obligation may be gathered from St. Paul's magnificent claim of perfect freedom in Ro 8.

The unique attitude of Jesus to the sense of human responsibility.—Jesus has somehow contrived to thrust Himself in between a man and his conscience, or—for it is the same thing—between a man and his God. At the outset of His public career every hearer recognized the moral superiority of our Lord, and felt a weighty pressure in His commands (Mt 7^7). Nor was this authority denied by Jesus; on the contrary, He emphasized His right to impose new commandments. The fathers of Israel had given certain orders, but Jesus gave new ones, introducing the opposite duty with these words, 'But I say unto you' (5^2). Passing through the gamut of accepted commandments, Jesus quietly enforced new and, in some cases, opposing responsibilities. As His public career advances, Christ identifies and expands the old moral law, demanding of men an obedience such as was due only to the supreme moral Governor of the
world. Confession of His name He describes as a moral obligation, for such He will confess before God (1 Ki 12:12). Responsibility to Himself Jesus accepts as superior to any other moral obligation; indeed, His word has the right of a moral imper- tative; so children are, if need be, to renounce duty to father and mother (14:20). The right to become a conscience to every man is fully claimed by Jesus, and men are invited to take upon themselves His yoke (Mt 11:28). Indeed, Jesus may say that the only true good can be found in life by that man who yields Him such unfailing obedience as is demanded by the conscience. The study of human responsibility this is a unique claim—a claim which was not only not resented, but openly and frankly recognized by men and women who found His authority the exact equivalent of God's. In this lonely isolation Jesus stands pre-eminent in the record of morals.

The Fourth Gospel presents this extraordinary claim in a different and more winsome light. Here Christ's sonship with God is the basis of the gospel message; and the moral obligation to Jesus takes on a universality and the sweetness of brotherly affection. Jesus does not in this Gospel so much demand obedience as the representative of the moral Governor of the world as He asks for love and trust in Himself as the complete manifestation of the heavenly Father. For obedience the warmer attitude of trust or faith is demanded. The story of the Samaritan woman is evidently told to show how this love to Jesus may come to birth (ch. 4). Honour to the person of Jesus is honour done to the Father (5:22). The will of God is conceived by Jesus as fatherhood to be given out on the Father's own terms. So (6:7). Judgment was passed on the unbeliever by the very words which Jesus spoke, for He spoke the words of the Father (12:48). The final appreciation of any man's life is decided by his attitude to the Person of the Redeemer. He that believeth not is condemned already (3:18). The crown of this high claim is the assurance that a friendly knowledge of Jesus is necessary to eternal life, i.e. to the sum of human blessing: 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent (17:3). This claim for loving trust, and this identification of Himself with the Father God in the Fourth Gospel, are clearly the brighter and more attractive equivalents for the unhesitating obedience and the identification of Himself with the Supreme moral Ruler of the world in the Synoptics. Towards Jesus every man has a duty, and on the correct sense of responsibility to Him depends the final prize of life.


DAVID YFFE.

REST-DAYS.—See SABBATH (Primitive).

RESTITUTION.—See ESCHATOLOGY, STATE OF THE DEAD.

RESTITUTION.—The term 'restitution,' as its etymology indicates, means paying back in kind, like for like, whether benefits or injuries—though very significantly for human nature it has come to be used almost exclusively in the worse sense of returning evil for evil, blow for blow. The term often signifies 'restitution,' that is to say, makes amends in connotation to 'restitution'; it, however, rather emphasizes the more friendly aspect of reciprocity, the returning good for good, and it may even be employed to convey the notion of the return of good for good, though in 1 S 15:25 it is used in the more severe sense of retaliation. Not to be obey Jesus, at whatever cost, is to miss being His disciple, and that is, in Christ's judgment, equivalent to moral suicide. Finally, Jesus wholly identifies Himself with the moral law, for He makes fidelity to His person the supreme test of men. Describing the last judgment, always considered the dread function of God alone, Christ speaks of Himself as returning in glory to judge the world, when the sole criterion of blessing or condemnation will be, 'Ye did it unto me, or Ye did it not unto me' (Mt 25:40). This moral law, the study of human responsibility this is a unique claim—a claim which was not only not resented, but openly and frankly recognized by men and women who found His authority the exact equivalent of God's. In this lonely isolation Jesus stands pre-eminent in the record of morals.

The Fourth Gospel presents this extraordinary claim in a different and more winsome light. Here Christ's sonship with God is the basis of the gospel message; and the moral obligation to Jesus takes on a universality and the sweetness of brotherly affection. Jesus does not in this Gospel so much demand obedience as the representative of the moral Governor of the world as He asks for love and trust in Himself as the complete manifestation of the heavenly Father. For obedience the warmer attitude of trust or faith is demanded. The story of the Samaritan woman is evidently told to show how this love to Jesus may come to birth (ch. 4). Honour to the person of Jesus is honour done to the Father (5:22). The will of God is conceived by Jesus as fatherhood to be given out on the Father's own terms. So (6:7). Judgment was passed on the unbeliever by the very words which Jesus spoke, for He spoke the words of the Father (12:48). The final appreciation of any man's life is decided by his attitude to the Person of the Redeemer. He that believeth not is condemned already (3:18). The crown of this high claim is the assurance that a friendly knowledge of Jesus is necessary to eternal life, i.e. to the sum of human blessing: 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent (17:3). This claim for loving trust, and this identification of Himself with the Father God in the Fourth Gospel, are clearly the brighter and more attractive equivalents for the unhesitating obedience and the identification of Himself with the Supreme moral Ruler of the world in the Synoptics. Towards Jesus every man has a duty, and on the correct sense of responsibility to Him depends the final prize of life.


DAVID YFFE.
illustrations and its most significant application in the domain of international commerce. Here it is apt to arise whenever a nation sets up tariff barriers which obstruct intercourse with the adverse object of promoting certain home industries by the exclusion of foreign competition.

The direct economic result of this fiscal policy is to diminish foreign trade, to stimulate the production at home of certain kinds of goods previously imported, and to check the exportation for foreign consumption by their foreign commercial rivals.

Naturally this proceeding raises a feeling of resentment and wrong in the countries whose trade is injured, which often finds vent by calling into existence retaliatory tariffs. The retaliatory spirit is favoured by the apparently militant attitude of the protective country, and the cry is raised, 'They strike us with their tariffs; let us strike them back again.' The movement gains support from some who, while professedly believers in free trade, yet entertain doubts as to the advantage of what is described as 'one-sided' free trade. Retaliation is then adopted either for the purpose of punishment, and to gratify the feeling of resentment, or with the deliberate aim of placing the offending nation in a position of disadvantage and compelling it to reduce the objectionable tariff. In either case the real object of trading, which is the satisfaction of wants by means of imports, is lost sight of, and the attention is riveted on exporting. The tariff of A checks the exports of B to A; this is regarded by B as a hostile act, and one to be met with a retaliatory tariff, which will hit A back; perhaps it may become a basis for bargaining with A and for inducing A to lower the tariff in some degree. Both countries alike in this conflict overlook the fundamental fact that the whole object of trading is to effect the greatest satisfaction and the amount of enjoyment by obtaining commodities on the best terms; also that exchange (whether home or foreign) increases this power by adding to the productivity of labour, and eases life by enabling individuals to use their own skill and natural gifts to the fullest advantage. They further ignore the fact that their own products are the means by which alone they can purchase the products of others, and that the highest efficiency for both parties is attained by specialization of labour and the exchange of commodities for one another. The deeper analysis of the advantages of trading places the emphasis upon imports of desirable things, for the obtaining of which exports must be offered in exchange. Trading is seen to be thus a mutual benefit; the relative superfluities of each country are given in exchange for the cheaper or more desirable products of other countries; and, as the exchange is voluntary, it will not take place unless both countries find their benefit therein. Protective tariffs, by limiting this power, lower efficiency and injure the country which institutes them, and by obstructing their own products, block its own powers of consumption. Retaliation, whether as a penalty or for gaining concessions, means the adoption of the same tariff policy as is resented in the foreign country, which has had the same result. And any sense can it be attached to an illogical proceeding and a delusion. For, if tariffs are beneficial to the nations that impose them, why should they ever remove them? If they are not beneficial, but are admitted to be an economic blunder, why should other nations copy that blunder? The only reasonable answer is to put up barriers that are mischievous, merely in order to lower them under a compact with other nations to do the same? The defence is usually on political grounds, but experience has fully demonstrated two invariable results of this tariff policy: (1) that, when tariffs have once been adopted, it is extremely difficult to remove them, since interests are created that are always opposed to their removal, and (2) since tariff legislation is deemed an unfriendly proceeding on the part of those who thus exclude the goods of other countries, it creates ill-feeling, provokes resentment, and leads to retaliation and tariff wars, which destroy trade and produce conditions that may incite to other forms of strife. Notwithstanding the fact that retaliation is a double-edged weapon, recoiling upon those who use it, it has been employed very frequently, and by most civilized nations.

3. An economic fallacy. One of the most cogent arguments for the imposition of tariffs is the erroneous belief that taxes may be extracted from foreigners by means of duties on imports. Even were it the fact that the exporter paid the duty by a reduction of price (which can, however, occur only in the very exceptional circumstance that the importing country possesses a market monopoly), a system by which two nations levy taxation upon each other can be only a very expensive and clumsy system of raising revenue, and one that inevitably offends every canon of taxation.

Much of the prevalent fallacy respecting international trading rests on the mistaken supposition that trade is a species of gambling, in which the gains of one nation are invariably made at the expense of another. When it is fully realized that all trade is but exchange, entered into voluntarily on both sides because it is profitable, and further that different countries can secure a larger amount of enjoyment from their industrial efforts by devoting themselves more exclusively to those tasks in which they respectively excel, then only will the belief in retaliation as an instrument for regulating foreign trade disappear.

4. Evils of protective tariffs. It should be noticed that all tariffs of a protective character are a cause of great and unproductive expense; they involve elaborate machinery for the collection of duties that realize little as revenue; and, since they tend to call forth evasion and smuggling, they also call into existence other modes of expenditure which are necessarily incurred to check and punish those that import into the country. It is convincingly proved in connexion with protective tariffs than their demoralizing influence upon the public; they tend to become the instruments of persons unscrupulous in the pursuit of gain, who seek to employ them as means for securing monopolies.

It is admitted that retaliatory methods do often lead to the adoption of commercial treaties between nations, which by special mutual concessions reduce in some degree the mischief created by the tariffs; but, inasmuch as the operation of these treaties is limited to certain countries, they generally give offence to countries excluded from them, and thereby give rise to other retaliatory tariffs by those nations; the favoured nation system thus tends to produce different results in the two directions. Britain has long been led to believe that an antecedent to commercial treaties; most countries raise some part of their public revenue from duties upon luxuries, imported or home-produced; e.g., Britain raises revenue upon imported wines and spirits. There is scope for arrangement with nations already tariffed if such of these duties as may be found to act in a peculiarly onerous manner, without entering upon the unprofitable field of protective duties. Thus retaliation or reciprocity is possible even through the agency of revenue duties, though it is much
more difficult in application, limited in scope, and less effective, since the objects of taxation in such cases are generally either luxuries or monopoly products.

5. After-war relations. The fierce conflict in which Germany was involved by reason of her violent and unprovoked attempt at conquest has for a time destroyed all possibility of trade relations between her and those whom she has made enemies.

The question has been raised. Will trade relations be renewed after peace? Does not this war demonstrate the dangers of international trading and dependence upon other countries for products? Is it not wiser and more economic to be self-contained and independent, especially for a great nation with colonies which produce many necessaries and are capable of constituting a large market for her manufacturers? Shall we not retaliate upon Germany by refusing trade relations after peace has been proclaimed and rather develop our own resources and independence?

Anti-Free Traders have seized the opportunity to advocate this principle on the ground that it will be economic by developing our own resources, and will enrich the country by the growth of many industries for whose products we have hitherto depended upon Germany.

To discuss this project is to repeat the whole argument about how economic advantages of which have been demonstrated.

War is by its nature destructive, abnormal, wasteful; it admits of no economic justification; it is based upon hostility, and its aim is utterly uneconomic. If enmity and hostility between nations were to become the chronic relations of any, there would be no object in discussing the advantages of trade, for such trade could not exist. But a different set of conditions is created by peace. Well-being, progress, and development are then the aim. Progress demands specialization of faculty and resources, and implies exchange and mutual dependence; and it can be shown that the wider the area of economic relations the greater the economic gain. Therefore no argument against free trading can be deduced from a state of war.

The only problem now is how economic peace may be renewed after the war with a nation which has committed such gross offences against civilization and morality. It is conceivable that Britons might decline trade relations with a nation guilty of such depravity on moral grounds and from a feeling of resentment. This is a different motive from that which demands that trade with Germany should be checked in the economic interests of Great Britain. Any limitations of free exchange must be a reduction of economic advantage and a loss; but individuals and nations may be willing to suffer loss for conscience’ sake. Increase in trade is not the only aspiration of nations, or indeed the highest; its benefits stand after those of morality. Economic advantages, however, tend on the whole to peaceful relations among nations which are closely dependent on one another; therefore, the bitter feelings created by German methods of war remain, they will be an impediment to renewed trade relations, and thus may favour the views of protectionists; this does not denigrate the economic desirability of fiscal retaliation; it is possible to reconcile the bitterness and distrust created by German aims and methods. When peace is assured and time shall have modified these bitter feelings, the advantages of inter-trading will assert themselves. Free trading is based on the assumption that peace and international co-operation postulates peace and makes for peace. But men will often sacrifice profit rather than deal with those whom they distrust.

6. It is almost superfluous to add that retaliation in the rarer and nobler form of reciprocity in good works can result only in mutual benefit and esteem, whether between individuals or between nations; it tends to the creation of an entente cordiale, which is a source of confidence, goodwill, and humanely productive co-operation and material well-being to all whom it embraces.


G. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

RETEATS.—The object of a retreat is that a soul in solitude with God may learn more of His being and truth and will, and may become more pure and consecrated to Him and His service. Some effect has been given to the underlying principle in many forms of religion. There are instances both in the OT and in the NT. In the early Church and in the Middle Ages the advantages of solitude for communing with God were abundantly recognized. But the systematization of retreats and the organization of monasteries was to be a major development in the history of Christianity. Some of the chief purposes are among the religious practices which are due to the Counter-Reformation. The beginning was in the method described in the *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola* (v. g.).

The plan of the *Exercises* contemplates a period of four weeks, the word ‘week’ indicating not necessarily seven days but such a time as may be needed for the course of meditations in consideration of the spiritual faculties and condition of the person making the retreat. The plan contemplates the disposal of time and rules for occupations and prayer. The meditations for the first week, after defining the end of man to be the service of God, are on sin and on the separation of salvation in the first and second week, on the incarnation and the events of our Lord’s earthly life as far as the *Annunciation* in the third week and the *Last Supper* in the fourth week are considered. The third week are on the *Lord’s Supper*, the *Agony in the Garden*, the *Arrest*, the *Trial and Condemnation*, the *Crucifixion* and death, the *Burial*. Those for the fourth week are upon the *Resurrection*, the *Appearance* after the *Resurrection*, and the *Ascension*. The series for the first week concerns the *Purgative* Way, the object of which is to increase hatred of sin and to deepen penitence. Those for the second and third weeks concern the *Illuminative Way*, and the object is to set before the soul the example of Christ and to lead it to closer imitation of Him. That for the fourth week concerns the *Unitive Way*, which has as its aim to bring the soul into closer union with Him. An important place is filled in the second week by the consideration of the two stands under which man has the choice of free will—first, the first that of Christ, the other that of the devil; and of the three classes of (1) those who are reluctant to bear the consequences of following Christ and desire to postpone the sacrifices with the expectation of receiving an equivalent of benefit, (2) those who are not of the opinion, and (3) those who are prepared at once to make all the sacrifices which the following of Him may require. The director is instructed to vary the details and the proportion in the use of the *Exercises* according to the capacities and the needs of the person using them.

In the system founded by St. Ignatius Loyola a retreat of eight days usually opens by silence and prayer with meditations on the *Exercises* was a preliminary to entrance into the Society of Jesus; a retreat of eight days similarly based on the *Exercises* became a yearly custom in the Society; and retreats were afterwards held more frequently and on a larger scale than its members. Following the example of St. Ignatius, many leaders in religious life promoted retreats for clergy and the laity, men and women. Notable among these were St. Charles Borromeo,
REUCHLIN

St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, Pierre de Bérulle, and Jean Jacques Olier. During the 17th cent. the use of retreats spread rapidly throughout the Roman Catholic Church. In the closing years of the 19th cent. and the early years of the 20th a great development took place, beginning in France and extending thence to Belgium, Holland, England, and elsewhere, by which retreats, from having been for the most part confined to clergy or lay people of special devotion or passing through some special crisis in life, came to be extended to large multitudes and especially to men and boys, women and girls, of the working class or leisure. These latter had hitherto been a less severe character than the earlier retreats, lasting for a shorter time, such as three days or one day, with times for conversation and recreation allowed.

Retreats of a definite character were introduced in the Church of Flanders soon after the middle of the 19th cent. In Feb. 1836 a retreat for clergy, lasting from Monday to Saturday in one week, was held at Chislehurst under the auspices of the Society of the Holy Cross. In July 1856 a retreat for clergy, lasting for the same time, was held in St. John's house, London. Some element in both these retreats was that, in addition to their devotional setting and practices, there were conferences on theological and spiritual subjects. One result of the Oxford Movement many years ago was the founding of many devout laymen and women who formed the practice of making a retreat from time to time. The general features of these retreats were taken from those customary in the Church of Rome. In many cases they have lasted for three or four days; there have been two or three or four addresses on each day; silence has been preserved throughout; the time has been devoted to prayer and communion with God. Much work in promoting such retreats was due to the Society of St. John the Evangelist at Cowley and its first superior, R. M. Benson, and to the English sisterhoods. Retreats for business men from Saturday night to Monday morning have long been a prominent part of the work of the St. Paul's Lecture Society at St. Paul's Cathedral. In the 20th cent. many retreats and devotional gatherings or conventions between religious orders to whose retreats have been organized on a wider scale.

In the last few years the meetings for spiritual help and edification which have long been customary among Nonconformists have in some cases assumed a form more like that of a retreat, though usually without the continuous silence and with discussions or conferences forming part. There have been instances of these among the Wesleyans, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists.

Experience has shown the high practical value of retreats in their influence on spiritual life. The present tendency is largely to extend their sphere and to lessen their intensity. Obviously there is need of great differences as to their length and as to the degree of completeness which is to be observed in the withdrawal from the world and its ordinary occupations which is their most distinctive feature. The severity which may be most valuable for those called to special kinds of life, and for those far advanced in the use of prayer, would only be crippling to many of those living an ordinary life. It is often found that the more complete and severe retreats should be maintained for those for whom they are suitable; and the special point of a retreat is lost unless the devotion in it is sustained and empowered by continued solitude of the soul with God.


RETribution.—See REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, ESCHATOLOGY.

REUCHLIN.—Joannes Reuchlin (Cappino) was a pioneer and a leader of the humanist movement in the early stages of the Renaissance, especially as regards the study of Hebrew. He was a man of varied gifts, interests, and activities—a striking and attractive personality. He was an accomplished scholar of Greek and Hebrew, and wrote important works on these subjects; he was a professional lawyer and held appointments as a judge; he was a man of affairs and acted as confidential adviser and agent of some of the leading German princes.

He was born at Pforzheim in Baden, 22nd Feb. 1455; his father was an official of the Dominican monastery there; his domestic studies included a grounding in Greek literature. For a time he was a student at the university of Ingolstadt, where he was initiated into the classics. After a brief stay at the University of Freiburg, he was appointed in 1475 companion and tutor to Eberhard, son of the Burgomaster of Baden, and accompanied his pupil to the University of Paris. Here he began Greek, was a pupil of E. Pico della Mirandola, and became a member of the order of Jesus, the *Ordre des Frères de la Grande Cité* of the *Société de la Confrérie de l'Esprit Saint*. He was ordained priest in 1478. Returning to the University of Basel, he took his B.A. in 1475 and his M.A. in 1477. He studied Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and ethics with Sebastian Brant and John Wessel, and began his career as a public teacher by lecturing on the Greek language and on Aristotle in the original. He then returned to Paris for a while, and read Greek with George Hieronymus. Next he adopted law as a profession, and studied at the University of Orleans in 1478-79, taking his LL.B. in the latter year, and maintaining himself by teaching Greek and Latin. In 1481 he was made magistrate of his native city and university by the Duke of Baden.

He now went to Tübingen, intending to become a lecturer there, but, on the invitation of Count Eberhard of Wurttemberg, he became connected with the university of Heidelberg. From this point till 1520—he till towards the close of his life—he continued in such employment and in the pursuit of the legal profession. He wrote a number of treatises, and was a doctor of laws. He remained with Eberhard at Stuttgart till the death of the latter in 1496. Reuchlin's marriage may probably be placed either in this period; he had no children, but was greatly attached to his sister's grandson, Melanchthon. In 1518 he recommended Melanchthon to a post at Wittenberg, and brought him into connexion with Luther. Later, however, Reuchlin's attitude towards Luther was unsympathetic.

The political and legal duties did not prevent Reuchlin from continuing his work as a scholar. Indeed, his journeys in the service of his patrons gave him fresh opportunities of study and brought him into contact with many of the most distinguished leaders of literature and learning. He accompanied Graf Heinrich of Wurttemberg in his tour through France and Rome, came under the influence of the brilliant scholars of the Medicus Academy and especially of Pico della Mirandola, and was invited to keep the manuscripts of the Greeks, John Argyropulos and Demetrius Chalkondyles. From about 1485 he was busy studying Hebrew; in 1492 he went on a mission to the Emperor to press the cause of Hebrew study and a patent of nobility. On this and on a later visit to the imperial court he studied Hebrew with a court physician, a learned Jew, Jacob de Mercis Loius, and utilized his newly-acquired knowledge to study the Kabbala; later, while visiting Rome in 1495, he was indebted for further instruction in Hebrew to the Jew, Obadiah of Rome.

On the death of his patron in 1496 Reuchlin lost the favour of the court of Wurttemberg. He had announced his intention of entering into the service of the Elector Philip. A revolution in 1498 brought him back to Wurttemberg, where he held an important appointment till 1513, when he resigned it, and devoted himself to scholarship for the remainder of his life, having his home in the neighbourhood of Stuttgart—except that in 1520 he was Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt.

LITERATURE.—P. Debuchy, *Les Retreats* and *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, in CE xvi. 793-797, iv. 252-259; "Capullo," as an alternative name, was Gracized from Reuchlin, after the fashion of the times; it did not, however, supersede the original, as *Melanchthon's old Schwartzed,*
under the auspices of William, Duke of Bavaria, and in the winter of 1531–2 he lectured at Tübingen. In the early summer of 1532 he died at Bad Liebenzell, whither he had gone for his health.

2. The Reuchlin controversy.—Unfortunately the last years of Reuchlin’s life, from 1509, were harassed by the famous controversy which is named after him, but in which he was involved without any fault of his own. He supported, as Johann Pfefferkorn of Cologne, auxiliaries for the conversion of his fellow-countrymen, initiated a movement to deprive the Jews of all their books except the OT. He asked Reuchlin for his support, but was refused; a little later the emperor, in consultation with the archbishop of Mainz to form a commission of scholars, including Reuchlin, to report upon the matter. Eventually the archbishop obtained written opinions from the members of the commission; most of them were favourable to Pfefferkorn, but Reuchlin was adverse, adorned with the usual personalities. The two antagonists mutually accused each other of heresy and appealed to the emperor, the pope, the universities, and other authorities. The universities condemned the endeavours of the pope and the pope sought to mediate; Reuchlin was warmly supported by the humanists in the Epistles Obscurorum Virorum (Tübingen, 1514–17) and in other writings. He had also the enthusiastic support of Luther and Karlstadt. The dispute took the shape of high controversy, with varying fortunes till 1520. Decisions were given in favour of Reuchlin at Rome in 1516 and at Frankfort in 1520; the former finding was quashed, the latter reversed by the pope. In 1517 Luther had published his Ninety-Five Theses, and thus his controversy was derevivated from Reuchlin. In the rising storm caused by Luther’s agitation, however, the minor controversy was lost sight of, and the veteran scholar was left in peace for his few remaining days.

3. Chief works.—Reuchlin’s more important works may be classified as follows:

(a) Linguistic.—A Latin dictionary, Vocabularius Brasile-
 bogus, 25 editions between 1475 and 1504; de Rudimentis Hebraicae, a Hebrew lexicon and grammar, first published in 1506.

(b) Mystic.—De Verbo Mirifico (1494), de Arte Cobalssica (1517), which aimed at the conversion of the Kabbala to Christianity and to apply it in the interest of apologetics.1 These works are more literary curiosities, and have not altogether the seriousness of the latter. It was the intention to point out that the Hebrew name of Jesus was formed of the constituents of Jehovah—Nisw with the addition of the third letter Shin—Niswhah.

(c) Controversial.—Mainly in connexion with Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans, especially Aufendiepfe (1511), which includes his report to the archbishop of Cologne on the question of the consecration of Jewish priests. Pfefferkorn had previously written Judainenpe (1507), a full and moderate discussion of the Jews, and Handspeeiid wider gegen die Juden (1511), an attack on Reuchlin.

(d) Variae.—A pamphlet, Liber Compositorum de Arte Preica, mentioned by E. C. Achelis as a pioneer work in modern printing, and two Latin comedies, Serpens and Hennoa, in the style of Terence.

4. Services to Hebrew and Greek Learning.—The chief importance of Reuchlin for the history of religion lies in the services that he rendered to the study of Hebrew and in the fact that he bore the initial blow from without against great contributions of the humanists and the observantists; these two features of his work were closely connected, but it is convenient to treat them separately.

Since the time of Jerome Hebrew learning had been rare among Western Christians, though it flourished in the East. In the early 15th century occasional, occasionally appeared Christian scholars, especially converts from Judaism, who were proficient in Hebrew.

Of. C. Jell, in Cambridge Modern History, i. 572.


The most distinguished among the immediate predecessors of Reuchlin were John Wessel (1429–90) and Pico della Mirandola (1463–94). Reuchlin owed much to their influence. But he himself was the ‘Father of Hebrew philology amongst Christians’. His History of the Jews stands forth with great clarity of judgment. He was also characterized by Melanchthon as entitled to the highest praise from the Church and from all posterity, i.e. as an epoch-making book.

But Reuchlin’s zeal for Hebrew learning had effects far broader than its immediate objects; nor was his influence confined to such studies. He did much to promote the study of Greek, even in his early days at Basel his activity provoked the hostility of observants, who objected to the language as impious and schismatic—i.e. that of the ungodly Church. The controversy involved questions that are permanently crucial for religion. Here, as often since, matters that primarily concerned the OT provided a field of battle on which larger issues were fought out. In supporting Reuchlin, those who thought as Reuchlin did thought of the work and learning against the observantist demand that nothing should be taught or published that they chose to consider at variance with traditional orthodoxy—that the ignorance of the dark ages and of the unenlightened multitude should determine how far scholarship should be tolerated. As A. Dull says, ‘Greets is not wrong when he counts his fellow Jews as largely responsible for the Reformation. He writes (Hist. of the Jews, Eng. tr., London, 1911, pp. 121–122; H. Halman, Introd. to the Literature of Europe, ed. 1872, i. ch. iii. pp. 95, 96, 97, 128, 149, p. 54: The Cambridge Modern History, i. The Renaissance, Cambridge, 1902, 573 ff., 605 ff., 637, 604, ii. The Reformation, 1517, 1529, 1642), W. H. Bennett, REVELATION.—1. What is the meaning of revelation?—The word stands either (a) for the process by which God makes known to man the truth which he requires, or (b) for the body of truth which he in his bestowal of it reveals. This latter presupposes the existence both of a living God, able and willing to bestow it, and of intelligent beings, able to receive and to make use of it. Thus, though revelation, as will presently be seen, is God’s gift to the world, to know it as revelation is man’s own work.

2. How does man’s need of revelation come to be felt?—It is felt in face of the practical problems which life presents to him. Man is essentially a religious being, but his desire for union and communion with his god is in close connexion with his practical needs. Just as he desires to make use of a power greater than his own, so he desires to make use of a knowledge greater than his own. Much that desires to know finds himself unable to discover, and he turns to his god to seek knowledge which he could not himself discover. This was in the early days of Hebrew history. Saul, seeking his father’s asses, David, uncertain as to the intentions of the men of Kihlah, Ahab, anxious as to the issue of the coming campaign, alike turned to the god who could not themselves discover (1 S 9: 23; 1 K 22: 23).

Moreover, even when the knowledge which man desires is the knowledge of the
will of his god, his purpose in seeking for it is at first equally practical. Believing that such mutual blessings are to be derived from God, harvest and victory in war are dependent upon good relations with his god, he desires to know what his god requires of him in order that those good relations may continue, if they exist, or be restored, if they have been interrupted (cf., e.g., 2 S 217). Provided this is done, God will reveal to him of truth or righteousness for the sake of righteousness; he desires both because, for practical ends, he desires the favour of his god. Now it is important to observe the practical character of the desire for revelation, because it continues almost unaltered throughout human history. Men are made to ‘seek God,’ and ‘feel after him,’ like children feeling for their parents in the night (Ac 1779), because they are made dependent upon God and unable to do without Him. As, in the long course of history, men have risen to higher things, far deeper needs than those of which the savage is conscious have come into view. Though the old selfish desire for supernatural information still remains to-day, and is ministered to by the palmist and the crystal-gazer, it is for nobler ends than that of the man and woman who feel that the truth is the mystery of the world and the contradictions of their own nature, the mysteries of sin and sorrow and pain and death. They desire to know God and His purpose, that they may understand their lives and that their whole lives may make sense of it. But even here the desire for revelation is still mainly practical. Truth for truth’s sake may be the watchword of the scholar, but truth for life’s sake is the watchword of the ordinary man. He cannot say, with Browning’s Giuseppe, ‘It is the very thing I want,’ and, like the child, the mind can discover nothing by its own activity; indeed, apart from the material given to it, there could be no activity of the mind at all. The effort of the mystic to empty his mind of all its existing content is but an effort to make room for a new content, which he looks to God directly to bestow. The pageant of nature and of history, on the other hand, objective as it is, derives all its meaning from the interpretation which the mind gives to it. Though ‘the heavens declare the glory of God’ (Ps 19), they declare it only to the mind of man; the cow in the pasture sees the same spectacle, and makes nothing of it.

3. Is such revelation possible or verifiable?—This is a question which haunts the minds of many who desire it. How can the secret of the universe—so vast in space and time—be made known to the minds of men? The eye can see only what it brings with it the power of seeing. Is it possible that any conception of God and His ways which our minds can grasp can correspond to the reality? To this difficulty there are two answers to be given. First, our knowledge of the kingdom of God is not merely to take a low view of our own nature; it is, in fact, also to take a low view of His. It is to deny to Him the power of self-revelation, and with it the power of influence which is, in fact, His. If we claim to know God perfectly; indeed, it is in the unfathomability of His nature that we find one great source of our reverence for Him. Our knowledge of God is at best a theologia viatorum, not a theologia bentorum. Our knowledge of God may none the less be true, as far as it goes, and be capable of a growth to which no limit can be set. Our instinctive longing after God is itself a prophecy of its satisfaction; God ‘creates the love to reward the love’; we can hardly believe that the instinct would have survived, had it not been in touch with reality. (b) The emperor’s new clothes will not be known must be decided, as Bacon says, not by arguing, but by trying. Religion starts with the assumption that God is to be known, science starts with the assumption that the world is to be known, both are haunted by the fruitfulness of the results of observation. Of course it is always possible to suggest that our apparent knowledge may not be real knowledge, since it is necessarily relative to the mind which claims it. But, if we reject such scepticism in the sphere of physics, and both the President and the Professor of Theology of the University of Chicago (1959), while the highest revelation which the Bible records is in the best sense natural. If it is natural for God to be revealed in human history as a whole, so is it for Him to be specially revealed in the history of the people brought nearest to Him, and, above all, in the history and experience of His Son. If it is natural that the
consciousness of all should witness to God, so is it that no more abundant witness should be borne by the consciousness of the Soul that knew no sin.

Indeed, the supposed 'natural' basis of religion is inseparable from the basis which, in distinction from it, is described as 'revealed.' The world of nature and of history is a world in which the Lord, and the heathen both before and after His coming, have been prominent actors, and human consciousness is only seen at its highest in the consciousness of the Lord. Thus it is that 'natural religion' ever maintains but a precarious existence when 'revealed' and not by any one.

When, then, did Helenus, or any one, have come to know God through their national experience long before they recognized that the heavens declared His glory, and it is ever those who have seen 'the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Co 4) that most easily recognize and interpret His action in nature and in history.

Are there, then, any real distinctions to be borne in mind, as we consider the subject before us? There is one of the greatest importance—the distinction between the divine revelation itself and the interpretation, the reception, of it. All revelation ultimately depends upon the will of God. But its effectiveness does not depend upon God's will alone; man has his part to play in seeking after it, in preparing himself for it, in welcoming it, yielding himself to it. It is as if the reality and interplay of these two elements that the acquisition of truth depends both for the race and for the individual. Neither can be ignored without misunderstanding the whole. Thus (a) the initiative is always God's. It belongs to the Lord to declare Himself, or in other words, how He is, and what He is. If He reveals Himself to one nation more fully than to another, and to one person more fully than to another, that belongs to God's 'management of His household' (Eph 1) ; we cannot, in view of the facts of history, ascribe it altogether to a special responsiveness in those for the time specially favoured. It was not for lack of trying that 'in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom knew not God' (1 Co 2), nor was it as the reward of a great spiritual effort on the part of Israel. Revelation is God's act which He reveals to man. But (b) the prophets and the Lord of the prophets ever declare: 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight' (Mt 11). This is not to say that God's action is arbitrary, or that we may not seek to understand it, so far as we may. It is only to say that God's action depends upon God's will, not in contrast with His wisdom (for there can be no such contrast), but in contrast with human effort and desert. But (c) to say this is in no wise to deny the importance of human effort and response. Though it is for God to bestow the light, it is for man to open his eyes and ears to that measure of revelation which by the divine good pleasure is vouchsafed to him. It is 'he that hath ears to hear' that will hear, and to him that hath more will be given (Mt 13). It is not merely that effort and attention are required for the attainment of any knowledge; there is more than this. Things must be known to be looked for. Helenus therefore 'knew not', for if he had known, he would not have been Arcanum (Jn 3). All revelation of character demands a certain power of appreciation in those to whom the revelation is made. 'The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him' (Ps 25), and 'every one that doeth all hideth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be reproved' (Jn 3). Moreover, there is another fact, which is here important. As we shall presently see, divine revelation without needs ever has to be supplemented by divine inspiration within; and, though revelation may fall, like the rain, upon the evil and the good, with inspiration it is not so. Now it is upon these two facts taken together—the good pleasure of God and the response of man—that the course of revelation has depended. God has spoken as He has seen well to speak, but also 'as men were able to hear it' (Mk 4). He has spoken 'by divers portions and in divers manners' (He 1), not only because it is His way to proceed step by step, but also because different portions and different methods of truth, though it may at first be received in isolation, is constant with each other element; and, when the fuller revelation is given, the fragments fall, each into its true place, and throw light upon one another.

Accommodation in revelation. It is precisely the fact that revelation is not always straightforward in the sense of receiving it that should give us confidence in its reality. All communication between a higher and a lower mind demands a certain accommodation. The teaching which a parent gives to a child must be expressed in the child's language, and must suit itself to the child's thought. But, a parent will not attempt to tell his child all that he knows, nor will he try at once to correct all the child's errors, or hinder the exercise of the child's independent action. But in a way he may in any way mislead the child. Its whole purpose is to convey as clearly as possible such truth as he immediately needs, without confusion but with such explanation and development as after a birth in the family, a child is told that God has sent him a new little brother, he is told both what is entirely true and exactly what he needs to know for the guidance of his own thought and conduct. No doubt the child will picture the arrival of the gift in his own way; he may even, in passing on to another what he has been told, fail to distinguish between what he has been told and the way in which he has pictured it. All this shows that it is important. It is important that the truth, and no subsequent enlargement of his knowledge will affect it; rather, it will lead the child to admire the more wisdom of God in the manner of accommodation. But we shall take it, and proceed to fuller, and something more. Now so it is with divine revelation. It is wholly accommodated to human capacity; it does not correct all errors at once, or completely version the meaning of the message. As with the parent, we shall take in any way misunderstood, which is the result of a child's reception of the message entrusted to Amos. The knowledge of God, like all knowledge, is at first confused to the few, and bestowed by methods by which only the child's thought can be corrected; and when the thought is formed, it is by degrees, by the repetition of the message, by renewal of the message, is by the repetition of the message, by renewal of the message. And, when the fuller revelation is given, then, the fragments fall, each into its true place, and throw light upon another.

5. How has revelation actually come to us?—It is actual revelation that best shows us both its meaning and its possibility. What has been done
it was possible to do, while much that may seem possible to us may not actually be so. Three points are made by the writer: (a) Revelation is primarily of God's reality, character, and purpose. All other revelation is subordinate to this, and to a large extent included within it. (b) Revelation is made in act rather than in word. God reveals Himself by what He does, and the trend of His purpose is fulfilled through the action of God. The word of God is important in its own place. Inspiration (g.r.) goes hand in hand with revelation. The word of God, spoken by the prophets, points to the facts and declares their significance. (c) Revelation culminates in Christ and the Spirit-bearer Church, who, at once, reveals in act God's reality, character, and purpose, and declare it in word. In them God's purpose is partially fulfilled and also moves forward to complete fulfillment.

(a) Revelation centres from the first in God's adding Name, or revealed character, and that Kingdom of God which it is His purpose to establish. It has not primarily consisted in the promulgation of a code of laws to be obeyed without understanding their purpose, or in the conveyance of information, guaranteed by miracles, as to the facts of future events. The primary purpose revealed has been Himself and the purpose for which He is working, though, in revealing these, He has necessarily revealed what we must be and do in order to co-operate with Him, and the future which union with Him necessarily assures to us. When St. Paul maintained that the law and the prophetic code, together, were not primarily truths to be taught and explained, but a means by which the law and the law secondary (Gal 3:15-24), he was profoundly true to the highest teaching of the OT. All that is highest in the moral appeals of law-giver and prophet witnesses to this. The children of Israel, the ruler and his people (Lv 18), and merciful because their God is merciful (Dt 10:18); the claim of God upon the obedience of His people ever rests upon the great things that He has done for them, and the great things that He still will do (Is 12:4; Hos 14:6). So it was with the confident expectation of the Resurrection and the future life of bliss arose among the people of God. It did not rest upon any detailed picture of the future drawn by an infallible hand; it rested upon the knowledge that had been acquired of the justice and faithfulness of God, and of all the love that God had shown towards them. The purpose was of God not of the dead, but of the living, and the bond that had been formed with Him was one which time and death had no power to break (Ps 40:4-6; 73:21-28; Is 25:8-9). The same characteristic of revelation appears from John's saying that the Lord and continued in the Church. The Lord by word and act is essentially the Revealer of the Father (Jn 14), the Declarer of the Name of God (17), and the Preacher of the Kingdom of God. His moral teaching is no legal code, but, like the highest teaching of the OT, rests upon the character of God and the hope of the future (Mt 5:45-48; Lk 12:32-34), while the fulfilment of the hope for the individual is bound up with union with God through the Lord Himself (Jn 9:27; 16:23).

(b) Existence and character are made known by act, so that purpose comes to be understood by the partial and promissory fulfilment of the purpose itself. To the Hebrews God was revealed in the facts of their history and experience. Though at first they may have thought of their God much as others, the special importance and prominence given to the facts convinced them that He was far other than the gods of the heathen. He had a purpose, and in the working out of His purpose there was nothing that could say Him nay. He had brought them out of Egypt with a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm; He had planted them in their own land. He had revealed His will, and showed Himself able to vindicate it when they set it aside. And all through their history this revelation of God by acts of His action went on. Chasten His people He might with awful severity, but He would never destroy them. That would be to abandon His purpose. Always 'the remnant' was left to 'take root downward, and bear fruit upward' (Is 57:17). So by the witness of facts the Hebrews could know God. The very name of Jehovah, Jahweh, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation' (Ex 34:6). So it was with the divine purpose of establishing the divine kingdom. God revealed His purpose to establish it by actually establishing it in Israel, so far as the obstinacy of His people allowed, and extending it through Israel over others, so far as Israel was ready to be the instrument of its extension both by doing and by suffering. But to say this is not to say that the facts were left to speak for themselves alone. The acts without words are misunderstood. In Israel's history revelation went hand in hand with inspiration, the act of God with the word of God. At each crisis of Israel's history the prophet was raised up and inspired to declare the Name of God and the meaning of His purpose, and to interpret His action. So in the manifestation of God's ripening purpose. To the inspired vision of the prophets the divine purpose ever shines through the darkest facts of the present. What God has done in the past gives light to what He is doing, and the very disasters which human willfulness occasions reveal what God must one day make of men, if they are to be the instruments of His unaltering purpose. Nowhere do we see this more plainly than in the promise of the Christ. It is the Kingdom of a Christ, that the prophets primarily proclaim; but, as the facts of Israel's history make clear the divine method of working through great personalities for the benefit of the community, the great personalities whom God raises up to act and to suffer for His people become the agents of the action of God. The great Actor, the great Sufferer, whom God must yet raise up.

Nor (c) is there any change in God's method when the Christ appears, lives and acts, suffers and is glorified. In one aspect the Christ is the greatest of the prophets, and in another, the Prophet, He is the Spirit-bearer body, is the abiding witness to the Name and purpose of God. But in another both the Christ and the Church are God-revealing facts. The mighty works of the Lord's earthly life are not so much external proofs of a revelation which is distinct from them as themselves the revelation. The Lord reveals the Father, because in His activity the Father is seen actually at work (Jn 14:8-12). If a Kingdom is proclaimed in which all evil is to pass away, its reality is certified by the present operation of the power of the Kingdom in the Lord and the Church (Acts 2:17-18). When the Lord's life is crowned by His death and glorification, by the gift of the Spirit and the transformation of the Church, both the Name and the Kingdom of God are revealed far more perfectly. It is through the facts whereby God Himself is seen 'in Christ reconciling the world unto himself' (2 Co 5:19). He is seen to be One who saves by taking and removing the burden of human sin, lifting men up by the communication of Himself. Sin is found to be actually removed and the Spirit given. The Kingdom is assured in the future, because in the Church it is found
already existing, and He who has begun "a good work... will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ..." (Phil. 1:6). Among the very earliest of the books of the NT, we read that 'God is love,' the words are no mysteries. Oracle resting upon St. John's authority; they are the summary expression of all that, in the experience of the Church, God has been found to be (1 Jn 4:8). It is this revelation in fact that the gift of the Spirit of God inspires the Church in word to declare. The whole purpose of the gift of the Spirit, as the Fourth Gospel describes it, is not to make a new revelation, but to light up, and enable the Church to declare, the revelation already made in the Christ Himself and the facts of His experience. The Spirit is to take of the things of Christ, to declare the meaning of the great redeeming acts, which, when the Lord spoke, were still 'to come' (Jn 16:9), and through them all to tell men 'plainly of the Father' (10:16). That conviction of the world which the Spirit is to bring about is a conviction that will rest upon an inspired witness to revealing facts (10:11). It is here that the culmination of divine revelation lies. The revelation contained in the person and works of the Lord and the present experience of the Church is revealed through this inspiration declared to the world. 'That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life; and this is the life, which is manifested in us, and we have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ' (1 Jn 1:4).

6. What is the relation of this historical revelation to and by and through the people of God to other means by which men come to a knowledge of God?—To assert the reality and perfection of the higher is in no way to deny the reality or the value of the lower. If the Greek philosopher or the Indian sage has indeed attained by his own methods to a knowledge of God fruitful in power and holiness and life, it is through this revelation that he has done so, and we doubt not, by divine inspiration also. So the wisest Christian thinkers have held from the first. To the Christian indeed it may seem that even the highest teaching of all which he can receive from man, the laying bare of a star, in the spreading dawn of life, is the mystery of God, even Christ, . . . all are the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden' (Col 2:3). But the teaching of other masters, whether of ancient or of modern days, is not necessarily valueless to the Christian. Not only may it give to him much that the higher revelation has not in fact given to him, though it might have done so; he has no a priori reason for denying that it may add to his knowledge. In the traditional theology of the Church there are real elements which have come to it from Greek philosophy, and not from the revelation recorded in the Bible. If to-day we desire to get rid of them, it is because we think them baseless and unfruitful, and not because of the source from which they have come. Equally guilty of an excessive appreciation of the light which modern investigation has thrown upon the past history of the world and of man, and upon the record of the revelation, which God has made to us. Physical science, historical criticism, comparison of the Bible with other ancient records, have all played their part, and have it still to play, in widening and deepening our appreciation of the 'increasing purpose' which runs through the ages, and in correcting and uplifting our thoughts of God and His ways. Here too there is revelation, and, we doubt not, inspiration also to recognize and make use of. If there has been seeming loss, there has also been real and abundant gain.

7. How does the historic revelation reach the individual to-day?—The Church comes before the world, not primarily to lecture upon revelation as a process of divine proclamation, but to reveal God, as the Lord proclaimed it, and to be like the Lord, in her life of service and sacrifice and spiritual glory won through sacrifice, her-off the revelation of God and of His power to fulfill His purpose. Divine knowledge and life are hers, that she may fail neither in the one nor in the other. Thus (a) through the presence of the Spirit the Church is in the divine intention both the witness to the truth and the interpreter of the truth. The gospel is contained in facts, interpreted as the Church is inspired to interpret them. But the interpretation, though essentially invariable, must be given in the language and forms of thought of different peoples and ages of the world; and, as new questions have arisen, and new errors have required to be excuded, the Church in the power of the Spirit has been able to draw out and interpret much that does not lie immediately upon her surface, and must continue to draw it out in the days to come. Christian theology, like the Christian gospel itself, is to be accepted because of the appeal which it makes, not only to the mind, but to the heart and will and character. The Church speaks with authority, as those always speak who know. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you.' 'We speak that which we do know, and bear witness of that which we have seen' (Jn 3:30). But this authority is not of itself, nor of any other, a sufficient basis over and above reason and conscience; it appeals to both, and is accepted because of the response which they make to it. The revelation which the Church offers to the world no more affords a substitute for thought and effort and divine inspiration than the first dawn of revelation in the days of old. Deep must answer to deep, the Spirit within us to the Spirit without us. (b) The Church, as the body of the Christ and the Temple of the Holy Spirit, is in the divine intention, sent to reveal the Name and purpose of God, not in word only, but in act also. Though the witness to His name and His purpose dwells in her, and acts through her, and so reveals His reality and character and purpose. As he that saw the Christ saw the Father, so he that saw the Church should see the Christ, and the Father also. In the life of the Church given for men, and ever renewed by being given, the revelation of God's method and purpose made once for all in the Lord's Death and Resurrection should be continually made present to the world; in the kingdom of God here should be seen the promise of the eternal kingdom.


REVELATION. (Muslim).—See INSPIRATION (Muslim), Qu'ER.
feeling of anger aroused by a hurt or injury inflicted. But the anger aroused may be, as has been pointed out by Bishop Butler and many moralists, from two kinds of anger: avenging, and settled or deliberate retribution. The first prompts a man to defend himself when hurt or attacked; the second continues and often grows more intense when the immediate attack is over and the smart of the hurt is no longer felt. The first is prompted by, and grows into, the second; so it is often hard to fix the exact point where the one ends and the other begins. A hurt which gives occasion to, and is warded off by, an outbreak of sudden anger does not necessarily lead to, nor is it always followed by, a fit of settled resentment, still less of revenge. After a fight, though one of the two combatants must have been the aggressor, we constantly see men make it up and shake hands; it is when resentment, once aroused, is nursed and cherished that it is sure in most natures to give rise to revenge. Butler further maintains that the settled anger or resentment which gives rise to revenge has for its proper object injury or intentional harm, as distinguished from mere hurt which, at any rate in reasonable men, may cause momentary anger, but should not, and ordinarily does not, grow into settled revenge. The set-in is never by means always true. There are many natures so wrathful and resentful that a hurt inflicted, though quite innocently and even unintentionally, does give rise to settled anger, and sets going plans for the infliction of revenge; this is apt to be especially the case when the hurt inflicted is of a kind that seems to indicate contempt on the part of the injurer, or when it wounds in some marked way the self-esteem of the injured party.

This feeling of settled resentment and consequent love of revenge is a feeling deep-rooted in human nature and, as we shall see, hard to eradicate. It is found to some extent in some of the higher animals, which have been known to devise and execute apparently carefully thought out plans of revenge; yet revenge is not very common, least of all, in animals. It seems to be an outgrowth from a most sustained course of reflection than most of them are able to carry out, and also a clearer apprehension of the distinction between intended and unintentional wrong than most of them can attain. What generally seems to happen among animals is that the injured animal becomes resentful; it may attack the injuring animal, and, if it can, it may make a further attack on its person, and in some cases even upon what it considers its rights, and does its best to defend itself against such attack; but, if the animal which is the aggressor proves itself too strong, the defeated animal takes refuge in flight; and, if the future, fear takes the place of vengeance; an animal once thoroughly worsted avoids a renewal of the fight rather than seeks to avenge itself upon its more powerful foe.

But with man this is by no means equally the case. Wasted in one direction, man constantly seeks revenge in another; he may indeed cower before his adversary and seek safety in flight, as the animal does; but more often, though knowing himself physically the weaker, he seeks methods of avenging himself on his enemy by superior cunning or in some other way, revenge being among early races of men becomes in consequence very prevalent. The natural satisfaction of resentment and revenge is to repay tit for tat, to restore a balance of rights or position that has been upset. This security of such a balance furnishes a primitive conception of justice:

"facile, non ira, sed cura, legem k' india gynoro,

saya Aristotle, quoting, perhaps, a line of Herodotus."

1. Legislative and political. — From the point of view and method of procedure, the private revenge is one of the great legal anomalies of which the whole growth of criminal law is due to the desire of society to free itself from the disturbing force of private revenge and to substitute for this public retribution and the appeal to public law.

In this change consists the great development in the direction of the weak against the strong and vice versa. As long as revenge is left in private hands, the strong are apt to escape with impunity because the injured person will often be debared by fear from taking revenge upon the aggressor; and, if the weak does take revenge himself, his revenge is apt to be unequal and unavenged. So, the whole spirit and essence of the law that all should be equal before it.

In the beginning, as is proved by many of the formulæ and practices of ancient law, the interference of the State is a mere substitute for the private revenge or punishment which would be inflicted by the injured individual, but soon this stage is left behind, and the punishment inflicted by the State becomes the expression of the disposition to accord the penalty to the community at large towards the offence which has been committed. No doubt individuals are slow to accommodate themselves to the change, and private revenge often lingers on long after a system of criminal law has been established. But, directly such a system has come into force, an act of revenge for a wrong committed becomes itself a criminal act, and is visited by the penalty of the law against it. As same kind, not prompted by revenge, would be visited; and the craving for revenge, except in communities in which, as in Corsica, public sentiment approves of private revenge, is greatly checked. It may be, indeed, that, even when a system of the law has been long in force, the feeling of resentment entertained by the injured man against the wrong-doer finds in the legally inflicted punishment a certain satisfaction; and, if the punishment

1. Eph. iv. 314.

For (Mt In)' for and the improvement of society itself and, in every progressive community the security of society becomes more and more the object held in view in the infliction of punishment, and the measure according to which punishment is regulated. Moreover, in time a new motive as modifying the theory of punishment comes into prominence, which still further limits the importance of revenge as an element in it, viz. the moral improvement and care of the offender. While no State can with safety make this its only object in the infliction of punishment, or the only rule by which its amount is to be determined, yet that it can be taken at all into account, and that it becomes in the more highly civilized nations an increasingly important element in determining its direction and the kind of penalty to be inflicted, is a point that is indisputably true, and is a departure from the primitive cause in which it originated; and, if an element of revenge still enters, as it sometimes does, into the appeal to the law against the offender, the harm of it is greatly lessened, in that the private feeling is necessarily merged in, and largely moralized by, the wider concern for the community as a whole which has taken its place. The bringing about of this change forms one of the greatest triumphs of the prevalence of the law and of advancing civilization.

2. Moral.—Looked at from a moral point of view, revenge has in more enlightened times almost universally been regarded as an evil passion and been condemned. If the effort of the legislator has been directed towards substituting for the act and temper of revenge a less objectionable form of act and temper, as is more social temper, the object of the moral philosopher has been to eradicate the temper altogether. Yet it must be confessed that it is a hard task that he has set himself; for the revengeful temper is very deep-rooted and wide-spread in human nature, and is apt to break forth again, when all shall be supposed to have been effaced. The moral philosophy has tried to point out a better way. Still philosophers of every sort and every age have done their best to deprecate it and ban it. Confucius, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Muhammad, Thomas Aquinas, and Butler have all had their say against it; each has reprograded it or denounced it in turn; but each also has had to confess that it is a temper which is widely prevalent, an evil which it needed all their force to combat. But why, we may ask ourselves, is it so reprehensible? In what does the evil of it consist?

(1) Revenge is an anti-social quality; it aims not at promoting human happiness, but at increasing human misery. To inflict pain upon our enemy, to diminish his happiness or virtue, are objects to which revenge directly and necessarily attends. This alone makes the prevalence of revenge a temper to be deprecated.

(2) As Butler points out with great force, the revengeful temper is almost necessarily an unjust temper. We constitute ourselves judges in our own cause; we imagine an exaggerated estimate of the injuries which are inflicted upon us. We are apt, as already remarked, to neglect the all-important distinction between intentional and unintentional wrong; and, the more we nurse our revenge, the more prejudiced do we become, the less we are capable of listening to the dictates of fair play and reason. Every one will have noticed this in one of whom a spirit of revenge has taken possession. He is a man dominated by one idea.

(3) No temper acts more injuriously on the character of him who indulges in it than the spirit of revenge. This is a spirit that is in every case one of basest desire. It keeps and reasons with ourselves, our own grievances, our own wrongs; in the concentration on them and the exaltation of objects a man becomes callous to the interests and happiness of others, so that the revengeful temper does not infrequently into the misanthrope.

(4) This is the more readily the case because the revengeful spirit makes us incapable of exercising the noblest and best of all spirits, a charitable and forgiving temper. To such a temper the spirit of revenge is, of course, the exact opposite; its presence makes the other impossible. But a character in which such a temper is entirely absent cannot but be a selfish, a maimed, and a distorted character, one far removed from the nobler heights to which the human character is capable of being elevated.

3. Religious.—But, seeing that the laying aside of revenge and the desire for it altogether is a virtue hard to attain and comparatively seldom reached, it is at this point that religion, if the struggle against revenge is to be effective, is to be called in. While other religions have indeed not been altogether silent on the subject, Judaism partially, Christianity entirely, have alone succeeded in exterminating it. In the OT generally vengeance is deprecated as interfering with the mercerative of God. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, I will recompense." (Dt 32:35) Thon God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself! (Ps 94), are verses which illustrate how completely the Jews regarded vengeance as properly belonging not to man but to God; and St. Paul quotes the first of these to enforce his teaching of forgiveness on his Roman converts (Ro 12:19). In Sir 25:1-8 a higher line is taken: He that taketh vengeance shall find vengeance from the Lord; and he will surely make firm his sins. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee; and then he shall have forgiveness. Man cherisheth anger against man; and doth he seek healing from the Lord? He being himself flesh nourisheth wrath; who shall make atonement for his sins? The principle here laid down clearly is that, if we cherish a revengeful temper, it is impossible for us really to pray for, still less to expect, forgiveness for our own sins. To do so is almost like a contradiction in terms.

This principle is of course enunciated fresh and carried further in the teaching and in the example of our Lord. Instead of the doctrine of retaliation inculcated in at least one passage of the Mosaic Law, our Lord says: Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also (Mt 5:39). This is to be conquered, at any rate, in our own case, by merely repeating it many times, with patience and prayer, and thereby changing our spirit of revenge into a spirit of submission. He teaches us to pray: Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us (Mt 6:14). He tells us that, if our brother trespass against us and repent, we are to forgive him not less than seven times seven (Lk 17:4, Mt 18:21). His example went even farther than this. No more unprompted wrong could be imagined than was done to Him. Yet He speaks no word and entertains no thought of vengeance against His enemies. 'Father,' He prays them; for they know not what they do (Lk 23:34).
Vengeance, then, as a personal principle is set altogether aside in Christian ethics. There is no place for it. As St. Peter says, "If, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye shall take it patiently, this is accepted of God: for hereunto are ye called, because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps" (1 Pet. 2:21). It would be absurd to maintain that all Christians attain to this height of virtue; but because the right way towards it; the best reach near to it. In any case the teaching and example of Christ have done much to alleviate and supplant by a higher feeling and motive the thirst for vengeance which has been so common and so destructive in the world.

The question of blood revenge see art. BLOOD-FEUD.


W. A. Spooner.

REVERENCE.—Without attempting a formal and exhaustive definition, it is true to say with J. Martineau that reverence is at bottom our recognition of 'transcendent goodness.' It is the impression that we owe to character rather than to any physical forms of greatness, and in the highest instance it 'proves to be identical with devotion.'

1. REVERENCE AND RELIGION.—Some theorists, in tracing the beginnings of religion, have accepted the view of Statis, 'Primus in orbe deos lecit timere habuit,' but this explanation misconceives the character of religion, from which reverence is inseparable. 'It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods who are knit to their worshippers by strong bonds of kindship, that religion in the only true sense of the word begins.'

The Hebrew expression 'the fear of the Lord,' as the equivalent of religion, indicated that reverence was based, not on servility, but on a foundation of fellowship and trust. In the course of development religious reverence has not kept clear of error and exaggeration. The custom of the Jews in not pronouncing or reading aloud the sacred Name in their Scriptures was the sign of excessive and superstitious zeal. Their later tendency to dwell on the transcendence of God and to fill up the gulf by the introduction of angels, as afterwards Roman Catholics filled it up by the invocation of saints, was due to abstract ideas of the divine honour which find no place in Christianity. Jeanne in calling God 'Father' corrected Jewish modes of circumlocution, and made the natural symbol of worship and homage (Mt 6).

2. THE ETHICAL VALUE OF REVERENCE: ITS AUTHORITY IN THE GREEK MIND.—In early times, when war was the chief school of virtue, and might was in danger of overwhelming reverence appeared as the guardian of civilization and was the organ of the social conscience or of public opinion as then formed. Homer's term for reverence (abde) has many shades of meaning.

It is essentially the virtue of a wild and ill-governed society, where there is not much effective regulation of men's action by the law.

One or two illustrations from the Homeric world will suffice. In the opening scene of the Iliad the Greeks demand reverence for the aged priest Chryses, who had been insulted by Agamemnon, as even an ancient custom and an obligation of reverence. It is suggested that, in early Greek poetry, the classes thought worthy of consideration were not kings and others of high station, but those dispossessed and injured, the helpless and the dead, and special sanctity belonged to strangers, suppliants, and the poor. "If you are the keeper of reverence, or respect for man and military honour, the fighters in the ranks are urged to show spirit and valor." When Achilles burnt the body of Eteon without stripping him of his armour, he exemplified the virtue in a form prized by antiquity, but afterwards the dragging of Hector behind his chariot betrayed a lack of ruth and compassion, which reverence for a dead and helpless enemy should have inspired. True to this early Greek ideal of reverence, Ulysses restrained the old family nurse from shouting aloud in the hour of triumph—'for it is an unholy thing to boast over slaughtered men.' Reverence is also named as the highest religious duty—'Revere the gods, Achilles,' and in the scene where the cup is first handed to Athene, in token of her age, the line occurs—'All men stand before the gods, the things that isis thought the most beautiful verse in Homer. It was the sign of a later degenerate age when Hesiod feared that reverence, one of the white-robed angels, had fled from the earth.

3. REVERENCE AS A PRINCIPLE IN EDUCATION.—In the Hebrew moral code, which had the necessity of implanting this virtue, respect for parents, rulers, and elders was enjoined. Indeed, according to the Talmud, parents occupied the place of God's earthly representatives, and were to be given corresponding honor. Where an elaborate social machinery did not exist, this training was invaluable for a people's order and well-being, as is seen also in the strict family life of China and its long-established ancestral worship. Among thinkers, Plato showed his practical insight by fixing on virtue as the supreme, estimable, and as it were the only good. He also indicated the necessity of the soul's reverence for its nature and for the life it leads. And, after all, reverence should be stamped on the mind of the learner and freed from the admixture of unworthy teaching, so that the future guardians of the State might grow up as god-like and god-fearing as possible. Plato trusted to reverence, as a plant of native growth, to check the rise of lust and of desire for the young—for there are two wackers that will effectually interpose, namely, fear and shame.

In modern times Goethe introduced in his sketch of an ideal education his famous illustration of reverence (Ehrfurcht), expressed in three forms and with appropriate gestures—reverence for God and what is above us, for the earth and what is beneath us (the ground of the Christian religion), and towards our equals in society, with whom we should stand and act in combination. Goethe's work shows that reverence is not a thing that can be taught; the one thing which no child brings into the world with him, viatated his plan of education in the judgment of Ruskin, who held strongly that this facility is inherent in every well-born human creature.

In his educational sketch, as in his moral career, Goethe recommended reverence as a virtue with too much detachment. Like Voltaire, he cultivated his intellect at the expense of deeper qualities.

REVERENCE is not a higher form of reverence. It is not a higher form of reverence. It is not a higher form of reverence.

1. Types of Ethical Theory, Oxford, 1866, ii. 100, 221.
2. Thebaei, III. 661.
REVIVALS OF RELIGION

Egoism, or the all-round development of our powers,

1 for no man can venerate himself.

A Growth and decline of reverence.—The thesis

maintained by Macaulay, in his essay on Milton, that,

that, as civilization advances, poetry almost neces-

sarily declines, 2 may be thought applicable to this

virtue. We should not, however, identify rever-

cence with the spirit of superstition and subservi-

ence; but still, by a characteristic of a time when

ideas and institutions were not called in question,

and when habits of deference prevailed.

In the ferment of modern conditions, and as the

result of the revolutionary, democratic, and levelling

spirit that has intruded everywhere, old forms of

reverence inevitably disappear. A type of goodness

once so simple and attractive seems left behind.

Its most beautiful displays are not in nations like

the Americas or the modern French, who have thrown

themselves most fully into the tendencess of our age,

but rather in secluded regions like Syria or the Tyrol. 3

Recent observers have noticed the increasing part

played by religion in the growth of the social

organism.

A preponderating element in the type of character

which the evolutionary forces at work in human

society are slowly developing, would appear to be

the sense of reverence. 4

Science may thus take the place of superstition in

upholding the true. How far the example set in

Europe has destroyed this faculty in the very

classes that need it most is a serious question.

Thoughtful Americans have said, that, amid all the

material greatness of their country—and it is suf-
sufficiently astonishing—their greatest anxiety for

her future is caused by the absence of reverence

among all classes of her people. 6

This danger is not confined to one country. The

distress of democracy, according to Lord Morley,

has been found to work among its rulers, to

produce a want of reverence.

Reverence in some of its relationships.—Some

types of excellence, like certain flowers, are

intolerant of others in their neighbourhood, but

this virtue fosters the best qualities.

(a) Reverence and truth.—It is the penalty of

greatness that it must outlive its substance:

that gilding and trappings should remain when

that which they were meant to deck and clothe

has departed. 7 True reverence should cease using

empty ceremonies and sounding titles, when they

are out of touch with reality. Kant, in heralding

the decay of the medieval conception of the divine

subjects, including religion and laws, could not

claim respect unless they stood the test of free and

thorough examination. The Arian theologians, in

their contest with Athanasius, made reverence a

pretext for adhering to their views of the divine

unity and immutability. We should not trade

upon this virtue in carrying on controversy.

After all the greatest reverence is due to truth. 8

(b) Reverence and love.—Newman, whose eccle-

siastical instinct may have exaggerated the impor-

tance of the feelings and objects of awe and rever-

ence, says truly: 'No one really loves another,

who does not feel a certain reverence towards him.' 9

Dante saw in Beatrice not only a figure that

excited his senses but also an idea that drew forth

his intellectual faculties. Hence his resolve to wait

and write something worthy of her, and his re-

cognition of the law that 'love intends the welfare

unnily of the thing it loves.' 10 To veil some things

is to ennable them, and in literature and life we

must discern both faith and love by too familiar

handling of them.

(c) Reverence and character.—The worth of re-

verence is to be weighed by the worth of those

whom we think deserving of it. It is a sure index

of the moral value of any society. The rule, 'Honour

all men' (1 P 27), is to be followed, but with

discrimination. Our appreciation will vary with

varying forms of excellence.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's picture of Puritan New

England reveals admirable qualities in his settle-

ment. He saw that the faculty and necessity of rever-
nence were strong in him, bestowed it on the white

hair and venerable brow of age; on long-tried

integrity; on solid wisdom and sad-featured experi-

ence; on endowments of that grave and weighty order

which gives the idea of permanence, and comes under

the general definition of respectability. 11

A society in which the ruling types are of this

sort is healthy and progressive. Character thrives

best in an atmosphere of appreciation, and while,

as Dr. Johnson said, we cannot pay 'civilities to a

monocnety, it always does a man good to show him

respect.

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W. H. RANKIN.

REVIVALS OF RELIGION.—1. Periodicity in religious life.—It does not require much ob-

servance to be assured that the course of religion, in

either the individual or the community, is not

uniform, but with rises and downs, its seasons

of greater and less intensity. To what these varia-

tions are due may be a deep question; but that

they occur is a fact lying on the surface. There

are times of flood-tide in the soul, which are accom-

panied with great happiness and leave a deep

impression on the life of the momentary, and

a promise of the life of the Church when there are

given from on high what the Scripture calls 'shower of

blessing.' The psychology of the human spirit may

have its own reckoning to render for such pheno-

mena; but in the last resort they are to be traced

to the Spirit of God, knowing where it listeth.

One cause of revival is to be found in personali-

ties of original religious genius. Such were, in the

OT, Moses, Samuel, Hezekiah, Ezra, and the like,

with each of whom a rise in the tide is connected.

But there were few provision made with 'the deep

consequence' of that period for bringing crowds together, with

their minds bent on religious exercises, at the

annual feasts. The Feast of Tabernacles especi-

ally, with its booths of green branches, must have

resembled a camp-meeting. In the NT the public

ministry of the Lord Jesus and the Pauline

proclamation made 'the deep consequence of

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was followed by the depression of the subsequent period; the intellectual and spiritual greatness of the age of Martin Schleiermacher and the principal Churches and Societies formed the contrast to the dark age which followed, though the latter was illuminated also by the work of the great missionaries; of the age of the Crusades and the fairs was one of greatness in many directions, but it was followed by two centuries of disintegration.

2. The Puritan awakening.—In writing the history of Protestantism, Dorner divides the centuries into three revivals—that of the Reformation, that of Pietism, and that of Evangelicalism. Puritanism (q.v.) might be described as a season of revival in England, and twó bodies representative of its operation could be named than Richard Baxter, who, in *The Reformed Pastor* (1656) and his autobiography (*Reliquiae Baxterianae*, 1696), has left an incomparable record of the methods by which he made the field of labour in which he was settled to rejoice and blossom as the rose. When he went to Kidderminster, only two or three families in each street had domestic worship, but, before his work was finished, not more than two or three in a street were without it. He and his contemporaries of the Abstracts of methods used rather, invented something better—by getting his people to visit him, family by family, at the manse, and confide to him the secrets of their spiritual condition, so that he could apply the best advice to every case. As he was zealous in recommending his method to other ministers, his example created wide-spread imitation.

One of the men of the Second Reformation in Scotland, John Livingstone, was privileged to witness such an awakening under his ministry as had never been known in native history. Beyond St. Andrews he kept alive a spirit of expectancy in preachers of the gospel. When assisting at a communion service at the Kirk of Shotts, he preached at an extemporized gathering on the Monday after, and was the means of the conversion of about 500 persons, whose names he quickly made them read in the neighbourhood to which they belonged. About the same time another divine of great learning and fine character, David Dickson, was the principal instrument in a movement in the west of Scotland to which was given by opponents the nickname of *the Scottish Calvinism*. His method was to certain physical phenomena accompanying the spiritual impressions, of which Dickson himself, however, made nothing, being doubtful whether they might not be the work of the enemy, to discredit the movement.

The effects of Puritanism were not confined to England, and Holland especially participated in the blessing through the presence of exiled Puritans in its pulpits and university chairs. A quickening of spiritual life ensued, especially in the universities, one of the features of which was the holding of prayer-meetings among the students. The same feature appeared in the revival, bearing the name of Pietism (q.v.), which occurred soon after in Germany in connexion with the labours of such men as Spener, Francke, and Bengel. Spener gave the name of *collegium pietatis* to the meeting at which laymen were encouraged to speak and partake in prayer, and these exercises he regarded as manifestations of the spiritual priesthood of all believers, which Luther had proclaimed but the Lutheran Church had laid aside. A great movement of revivalism in several ways unique was due to the activity of Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravian Church (see art. MORAVIANS). In origin, however, it was closely connected with the movement under Spener, and it had a direct and determining influence on the origin of Methodism (q.v.); for not only John Wesley himself, but his brother Charles and his friend George Whitefield, were converted under Moravian influences.

3. The Evangelical revival.—What Puritanism gave to the Continent in the movements just described, Wesley and his friends gave to England, and a movement of Methodism, of which the primary spring is to be sought in the thorough conversion of its leaders. These men felt themselves to be the depositories of a truth so divine and blessed that they could not keep it to themselves or confine their hope to a small circle. In the movement of Methodism it is the spirit of Him who said that they that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick, they flung themselves on the most wicked and degraded portions of the population, and, when churches were refused to them or proved too small to hold the crowds, they went to the open air. Recognizing the obligation of all to whom the joyful sound had come with power to transmit the deposit to others, they employed a ministry beyond that of the regularly educated and ordained, and, while their methods and influences were of the same nature as the Scriptural gospel of life, of all to whom the secret of the Lord had been revealed. This is the most fruitful of all the ideas of the revival; nothing has so delayed the evangelization of the world as the notion that the work belongs only to an official class; and there is no reason to hope that the world will ever be won to Christianity on these terms. It is through the operation of the true view that legions of Sabbath School teachers have been won for the service of the Church.

The Evangelical revival came to Wales through the ministry of Whitefield himself and the simultaneous but independent efforts of such natives as Howell Harris and Daniel Rowlands, and it found in the Welsh temperament a congenial soil. It entered Scotland through a thorough change taking place in the soul of Thomas Chalmers (q.v.), in whose big brain and heart it obtained the assurance of diffusion through the country. His associates in the ecclesiastical struggle which led to the Disruption were keenly interested in revival work. While Robert Murray M'Cheyne, *e.g.*, was absent from Scotland, his name was known as the Jewish mission about to be founded by the Church of Scotland, a revival broke out in his congregation at Dundee under the ministry of his local minster, William Burns, subsequently the famous China missionary, and it continued to the end of M'Cheyne's lifetime. Horatius Bonar, subsequently noted as a lyman-writer, republished in 1845 a work on survivals originally issued in 1754 by John Gillies of Glasgow, under the title of *Historical Collections relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel*, and brought it down to date, inserting not a few letters from friends of his own about hopeful movements in their parishes at the time. Another member of the M'Cheyne circle, A. N. Somerville of Glasgow, developed in later life into a modern apostle, going around the world as an evangelical missionary, succeeding in delivering his testimony even in such unlikely quarters as Berlin and Petrograd. The anticipations of revival mentioned in the work of Bonar had become more general, as time went on; and it was in answer to widespread inquiries that, in the years 1845-1860, times of blessing were experienced in many different parts of the three kingdoms. Ireland was the first part visited; and a classical record of this movement will be found in the work of an Irishman, William Gibson's *The Era of Grace* (Edinburgh, 1859).

4. Work of D. L. Moody.—Still more extensive was the work of the American evangelist, D. L.
Moody, in 1873-75, 1881-83, 1891-92. He was thirty-six years of age, a layman, without university education, professionally unknown, when he appeared in Edinburgh in the end of 1873; only a few ministers interested in such work had been informed of his successful efforts in the north of England, and, having gone there to see and hear him, returned to Edinburgh to extol him and bring him to Edinburgh. But it was not long before Scotland became aware that it had found an evangelist whom it could take to its heart, and, before the year ended, the whole country was full of the rumour of what was going on in the capital. He had united to him a conductor, Ira D. Sankey, who 'sang the gospel' to his own accompaniment on an American organ, these being novelties at the time and forming an element of attractiveness. But it was soon manifest that the centre of power was the evangelist himself. He was of stout and heavy build, yet full of activity and business capacity. He had the shrewdest perception of character, and knew how to utilize all available forces. He held three meetings a day—one at noon for prayer, testimony, and praise; a Bible-reading hour, with prayers, for young workers; an evangelist meeting at night. From the first these were well attended, and soon every meeting was crowded, wherever he went. His doctrine had a wide range, not omitting the sternest aspects of truth, but culminating in the love of God. There was not much eloquence, but unfailling freshness, the most remarkable feature being abundance of illustrations, drawn not from nature or art or literature, but from his own experience in dealing with human beings. He had the power of attracting young men and inspiring hero-worship, that as a result it happened to be a theological college next door to the place where most of the meetings were held, the students not only assisted in the inquiry meetings but carried the news of what was going on to all parts of the country, and so prepared the way for the visits of the evangelist to other places. Moody angled for decisions at the close of his addresses with remarkable tenderness and skill, but he did not put undue pressure on any to make known their anxiety. There were no physical manifestations of any kind. There were no prophecies, present or foretold. There was not a little humour in restraining attempts at extravagance. He was singularly free from the weaknesses sometimes imputed to men of his class, such as personal vanity and love of money. He seemed to be always sensitive to some one who said, 'Now you have opportunity to the labours of the regular ministry before him in the field, as well as that the perpetuity of his work would depend on the sympathy and fidelity of the same labourers in the field after he had left. Though ultimately a Paolotus for him and his colleague began to flow. In the sale of hymn-books, his unsellishness had been fully established before he became aware of this, and he made an unselfish use of the riches flowing from this source, devoting large sums to the equipment of colleges for young men and women which he opened in his native place and to much of the wealth thus obtained had given a great impetus to the women's work in Scandinavia. Moody became the most conspicuous figure in the Revival in the period 1873-75, and his influence continued to be felt during the whole period of his active work. It was his purpose to bring the unconverted to the Saviour, and the power of a revivalist lies in the summons to them to bring their conduct into harmony with their convictions. The remark is often quoted of one who said that Moody was the biggest 'human' he had ever met, and this is an estimate which would commend itself to those who were acquainted with him. But it was an afterthought; at the time the prevailing impression was the sense of a movement directed from above, in which all the human agencies concerned were swallowed up and forgotten.

Among the students of the New College who assisted Moody in Edinburgh, one who proved most useful was Henry Drummond, who for years accompanied the American evangelists from one great city to another, devoting himself especially to meetings for young men, in the management of which he unfolded qualities of rare distinction. When settled subsequently as professor of Natural Science in Glasgow, he became an evangelist to the universities of Scotland, working chiefly in Edinburgh, where his labours were facilitated and seconded by Principal Sir William Muir, Sir Alexander Simpson, and other members of the faculties. He succeeded in winning for religion a new place in the universities of his native land, the change being embodied in the Christian Unions established within their walls. His evangelistic labours on behalf of young men, and especially in connection with his college, were of such a nature that time found a remarkable entrance for the evangelistic message among the upper classes of London society. Between him and Moody there subsisted a beautiful and lifelong friendship; and, when the younger man was charged with heretical practices, the elder threw the whole weight of his influence behind. Moody listened to his friend far oftener than had his accusers, but had never heard from him anything with which he did not agree.

5. Welsh revival of 1904—06.—In 1904 a revival of great intensity occurred in Wales and lasted for about two years. It seemed almost to rise out of the ground, so little was it the result of definite teaching and so primitive were the forms in which emotion exhibited itself; yet it had wide-spread practical effects of the most definite kind, such as the diminution of drunkenness, the abandonment of feuds, and the restitution of property. It subsided, however, as unaccountably as it arose, and for its promoters there was not a little disillusionment. A French student of religious psychology, Henri Bois of Montauban, was so affected by the phenomena and wrote a book, in which he visited the series of revival, thoroughly investigating everything, including certain occult physical manifestations, and the results were embodied in a large work entitled Le Réveil au Pays de Galles (Paris, 1906), as well as a subsequent volume entitled Quelques Réflexions sur la psychologie des revêils (id. 1908). In the latter much use is made of the crowd-psychology of his countryman, Gabriel Tarde; and it would be a singular fact if the best literary monument of the Welsh revival should in future have to be sought in a foreign language.

6. American revivals.—America is the land of revivals. Nowhere else have there been so frequent as in the United States; nowhere else have the Churches owed to them so much of their increase and prosperity; and nowhere else have they seen such intensity. Much has been said in the theological discussion. It is to the atmosphere of revival in which they live and move that American thinkers owe the position of pre-eminence in religious psychology conceded to them even by the English. The minds of the American preachers and churchmen have been swayed by the American Revival. James's Varieties of Religious Experience (London and New York, 1902). What is known as the Great Awakening began in 1734, and broke out again in 1740 at Northampton, Mass., under the preaching of Jonathan
Edwards (q.v.), pastor in the Congregational Church of the place, and it extended through the greater part of New England, George Whitefield, from England, reviving the country at various stages. It began with Edwards preaching a series of sermons in which attention was concentrated on sin, with the purpose of awakening the conscience; and the power of producing deep conviction of personal guilt remained one of the leading and recruiting features of the phenomenon. A high character and philosophical grasp, to whom his countrymen fondly look back as their deepest thinker in theology. He was the author of numerous works, most of which were connected with the revival, and one of them is a classic, *A Treatise concerning Religious Affections* (1746), being written to show which features of the prevalent excitement were healthy and ought to be encouraged, and which were morbid and needed to be restrained. He fell out with his people over the question of debarring the unworthy from the Lord’s Table and had to quit the place; but he finished his course in honour as president of Princeton College.

Times unfavourable to religion followed in connexion with the War of Independence; but, about the turn of the century, chiefly through the preaching of Edwards and others, and by the name of McGee, a remarkable awakening passed through the Cumberland country in Kentucky and Tennessee—a region which had long been notorious for irreligion and violence. Taking place in such a population, assembled in huge camp-meetings, it was attended with physical manifestations in a remarkable order, which, under the name of ‘bodily exercises,’ are fully described in a curious but obviously well-informed article in the *Princeton Theological Essays* (1st ser., New York, 1846, Edwards, 1856), under the title of ‘Bodily Effects of Religious Excitement.’ To these the leaders of the movement do not appear to have attached undue importance, but such experiences must have produced among the masses of the people an overpowering sense of supernatural agency. Similar phenomena have often since appeared, but they tend to diminish before the advance of education.

When Timothy Dwight, in 1795, became president of Yale College, religion among the professors and students was at a very low ebb; but, under his powerful preaching from the pulpit of the college chapel, and more especially among the students; and, it is said, no fewer than seventeen such visitations could be counted in the course of a century. Ever since, such movements in colleges have been a prominent feature of the revivalism of the country; and E. D. Starbuck, in his *Psychology of Religion* (London, 1839), has thereby been led to connect conversion with the physiological changes of puberty. Certainly there are affinities between religion and the awakening of the youthful mind to such sentiments as patriotism and altruism; but in some at least of the American revivals, such as that conducted by C. G. Finney, the average age of the converts was much more mature. The Young Men’s Christian Association has obtained in American universities a position of great importance, its building being generally pressed for as the centre of the place; and this has afforded opportunities of a unique description for the diffusion of religious sentiments among the student body.

The Irish revival of 1859, above referred to, was an importation from the United States, where it had been going on for many years; of course Moody had learned his methods in his own country before coming to the British Isles. But his success in the old country gave him a standing in his own land such as no evangelist before him had enjoyed, and he was going up and down the States evangelizing till his death. Nearly all the evangelists who have since come into prominence, such as G. F. Pontecost, B. F. Mills, R. A. Torrey, J. H. Goss, and others, have been trained in it. Moody himself may be looked upon as his disciples and imitators, though some of them have developed novel methods in certain directions, such as awakening interest before their arrival, uniting the religious forces of the place in a general effort, securing the public testimony of the converts, and ensuring the results which have been harvested well preserved after their departure. While Moody was attended only by a single conductor, the more successful of these recent men move from place to place with a following of something like a dozen, ready for every kind of assistance such as secretarial work, singing, advertising, and the rest.

7. Horace Bushnell’s protest.—This triumphant progress of revivalism in the United States did not take place without challenge. Certain denunciations have been made, especially the Episcopalians, although the ‘missions’ carried on in recent times not only among Episcopalians but even among Roman Catholics may be regarded as a concession to the popularity and utility of methods which these bodies have been slow to acknowledge. Almost every section of the body, however, has been attacked by Jonathan Edwards’ classical work mentioned above there was published by another minister of the same denomination, Horace Bushnell (q.e.), a book, *Christian Nurture* (Hartford, U.S.A., 1847), which traversed the prevailing practice in thoroughgoing fashion; and, judgment being thus indicated, the great works of American theology. Bushnell was not opposed to revivals as such; indeed, he had taken part in them and had, at a not very tender age, passed through a marked conversion himself. But he was irritated by the disposition in multitudes to assume that nothing could be happening in religion unless a revival were going on, by the exaggerated importance ascribed to conversion, as if it were the only religious experience, and by the invasion of the sacredness of personality in certain practices of the revivalists; and he charged revivalism with exaggerated individualism, comprehension being displayed for the functions of the Church, the family, and the State, or for the significance of baptism among the experiences of life. He strung at the very heart of the system by maintaining that the revivals he had the advantage of Christian culture in the home should grow up Christians, without requiring such a change as is insisted on in revivals. Bushnell’s strong point was never the evidence from Scripture, and he did not do full justice to the teaching of our Lord Himself on the new birth, on taking up the cross, and on making confession before men. When it is to experience that the appeal is made, opinions may differ widely as to the proportion of those receiving a Christian training who subsequently appear as undeniably Christians; but it would be a fatal mistake not to recognize that multitudes of those who have enjoyed the best of nurture grow up alienated from God and with their heart in the world; and these are the proper subjects of a revival. To regard as true Christians those who may be in the world, who make baptism and confirmation to be content with a nominal and Pharisaic type of Christianity. The communication of religion from the outside through tradition and instruction is not enough without a reaction from within by the personality itself and a grasping hold by the will of the inner life. Bushnell’s protest, however, enabled those to breathe who had no story of their own conversion to tell; and these have included even prominent revivalists like Zinzendorf and Drummond. The test for every one is not whether at some past
moment he passed through a spiritual crisis, capable of being related as a testimony, but whether at this present moment he is prepared to receive the Saviour of the world, and accept his service. There will always be minds to which catastrophic experiences in religion are congenial and others to which the methods of nurture are more acceptable; there is plenty of room within the Kingdom of God for work inspired by both of these ideals; and with the progress of time each side may be trusted to understand the other better.


REVOLUTION.—See REBELLION.

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.—I. Preliminary.—In considering the attitude of the ethical or religious man, as such, towards rewards and punishments, we are met at the outset with certain questions involving the central nature of law. Those thinkers, e.g., (nowadays few than formerly), who treat law in the Austrian fashion as an authoritarian command, claiming a more or less unreasoning obedience, will naturally reduce to a minimum its ethical influence upon it of religion and ethics. In the famous phrase of Samuel Horsley, we shall have nothing to do with the laws but to submit to them; and the punishments and rewards assigned by them must accept with at least an external show of accommodation. On the other hand, the ideal of the lawyer, a lawyer often met, and has indeed been maintained by some, that the infliction of punishment is not permissible to man, and least of all to the State. Those who hold this opinion point out, with much appearance of reason, that falible humanity is incapable of exactly measuring the guilt of a criminal or of tracing the causes and effects of the crime beyond its narrowst surroundings. For many, perhaps for all, offences society itself, or the unreachable past, may well be far more responsible than the so-called criminal; and it is not to add that, in the words of Angela in Measure for Measure, the law of man in the sworn twelve have a thief or two guiltier than them try. For these and other reasons men of the various religious views have deemed it necessary to take punishment altogether out of the hands of erring human tribunals. Some base their conclusions on an interpretation of certain words of Jesus; of this class are Tolstoi and his followers. Others, like Kropotkin, taking their stand on the possibilities of the world, adapt their conception of punishment to their general idea of the illegitimacy of all ordered government. Some bid us leave penalty to the divine court that cannot err; others, rejecting all idea of the divine, see no reason on that account for subjecting the individual to the judgment of his fellows.

In the opinion of the present writer these arguments admit of no direct answer; they can only be met on the principle of solvitur ambulando. The common sense in the Aristotelian acceptance of the phrase as the general maxim of sanctions (men holds, and will apparently continue to hold, that one way to decrease crime is to punish it; and it is only a small minority which holds that the sole legitimate way to decrease crime is either to ignore it or to meet it by active benevolence or non-resistance. We are far from denying that the elimination of punishment may be considered a desirable ideal; but a philosophy that is to have any practical value must take account of actually existing conditions; and it is with these that the present writer is concerned, leaving maxims of the kind described to play their part exclusively in the inward life.

On the other hand, the Austrian theory seems to fail chiefly through not taking account of the fact that law, as an expression of one side of humanity, is a product of evolution, and cannot be understood without a consideration of its origin and growth in and through past ages. Therefore, although this historical aspect is fully dealt with in the art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, we shall treat it only here (throughout this article; for law, regarded as a growth, is at once seen to fall under the effective criticism of a constantly growing moral and religious feeling in the community.

2. Basal elements of punishment.—Law is the product of society, and, at least partially, of society is its result.

‘Those ways of action,’ says Durkheim, 1 to which society is strongly enough attached to impose them upon its members, are, by that very fact, marked with a distinctive sign probatively of respect.

Authority springs from social opinion: indeed, ‘it might even be asked whether all authority is not the daughter of opinion.’ But society soon finds that mere opinion will not excite sufficient authority to influence all its members; and the very earliest customary laws make familiar use of sanctions and rewards. 2 Punishment, whatever shape it may assume, is clearly seen to be an evil. In the sense of penalty inflicted under the sanction of law, it has at least one of its roots in the primitive instinct of revenge, precisely as reward is partly based upon the primitive instinct of gratitude. ‘Revenge,’ said Bacon, ‘is a kind of wild justice; and conversely justice, in one of its most important aspects, is but a tamed and civilized revenge. Now revenge (q.e.) superficially viewed, is a pure evil; it seems to be nothing but the impulse to return blow for blow. Because you or your friend are injured, anger prompts you to ensure that whatever has injured you shall suffer in the same way and to the same extent. But it is not long before you discover a thousand circumstances that may complicate the subject of vengeance. In your anger you may easily deal a heavier blow than the one received. You may often wish to avenge the wrong, not of yourself, but of another. You may

1 The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, p. 207.
2 ib. p. 290.
3 By some the word ‘sanction’ is made to include rewards; by others, such as Avenarius, it is used of penalty only.
4 Bentham, Works., i. 390.
REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

... have to call in external aid in order to accomplish your revenge. You may be unable to reach your enemy, and you may desire to attack some one else in his stead. Or, again, your injurer may retort to your reply, and an indefinite series of retaliations may be thus started up. Then it is by no means certain that the original aggressor will in the long run get the worst of it. Revenge is thus perceived to have a very awkward tendency to defeat its own end. Yet, despite all this, the claim that he who injures another should receive at least an equivalent injury in retaliation is by no means negligible. It is indeed arguable that the straight hit from the shoulder is ethically more justifiable than the cold-blooded infliction of a judicial sentence. Again, the frequent necessity of calling in outside aid tends to enlarge personal revenge into that wider emotion which, in its later developments, becomes patriotism. The family, the tribe, the nation desire to inflict on a whole community a punishment for an injury done to a single member of their community; and this is one explanation of the long history of this ultimate basis of ethics. Revenge, therefore, must by no means be treated as non-moral or even as non-religious. So soon as the mere application of the lex talionis is perceived to be impossible; so soon as the idea of vicarious action and of vicarious substitution of the injured person is not accepted and values (such, e.g., as honour or reputation), which cannot be assessed at a definite price, are taken into account; so soon does the apparently non-moral principle of revenge take upon itself an ethical character. Without entering into detail into historical or anthropological questions, we may safely assert that this primal instinct of human nature demands, in society as it is, non-suppression or extinction, but regulation and limitation.

We see in revenge the working of two impulses, anger and fear. Primarily, the return blow involves (a) an automatic reflex-action, (b) an attempt to clear danger out of the way. In both we have the germ of a moral feeling. In (a) we see resentment, in (b) that demand for a free unfettered existence which is the condition of a moral life. Hence neither by the world can the act be judged rational, nor by some of the most religious-minded of philosophers has the element of revenge been altogether ruled out. Thus of resentment Martineau observes that it is justified if 'it retains its primary form of legitimate instinct, without added taint of artificial malignity' 1 and, while Sidgwick and John Grose 2 wish the desire to inflict pain to be diminished, thinkers so opposed as Stephen 3 and Rickaby 4 see in that desire a perfectly legitimate emotion. Rickaby, indeed, representing a Roman Catholic point of view, is particularly strong on the point.

1 Vengeance undoubtedly prompts to many crimes, but so does the passion of love. Both are natural impulses. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to set down one third of human transgressions to love, and another third to revenge; yet it is the abuse in each case, not the use, that leads to sin.
2 Quoting Auguste Comte.
3 Allegiance, 2nd ed., p. 249.
4 'In the case of the committee for the abolition of capital punishment, the position is simply that the law is bad, without any discussion of the question of capital punishment itself.'
5 See again arts. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

Types of Ethical Theory, ii. 198.
1 Moral Ideals, p. 264.
3 The Solidarity of Crime, p. 122.
4 Rhet. t. x. 17.
5 Moral Philosophy, 2nd ed., p. 125.
6 A Short History of Ethics, by E. H. Putnam.
7 See Crimen, p. 125, n. 8, on the punishment of Judas.

is the basis of that public opinion which is the automatic reward or punishment appropriate to the moral law. 1 In fact, as this automation is developed, it emerges into that lofty ethical conception in which the sin committed is itself the sin of punishment adumbrated by Origen, 2 and admirably exhibited by Martensen 3 and others; and one which lies at the base of the Divine Commedy.

Nor is the other aspect of revenge, that of fear, obliterated in the ethical side. For this instinct of self-protection is inseparably linked with the group-instinct.

Pure anarchy or self-redress is qualified first by the sense of solidarity within the primary social unit. Fear leads to the search for help; and without this sense of solidarity no truly ethical emotion can arise. It leads, first, to preferential group-treatment, the typical instance of which is the blood-feud. Of this examples still remain in the Cossian vendetta and in the so-called punitive expeditions against 'inferior' races, the object of which is always this, or that, or other in the same sense as that for one or two of the 'superior' race. This example is by itself sufficient to show that preferential group-treatment may act to depress as well as to heighten the moral standard. It makes, on the one hand, for an enlarged and enormously powerful solidarity, and, on the other, for a sense of obligation beyond oneself; it makes alike for privilege and for brotherhood. It is, of course, the root-principle of 'civilization'; but it has not always meant moral advance.

K.G., 'at lower levels of savage society, punishment has some proportion to the offense; it is at higher levels, in barbaric and despotic societies, that punishment is most cruel and disproportionate.' Increasing severity has been a characteristic of European civilization up to quite modern times.

The treatment of the slave as a chattel, again, is largely due to the solidarity of the free population. And, as 'civilization' advances, certain crimes develop which were unknown to earlier stages of the world.

Yet, on the other hand, these drawbacks are seen to exhibit the power of morality in a clearer light. It was the realization that a slave had no rights that led to the movement for his emancipation; and, as Maine points out, 1 the colossal frauds of modern times merely show how the bad faith of a few is best justified by the loyalty and respect deserved by the many. Ancient Roman law recognized only one form of dishonesty, namely, theft. English law punishes defaulting trustees. But it would be a great mistake to conclude that the ancient Romans practised a higher morality than ourselves: indeed, the principle of discrimination which leads to these evils leads also to immense good. The bounds of the group or clan, e.g., cannot remain rigid. For all sorts of reasons they are constantly altering. Outlaws from other groups are admitted; whole clans unite for convenience or for protection. Judah admits into its ranks the Calebite or the Jerahmeelite; Rome confers its citizenship on the Gaul and the Spaniard. When once, for any reason, you have ceased to belong to your group, it is always open to you to draw an outsider within the sacred fence; and he then receives the privileges from which he was excluded. Indeed, the very fact that a group has been formed involves to some

1 Cf. Pollock, Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics, pp. 147 ff., 187; 6, 194. 2 De Princ. Lib. 2. 2. 4. 3 Character and Cause of Sin; in Hulseon Library, x. 140. 4 Christian Ethics, p. 359 ff. 5 Hulseon, Morals in Evolution, p. 130. 6 Outrages (Principle and Savage), vol. iv. p. 243ff. 7 M. 1. 1. 82. 8 See Van Ness Myers, History as Past Ethics, p. 265. 9 Ancient Law, p. 221.
extent the breakdown of the solely self-regarding emotions; the group may, it is true, have been formed through hate or fear of another group, but it necessarily induces self-sacrifice on the part of those who join it; and self-sacrifice, once set in motion, has a tendency to enlarge itself. From the conception of love of a neighbour and helper, the step is possible, and even likely, to love of a stranger. Opportunities of such a step constantly arise: old enmities may be forgotten under the stress of circumstances, and, once forgotten, they are not always remembered again. Normans and English, e.g., were fused into one by the French war.

This fluidity in the boundary of the group leads not only to a constantly-changing conception of political duty generally, but specially to an infinite complexity and variety in the ideas of punishment and retribution. Fear and anger, subject to constant modifications under the influence of affection or love; and a new line of ethical growth is seen emerging under that influence. To take a simple example: when it is perceived that it is on the whole advantageous to the community to pay tribute to an enemy who has been seen to threaten the community, to work for a reward, the community is on the way towards a recognition of the slave’s rights, and we are not surprised to find a class of manumitted slaves appearing in its midst. Similar examples might be multiplied. It is the mood of anger he is thought of merely as an object to be hurt or destroyed; but, when it is realized that he too may have his utilities—that in fact it may be undesirable utterly to cast him out—then we find all sorts of precautions taken to prevent his hasty destruction. The use of retributive trials by ordeal, sanctuaries, advocates, thre’s the King’s Mercy,’ until ultimately we reach the whole apparatus devised by a Beccaria and worked by a Howard for the elimination of any suffering over and above what is necessary for the public safety. Love has begun to work; the criminal is recognized as a member, if an erring member, of the group; and, indeed, the principle entered fairly early into the social order. For a long time past some tribes, and almost all organized States, have had on the table the idea of the chief magistrate, the purpose of which is to cast the ygs of protection over the criminal himself, as one who, despite his lapse, may yet be of service to the community. This gradual enlargement of the social group to include within it those who were formerly shut out in part of a general movement on the part of the group to assume responsibility over a wider and wider area; and there seems to be no limit to the growth of this tendency. Already we see the State throwing its shield over children, imbeciles, and the lower animals; it has long protected the alien; and where it will stop none can say. In the 20th century movement for penal reform the scientific and the humanitarian lines are seen to converge; and the tendency is to transform mere punishment into a converting discipline, beneficial alike to State and to individual.

To the two elements of anger and fear, then, that are involved in the primary conception of punishment we must now add a third, which tends ever to become the dominant one—that of affection or love.

3. Manifestation of these elements in modern theories of punishment. —Inheriting the tradition of these three emotions of anger, fear, and affection, the modern State, more or less consciously, applies them in its system of punishment. It is true that the ethical element is not always prominent in the application of law to practice; but the three aims of punishment as so far understood (retributive, deterrent, and reformatory) nevertheless underlie our criminal law, and the tendency is for the ethical aspect gradually to assume a dominant position.

As social order,’ says Hobhouse, ‘evolves an independent organ for the adjustment of disputes and the prevention of violence, the ethical becomes a dominant element from the conflicting passions which are its earlier husk.‘1

The judge has before him, at least theoretically, the accusation, the community, and the accused, each of them preferring a claim. These claims (though not always in practice separable) may be roughly defined as (a) the indignation of the accuser, (b) the fear of the community, (c) the appeal of the accused to consideration as a member of a group united by solidarity of interest and a good will. These correspond alike to the three primary emotions and to the three aims of punishment. But the fact that the three claimants are not left to themselves to settle the dispute brings to light a fourth element. For, although it might at first glance appear that the judge is merely the representative of the community as against accuser and accused, yet this is not really so: he is the representative, not of one party, but of all the three; and his task is to apportion the relative values of the three claims. Thus, with the calling in of an outsider as arbitrator, he becomes a new factor in the consideration of the case, (despite strong arguments that might be brought forward on the other side) seems on the whole to make an ethical advance. In the first place, to adjust the demands of the emotions reason is called in as umpire; and reason, in the mind of Milton, is the law of law itself. Again, the presence of this umpire assures finality; the cause is brought to some sort of conclusion. And, thirdly, a power is brought into play of the highest ethical importance—the power of leadership in things of the spirit. It is the law, by judging Israel under her palm-tree, acquired that capacity and influence which enabled her to rescue her country from the oppressor. In a well-known passage Maine describes how, in the early days of Rome, a civis pius et gratus cannot but grow with exercise.2

Yet, as we have hinted, some ethical weaknesses lurk in the procedure as now carried out. The arbitration is now compulsory, at least to one of the disputants; and the arbiter is no longer a kindly spectator, but a professional. The ‘sum of money’ has become a penal infliction; and the infliction is made by proxy. We have, in fact, not merely restitution, but penalty. As to the evils of professionalism, they are obvious to all. A profession is essentially a body, and a body has its weight. Lord Lindsell, ‘Lawyers are against legal reform: it is an interested professional opposition.’3 Nor is the effect, upon the class that awards or inflicts punishment, by any means always beneficial. In actual fact, perhaps, an a jury’s decision may escape the judge’s censure; but it would be difficult to find a harder-hearted class than the set of lawyers, clerks, and appraisers who surround him. It is here that public opinion must always be awake; and here too lies one of the chief merits of an unprofessional jury-system.4 The judge is liable as he lives, not; but that guidance and that tradition is. This tradition acts both towards width and towards limitation. The judge’s principle must always

1 P. 130.
2 See Pollock’s note on Maine, p. 407.
3 P. 384 f.
4 See The Nation, 16th June 1917.
5 P. 16.
tend to push him beyond his boundary; his tools keep him within it. In place of haphazard control exerted as a punishment, there is now a standardized tool; but that standard is always subject to modification. Spontaneous modification largely ceases with the introduction of a code; but deliberate change, due to the conscious desire for improvement, never ceases. It was thus, e.g., that Manfield, by ingenious interpretations of the law, saved Roman Catholics from the penalties of the Test Act, which, again, was actually repealed fifty years later. We become aware, then, of another power behind the judge, corresponding to the impalpable power behind his predecessor, the primitive king. Tradition (and also the unassailable spirit of the age) compels the judge to a perpetual re-adjustment of the scales of justice. The old simple idea of equality inevitably gives way, with the growth of knowledge and imagina-
tion, to the more complicated notion of proportion. Behind strict law and also behind tradition we detect the regulating presence of equity—a conception so rooted in human nature that it appears in the most primitive of fairy-tales. By obscure stages law herself begins to subsume equity, and until a kind of standardized formal alliance between the two; and who can doubt that this alliance springs from the desire that law shall not be too visibly divorced from the developing ethical standard of the times? In a similar fashion, the old legal theology has gradual-
ily adapted itself to the ethical requirements of an ethically advancing society.

"Nothing," says Maine, "is more distasteful to men ... than the admission of their moral progress as a substantive reality. Hence the old doctrine that Equity has gained from the king's conscience—the improvement which had in fact taken place in the moral standard of the community being thus referred to an innately divine origin."

But this very fiction of the king's conscience marks the existence in the mind of the community of a type or pattern to which the constitution is seen to conform only partially; and this pattern may in many minds be regarded as a divine order, which uses human society as its means of expression. Other minds may exclude the divine, yet all alike conceive this pattern as an ethical ideal.

We may now add to the emotions of anger, fear, and love, as producers of social punishment, the following elements: the conception of an umpire, who brings reason to regulate the emotions; the code of conduct for human behavior, limiting the action of the judge; the conception of equity, or of a set of principles which must adjust the rulings of tradition; and the conception of an ideal, whether regarded as divine or viewed as human, to which communities of men have a tendency to conform. Of these may observe that all involve an ethical element; that they must all be present in a righteous decision; and that they are closely bound up with the progress of mankind, admitting indeed, to a certain extent, of being arranged in historical sequence.

"Purumim est et in onmis luce civili, et in pontificum libris, et in XII tabulis, antiquitatis effigies." 7

4. Religious aspect.—When this conception of a type or pattern takes the form of a belief in a divine order of things for man, then the subject of punishments and rewards becomes distinct from religions. Religious, of course, in some sense it has almost always been. Even before the sense of "order" was evolved, when religion was scarcely to be distinguished from magic, the disorder was conceived as a divine disorder: the god was cap-
ricious, but men endeavoured nevertheless to understand his caprices and to propitiate his strange anger. Step by step the god is conceived as punishing as a divine god of rewards as an intelligent system; and here we see the gradual emergence of the pattern.

"We are told," says Bryce, "that the sun and the wind killed Laogeira, because she spoke him the word of Munster." Here, the god is seen acting as a punishing god, but punishing an offense that weakens the social bond. A step in advance is taken when spiritual agencies arise who take an interest in certain moral acts as such—when, in fact, a certain stability is seen in the divine judgments. Zeus, invariably punishing a wrong done: Other the god or supplant, is already a religious conception; and from that point we can trace the growth of the idea of a righteous God into its modern stages. A man who has attained this view of a righteous God must, when faced with the fact of punishment, as still less is there part of the social order, ask himself the question, Is it in accord-
ance with the will of God that man should punish his fellow-man? He may seek enlighten-
ment from revelation; and in this case his answer will be that the social order which he gives to the sacred traditions. Or he may inquire of philosophy (supposed here to be more or less theistic); and in this case the answer will vary according to the form of philosophy which appeals to him. Should the answer be in the negative, we are already pointed out that this article will be of little utility. If, on the other hand, it be in the affirmative, the seeker will at once be led to discuss the right relation of human justice to divine. (1) Shall it consciously en-
deavour to follow the principles on which, so far as can be seen, the world is held together? (2) Shall we, men, while duly reverencing the divine law as a norm for the individual, refuse to regard it as a model for regulations dealing with the social order? Shall the State, in other words, be theocratic or secular? There is no lack of communities of either kind; but less is there that of communities with something of both. Of systems that have worked on theocratic lines, perhaps the most familiar and striking example is the Jewish; but many Eastern States have conformed more or less fully to the type, and the chief of these is the Middle Ages. The problem here is a determined effort to realize the ideal. Many theorists also have held this view in varying degrees. Arnold, e.g., and Gladstone in his Church and State propounded doctrines of this kind, while Martensen speaks of 'the divine authority which manifests itself in the law, and is postulate and background for all earthly human authority.' To him religion is 'the inmost nerve of obligation, which knits us to responsibility.' The ideal has in fact attracted saintly minds since the Akkadian psalmist, seventeen centuries before Christ, addressed his godless as her 'whom wills makes contracts and justice to exist, establishing obligations among men.' But the verdict of experience is fatal to it. As a matter of historical fact, the deadest, the most repres-
sive, and the least enlightened of all forms of government, has been the theocratic. 2 Laird, e.g., declares plainly that law is religion and religion law—with the result that the law of Islam is a mass of enactments, unalterable because dictated by God or His mouthpiece, instead of a living and growing body of principles. The history of our own land provides us with instances full of warning. Barebone's Parliament, endeavouring

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2 Hobhouse, p. 30 ff. 3 P. 561.
3 See Bryce, ii. 250 ff.
4 Quoted by Cheyne, The Book of Psalms, p. x.
5 Sidgwick, Methods of Ethics, p. 295 ff.
6 Cicero, de Orat. i. 43.
7 Maine, ii. 543.
8 Maine, ii. 549.
9 Maine, p. 49 ff.
10 71 ff.
REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

... to rule England in accordance with the Law of Moses, is not an edifying spectacle. The identification of religion and law, indeed, has been hateful to both; religion has become frigid and ceremonial; law has been treated as inoffiable, and has therefore been unprogressive. True, such a system is often successful in securing obedience (or at least an external conformity), but at a terrible cost by being synonymous with a system of punishment. 

He says we are not surprised to find that the majority of the noblest publicists, even among men of deep religious feeling, have utterly refused to permit religion, in this sense, to intrude into the domain of punishment. The illustrious Beccaria—to take but one great name—knew too well the dangers of this dangerous evil. Religion, towards the contrary, his religion tends to make him the best of servants to the State. Accustomed to look upon the improvement of character as the highest of aims, he refuses, in his role of citizen, to accept as a satisfactory form of punishment one that does not further that aim. Religious men, it is true, differ widely in their views. Some hold that the retributive element should be upheld; others, looking upon punishment as a necessary evil, to be tolerated solely for the safety of society, will have none of that element, and turn their energies towards furthering the good of the criminal. But their differences are, after all, but matters of varying emphasis.

5. Attitude of the religious man to law. —No question is at once more important and more difficult than that of the due subsidence of religion and morality towards punishment.

"All theories on the subject of punishment," says Maine, "have more or less broken down; and we are at sea as to first principles. No theory that has presented itself to the mind of the human race, no theory of various forms of penalties should be accorded for crime is still an unsolved one," says Lord Russell of Killowen; and Sir Robert Anderson, a man of great understanding in criminal investigation, maintains that our whole system of punishing crime is false in principle and unachievable in practice. 2

Malts has plain both that reform is necessary and that it is very difficult. The wise reformer will walk warily. Yet we are not without some fairly certain principles which may form the basis of our views as to the proper forms and methods of punishment. Putting aside all sophistical argumentation, we must recognize the necessity of a proper proportion between penalty and offence, and also between penalty and offender. Exact measurement of crime is of course impossible; but a healthy ethic revolt against a Draconian severity. Heaviness of fine for the theft of five shillings wills not have; and first offenders must be treated leniently. 3

Most of us would also uphold the principle of the indeterminate sentence. Again, a true morality will not be satisfied to discuss punishment on the grounds of mere social convenience. There is something more, e.g. for a plentiful misuse of the notion of punishment of death. A nuisance is easily got rid of, and with the least possible expenditure of public money; the dead criminal cannot repeat his crimes, and (though experience does not say so) it is arguable that others, by the sight of so terrible a retribution, may be deterred from imitation. But religion and ethics will be moved by no such considerations. By death the criminal (who is by no means to be treated as wholly unmercifully) is deprived of the power of further service; and to this religion, here reinforced by science, will no more agree than will the economist now agree to make no use of the so-called 'waste-products' of the coal-fields. If the Browning's poem, be compelled to admit the advisability of death as a punishment in certain exceptional cases, but not on the grounds above mentioned; and it is possible that it may come to reject the death-penalty altogether.

Malts, in common, a former times, tends to lose its meaning as the world tends to become one; but in any case it is a confession of weakness and an evasion of responsibility which religion is both to make. Imprisonment and the social boycott, to some extent, take its place; but in the application of these two means is probably by the punishment of the criminal as a potentially valuable citizen. The imprisonment must not be such as to degrade him yet more; and, on his release, he must not be shunned like a pariah, but given a fair chance; Beccaria indeed goes almost farther than this.

"The degree of the punishment," he says, "and the consequences of the crime, ought to be so contrived as to have the greatest possible effect on others, with the least possible pain to the delinquent." 4

Law being useless without a sanction, and sanction being an evil, the religious man will desire to diminish the number of laws and the number of local crimes. But the man of affairs and the moralist will say that such a substitution of public opinion for a system of punishment is impossible. For, if experience shows anything clearly, it proves that a healthy public opinion does more in a year to prevent crime than the severest penalties in a century. Dwelling, e.g., has ceased in Britain, not by being treated as murder, but by being proclaimed as immoral, or even by being ridiculed as absurd; and, were the laws against it to be dropped, it would none the less remain in abeyance. Adultery, again, has not flourished least in those countries where it has been punished by the law.

This attitude does not imply any insensitiveness to the evil of crime. Religion does not regard sin as a mere disease, nor does it relieve the criminal of responsibility. 5

One system (the Philaelephian) had approached the problem from the moral side, aiming to give it by making men think right. The other (the Auburn) approached the problem from the physical side, aiming to solve it by making men act right. Both failed; for the problem of crime is a moral one. No man can be reformed except his conscience be quickened. 6

Some methods employed at present in the detection or prevention of crime the religious man will probably regard as pernicious and to be renounced. The agent provocateur, e.g., cannot be used but at the cost of moral deterioration to himself and to the Government that employs him. He may diminish one form of villainy, but he adds to another that is probably worse. The ordinary spy is little better; and the offering of rewards to criminals who will betray an accomplice can only increase, in the society as a whole, the most loathsome of vices, that of treachery. 7

Improvements of the kind here hinted at, and many not here noticed, by the political and religious man, acting quietly as a citizen of ordinary influence. There are, however, occasions when it may be his duty to set himself in direct opposition to what he regards as a bad law. Of these cases the classical example is Antigone; the


2. See Kenny, Outlines of Crimimal Law, ch. xxxii, p. 498.


4. ib.

5. See Beccaria, p. 117.
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Biblical, Peter and John preaching the gospel in Jerusalem. Quite recent times, of course, supply famous examples. Here, by the nature of the case, no precise and undoubted distinction rebel (or, as Westenmack calls him, the 'moral dissenter') must seek all the enlightenment at his disposal, and then, after carefully balancing against his scruples the claims of the State and the evils involved in disobedience, act accordingly. For, whereas the traditional theory of rewards seeking desire the punishment to be as light as possible; for conscience is not so common that even a mistaken conscience can be suppressed except at a heavy loss to the community. Nor is the dissenter ever acting, in a strict sense, alone. He feels, says Westenmack, that his punishment is so rare at least by an ideal society; in the words of Pollock, he regards his own opinion 'not as peculiar to himself, but as what public opinion ought to be.' Nevertheless, an ethical judgment of such men will further take into account the fact that the great reformers of the past have in their time been moral dissenters of precisely this kind.

Finally, the religious man is, almost ipso facto, an optimist. He believes in the inherent power of good and in its ultimate triumph; and he looks forward to the day when the predominant that punishment will be unnecessary, the attractions of goodness will be by themselves sufficient to ensure just action on the part of societies and their members. But meanwhile the moral or religious man will give his support to all agencies for the eradication of crime, measuring that support by the degree in which those agencies involve more of the reformatory element and less of the retributive.

A word here seems desirable as to punishments in the next world. Here the religious man's views can only be coloured by his views as to earthly punishment. He may, it is true, be compelled by his belief in revelation to admit the existence of certain forms of future penalty which may, per se, seem purely retributive; and he may be compelled to answer to objections by the simple argument, 'Man cannot judge God.' Nevertheless, we trace a growing tendency to reject the merely retributive penalty as unworthy of the Deity. Men dare, like Abraham, to ask, 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' and they teach that 'righteousness shall not perish from the earth.' The Roman Catholic Church, as we know, has long had his Purgatory; the liberal theologian believes in a universal restoration; the orthodox Protestant no longer preaches the deterrent judgment sermons of a hundred years ago; and he is tending to view his system of eternal punishment by manifold accommodations. The flame is not a literal fire; or the sinner, even between the saddle and the ground, may have sought and received mercy.

6. Rewards and PUNISHMENTS and rewards divide between them the whole field of legislation. But the division is very unequal; for, though the field of reward is far the larger, being in fact co-extensive with the whole field of service, it naturally demands far less attention from the lawyer. As punishment he is proud of so reward may be defined as 'a portion of the matter of good, which, in consideration of some service supposed or expected to be done, is bestowed on some one, in the intent that he may be benefited thereby.' By 'benefit,' as might be expected, Bentham means 'pleasure,' but he well points out, favor cannot ensure pleasure; it is meant, however, to enlarge the opportunities of pleasure at the disposal of its recipient. If we prefer the word, we may substitute 'happiness' for Bentham's phrase.

As we approach the modern age, we find a much broader scope for the exertion, by religion and ethics, of influence over its distribution. It is hard, perhaps, to improve on Bentham's division, according to which it may assume one (or more) of four forms: (1) wealth, (2) honour, (3) power, (4) exemptions. Some of these, however, are not difficult to define. The humanitarian, in general the most suitable: Thus successful warriors have often been directly rewarded by gifts of money or estate; and in modern communities the whole course of legislation has been generally conducted with a view to providing wealth as a reward for service, and to securing it, when once acquired, against violence or fraud. But 'honours,' at least as direct gifts of the State, are equally common; and in some countries civil servants of a certain rank are entitled to a pension on retiring from office. We are all familiar with titles as a gratification for at least theoretical services. Exemptions, again, are common, whether in the form of exemption from civil burdens or in that of exemption from punishment. Thus, under the Ancien Regime, the nobles had privileges for clergy: and in countries where State services were, freed from most kinds of taxation. 'Previous good conduct' is almost everywhere admitted as a plea in mitigation of punishment. Sometimes, indeed, the exemptions have been even anticipatory: a Roman citizen, knew, beforehand that he was free from capital punishment, a Russian deputy from corporal. 'Benefit of clergy' secured 'clerks' from certain penalties; and in former times English noblemen were exempt from penalties for even atrocious crimes. But it is with regard to power that religion and ethics have most to say; for there can be no doubt that all rewards power ought to be the commonest; and it is in the direction of increasing the range of power as a reward that reform should certainly proceed. 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social life; but the working of reward is far more automatic than that of punishment, and is connected with a far less wasteful expenditure of machinery. We do indeed find many a Galba, or a Nero, industrious, upright, conscientious, but we do indeed find men, with none of Galba’s claims, promoted to high positions; yet, with all these unfortunate exceptions, the capable man tends, by the mere virtue of his capacity, to come to the top—granted that, in present circumstances, vastly too unimportant to be much heed to, is the merest shake of the needle. With the abolition of the retributive penalty and the establishment of enlarged service as the appropriate reward, religion and morals will be in the way to achieve their highest ends. But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare.


E. E. KELLETT

REYNARD THE FOX.—In the Middle Ages beast-fables and apologies were largely used by preachers—beasts symbolizing men or particular qualities or failings, and their words and actions being intended to teach a lesson. These fables were partly drawn from Eastern sources, and Buddhist literature abounds in them, though they are also used there to express the doctrine of reincarnation, and they describe the acts of Buddha in previous lives. Some of the Eastern versions contain specimens of them, and some are still told among the peasants. But all were not invented for the purpose of pointing a moral. They existed already as Marchen, and the moral was a later addition. All savage collections of folk-tales alike point to this fact. In the Far East, for example, it would take little alteration to turn into genuine beast-fables. Animal folk-tales, in which animals act and speak like men, descend from an age when it was actually believed that they could do so, and in which also men had already noted the characteristic traits of different kinds of animals—traits which had human parallels. Such savage stories are of the Brer Rabbit class, and tell how this or that animal successfully tricked the others. As a rule each people has its favourite rogue-animal which is raised to the dignity of a god, and this is a Marchen on a large scale in which a large number of animals are the dramatis personae, and many incidents are brought together into a more or less complete whole. Undoubtedly its roots are in the popular tales rather than in the moral apologies current in the cities. See also art. FAITHE, PARABLE (Ethics).

1. Variants of the Reynard story.—Apart from apologies and fables, the first known literary versions of the Reynard story are found in Latin poems of monastic origin, in which the greater bawdiness than was possible in a fable is given to the incidents recounted. One of these, which presupposes a popular original, is the Ecobius cynus-dain captius, the principal subject of which is the healing of the lion by the fox, found in the later versions. It contains over 1200 verses and was written by a monk of the abbey of St. Evre a Toul in the 10th century. Another short Latin poem is the 11th. Secordus et Lupus, corresponding to the twelfth branch of the French Renart. A third is the Luparia—the wolf as monk, an Apocalypse, in which the wolf is from the late 11th or early 12th century. Better known than these is the Fabella Lupina or Iren-igrinus or Reinardus Vulpes (c. 1150), a poem of over 6000 lines, divided into four books, with a certain unity and sequence of episodes, in which for the first time the animals appear with the

1 See C. F. p. 39 and reff. ther, and cf. W. H. I. Bleek, Reynard the Fox in Africa, London, 1892; F. Krause, and Fuchs, Helsingfors, 1885; Mans und Fuchs, do. 1891.
4 E. Grimm, Reinbaut Fuchs, Berlin, 1834, 4to; E. Voigt, Kleine lateinische Denkmaler der Thiergese aus dem XII bis XIV Jahrhundert, Strasbourg, 1875.
characteristic names of the Reynard epics. Of this poem there is a short abridgment, the *Iesengrimus*, containing the incidents of the lion’s sickness and his healing by the advice of Reynard, and the pilgrimage of Bertiliana the goat. The *Frontispice* is likewise only abridged, but from French originals or traditions, and its authorship is attributed to Magister Nivardus in a 14th cent. MS of the poem. It is a pious monk, who nevertheless satirizes the pope, priests, and religious orders, and is bitterly opposed to St. Bernard. Its subject is the adventures of Isengrimus and Reinardus, the lion’s sickness and healing by Reinardus, and the outwitting and death of Isengrimus through the craft of Reinardus. The poem is charged with irony and is full of human as well as moral allusions.

The earliest (Middle) High German version is the *Reinart Fuchs* of Heinrich der Glicascheare (c. 1180). This work forms a complete whole without inclusions or lack of order and connexion in the parts of the narrative, and with every evidence of being carefully before the 13th cent., and even before the 12th cent.

The fox is here brought into many adventures with several inferior animals, then with the wolf, until the last, disguised with Reynard’s successes over him, seeks justice against the other animals. From Reynard he learns and narrowly escapes from the tables on his accusers. His healing potion, however, is a poison to O.F. His story is told, and in the end the fox is vanquished.

Possibly Glicascheare misunderstood the word, unless this treatment of the episode of the healing is his own conception. Unlikely, but the cause of the later version’s vix, revenge on the part of the king of the ants when these have been destroyed by King Lion because they would not acknowledge their supremacy.

It can be proved that Glicascheare’s work is due to French originals, and he himself alludes to French poems on the subject. Of his twenty-one adventures, five only are not paralleled in the French *Roman de Renart*. The Roman, however, has nothing of the completeness or unity which is a chief characteristic of Glicascheare’s version, and a French poem of similar scope and harmony, now lost, has been postulated as his source, or a MS containing various ‘branches’ in the order of his episodes, or, more probably, a traditional arrangement of separate narratives. Such a grouping is already found in the *Reinardus Vulpes* (c. 1190).

Meanwhile in Flanders a poet, Willem van Utenhove, or Willem die Matoe, basing his work probably on a French poem in which the scene of the judgment of Reynard at the court of the lion had been added, composed a work in Flemish, *Reinart de Vos*, some time in the 13th century. A continuation, *Reinart’s Historie*, by a later unknown writer, supplied large additions and an element of satire, and the whole was now regarded as one complete work.4 Willem’s expanded work is the source of the many translations and prose versions which have been so popular in various lands since the invention of printing. A popular prose version appeared in print at Gouda, by Gherart Leeuw, in 1745, *D’Hystoric de Reinardus de Vos*, and this edition was the basis of Willem’s poem to be forgotten.

In 1481 Caxton’s English rendering of this version with omissions and abridgments was published at Westminster. But the story of Reynard must have been known already in England, as is shown by references in Chaucer’s *Nouns Prestes Tale* and in earlier Anglo-Norman poets, and by the existence of actual stories of the Reynard group in Latin and English verses of the 13th-14th centuries.

A Saxon version of *Reinart*, written in verse, appeared in 1498, and has been variously attributed to Heinrich van Alkmar or to Nicolaus Baumann. This work, called *Reynke de Vos*, was the source of the High German versions of *Reinene Fuchs*, the first of which was published at Frankfort in 1545, and also of Danish, Swedish, and other translations. Goethe’s well-known poem, based on J. C. Gottsched’s version (1752), appeared in 1794.

The surviving French versions of the Reynard story are the poems of the Roman *de Renart*. These date back to the 13th cent., and are the work of different trouvères, though undoubtedly based on existing compositions or traditional versions. The separate poems, or ‘branches’, of the Roman consist of numerous episodes which do not form a complete whole and have often little connexion with one another; each branch follows another without transition—so much so that the number of the ‘branches’, their order, and their contents vary in different MSS. In spite of the lack of order, it is fairly evident that the basis of the episodes of the Roman was the story laid before King Noble (the lion) against Reynard by Isengrim, the wolf, regarding the fox’s villainies, and especially his violence to Hersent, Isengrim’s wife. The fox is always the chief actor. The authors of some of these *Renart* poems were the early 13th cent. *trouvères*, Pierre de St.-Guion, Richard de Lison, and an unnamed ‘*Prestre de la Croix en Eri*.’ Of the other authors the MSS say nothing, but the provenance of the poems seems to have been Normandy, Champagne, Picardy, and Flanders.5 The complexity of the Roman is in striking contrast with the unity of the poem of Heinrich der Glicascheare, who nevertheless worked upon French sources. The Roman contains some 30,000 verses, and undoubtedly several ‘branches’ have been lost.

While the bulk of the ‘branches’ make the animals act and speak in character, others are full of the manners of the age of chivalry, and the animals act and speak as knights, with little regard to their animal characteristics.

Another Roman romance is the independent *Le Couronnement de Renart*, dating from the second half of the 13th cent., which departs further from the Reynard tradition, and which has been attributed to Marie de France, though this is a matter of considerable doubt. To the same romance cycle belongs the *Renart le Nouvel* by Jacobmart (Gielée de Lille, 1283.) Its subject is the strife of Reynard against King Noble, represented as a strife of evil against good. The work shows traces of scholastic learning and classical knowledge; its tendency is allegory, and it satirizes the clergy as does also *Le Couronnement*, for their corruption, while its author strives to exhort to a purer faith.

Still another poem is the long *Renart le Contrefait*, an imitation or reproduction of the older tales.

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3 Published in Moon, vol. iv., and analyzed in Rothe, p. 302 ff.

by a clerk of Troyes, writing in the 14th cent., which satirizes the monastic and chivalric orders and displays a vast encyclopedic knowledge of the learning of the age.¹

2. Characteristics of the Reynard cycle.—While the different versions of the Reynard story differ in literary worth, and while some have an obviously modern or authors working directly upon existing fables, the telling of a story, the desire of literary expression, was probably the first purpose of the authors, and the humorous element—"broad rustic mirth," to quote Carlyle—coarse, brutal, and cynical as it often is, pervades the whole work. The fox is the clever villain all through, astute, evil, both as an animal and as a representative of man, yet he tends to be sympathetically regarded by the reader, like many of Dickens's villains. The other animals usually act in keeping with their nature, and are more than man disguised. While styled a romance, the poem and, later, the prose version have little of the romantic element, although fancy plays round all the episodes, coarse, hard, and cynical as they often are. The element of parody enters into the whole cycle, parody even of the most sacred things, and Carlyle truly calls it a "wild parody of human life."¹

3. Sources.—Grimm and others believed that the Reynard story was of German origin, based on an old German animal epic. But no trace of this exists, and it is certain that the existing German versions are based on French originals. The Reynard cycle of the epic is probably the regions of France and Flanders bordering on Germany, or the region between the Seine and the Rhine—a supposition which would account for the Germanic form of such names as Ragenhard (Reynard), Isangrim, Richild, etc., of which Grimm makes certain. The Reynard has been for four centuries one of the most popular heroes in Germany, the soil in which during the 12th-13th cent. the romance flourished most was undoubtedly France, and especially its northern part. The oldest text is a Latin one; then follow the older French branches of the Reynart. These are followed again by the version of Heinrich der Gleichzähler, a Middle High German version translated from or based on French originals, and that again by the Flemish and Low German versions. The sources of the Reynard cycle are probably much less the apologues so much beloved in the Middle Ages than oral and folk tradition. Sudre has devoted a work of great research to an investigation of the sources, and has made this conclusion practically certain. In spite of certain resemblances of some "bran tellemys" to the "riddle" and its various versions to the apologues, beast-fables, and the stories of the long popular Physiologus, all of which had a great vogue in the cloisters and schools, the affinities between them are rare, distant, and indirect. The allegorical, symbolical, and didactic aspects of the apologue are lacking in the Reynart, and the circumstances of the age were such that these would hardly have been omitted by the authors working directly upon existing fables. The Reynard stories have been mainly derived from the folk, and only indirectly from literary sources. Thus they stand parallel to the Jātakas, the Panchatantra, the fables of Aesop and Phaedrus, and some of them were used in current folk-tales in their respective ages and places of origin. The link with apologue and fable is slight; the link with the vast edifice of folk-tales of animals, intended to amuse rather than instruct, is strong. From both, but mainly from the latter, the authors of the Reynart stories with great art produced a work which in its different forms has had an extraordinary popularity.

LITERATURE.—The various editions, of the stories of the Reynard cycle and various works dealing with it have been sufficiently indicated in the text. See also Aesop, Aesop in Chaucer, Aesop et le roman de Renart, Groningen, 1893; E. Martin, Études sur le roman de Renart, Groningen, 1893; E. Martin, Études sur le roman de Renart, Basel, 1872. E. Arber's Popular Tales from the French, London, 1887. Scott's Caxton's Version, London, 1899, is a useful ed. of the tale (English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works).

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

RIDDLE.—1. Definition.—"Riddle" is a comprehensive term for a puzzling question or an ambiguous proposition which is intended to be solved by conjecture. Obscure terms are employed to conceal the meaning, and thereby to stimulate the intellect and instruction of the reader or listener. Rhettorically the riddle is closely related to the metaphor, and in fact it may be defined as a metaphor or a group of metaphors which have not passed into common usage and whose significance is not evident. Aristotle insists on the close connexion between the riddle and the metaphor, maintaining that, when the metaphor is employed continuously in the discourse, a riddle is the result. This conception of the riddle closely associates it with the allegory and fable, and was the Greek view; for the word ἀριστοτέλους, from which αἰσθανάμαι (‘riddle’) is derived, was applied to Aesop’s fables. As a symbolical mode of expression, in which the real sense is obscured, it becomes an important instrument for the cultivation not only of wit, but also of man’s intellectual capacities. From one point of view the riddle is a product of humour, from another it is the result of man’s ability to perceive analogies in nature; its capacity to puzzle is due very largely to analogies which are unconsciously stored up in the metaphorical speech. While a genuine riddle possesses the quality of obscurity—the more obscure the better—and at the same time it must be a perfectly true description. Every term ought to be as accurate and exact as in a logical definition, but put in a form to puzzle and surprise. All these characteristics of a genuine enigma are well exemplified in the riddle of the Sphinx, which is worthy of being quoted, not only as a normal example, but because of the large part which it played in Greek legend and literature:

What walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three in the evening?²

In this question the Sphinx takes the day metaphorically for the span of human life. The power of a riddle to arrest the attention and make truth expressive is largely due to an element

¹ Ibid. ² Poet. 22.
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of incongruity which is usually present, the irreconcilable and incompatible being associated together. Aristotle has brought this feature out in one of his statements in regard to riddles:

'out of the eater came forth meat,
and out of the strong came forth sweetness' (Jg 14:19).

2. Types.—The general term 'riddle' covers several different types of enigmatical questions and sayings.

(a) Logogram.—The difficulty may be concentrated in a single word, when the puzzle lies in the double sense which the word bears. For this kind of riddle the French employ the term calendaires, the Germans Wahrheitsrätsel; a favourite designation for it is 'logogram.' A modern example may be cited:

When Victor Hugo was elected to membership in the French Academy, Salvaire his donkey remarked to the distinguished author: 'Monseigneur, vous avez introduit en France l'art technique (Farces).'

The Greeks also employed this type of riddle, and a well-known instance of it is found in the Works of Aristophanes, where the word ἀγάμος occurs in the double sense of 'shield' and 'asp.'

This type of riddle may be spontaneous and natural, or, with the development of the literary art, it may be worked out artificially until the logogram proper is developed. Strictly speaking, the logogram covers a class of riddles in which the puzzle is based upon the addition, subtraction, or transposition of letters. A more familiar term for the case when the letters are transposed is 'anagram.' An example of a Latin logogram is:

'To read, smile, eat. One temptates habsis.'—Puer: Uer (J. C. Scaliger).

A simple one in English runs:

'There is a word in the English language the first two letters of which signify a man, the first three a female, the first four a great man, the whole a great woman.'—Her-o-ine.

The ancient Hebrews, in disguising a word or name by substituting the last letter of the alphabet for the first, the next last for the second, and so forth, formed what may not inaptly be termed an alphabetical method and stands for גנ (Jer 25:9), and זג for זג for גנ (25). With these may be grouped the famous handwriting on the wall (Dan 5:7).

(b) Enigma.—Less mechanical and more important is the enigma proper. Aristotle's ἀγαθά, in which all the letters of the word run through an entire passage, sometimes of considerable length. This type of riddle is very closely allied to both the allegory and the parable. The Greeks would have regarded Nathan's famous parable (2 S 12) and Isaiah's song of the vineyard (Is 5) as riddles. The prophet Ezekiel (ch. 17) works out an allegory in which the monarchs of Babylon and Egypt are described as eagles. The prophet himself designates his allegory a riddle as well as a parable, and the art revealed in his working out of the imagery indicates that Hebrew writers were masters of the symbolic riddle. The conversation of Jesus

with Nicodemus is an example of an enigmatic discourse employed for the purpose of making profound religious truth impressive (Jn 3).

(c) Rebus.—The rebus is a third type. Originally it was a riddle put in the form of a picture of things in words or syllables.

According to Plutarch, Alexander the Great, during the siege of Tyre, saw in a dream a satyr (Ζάρωπος) who could be caught only with difficulty. The wise men interpreted the dream for him: 'Raisins in wine.'

Another type of the rebus was put in the form of an object-lesson. Let us note an example of it in the political sphere:

The Emperor Marcus Aurelius finds that his revenues are steadily decreasing. He sends messengers to Judah, the pedant, for counsel. Instead of giving a verbal reply, the latter takes the imperial emmissaries out to his garden, where he points the head and roots of the plants and refers them to the royal ambassadors. "What shall we tell the king?" they ask. "Tell him that your royal ambassadors return without any message, but report the strange actions of the rabbi to their royal master, who fully comprehends the symbolism of the act and follows the advice given to him in this strange manner.

A notable rebus in the historical sphere revolves about the person of Cyrus.

The Scythians, attacked by Cyrus, sent the Persian monarch a messenger with arrows, a rat, and a frog. By these gifts they meant to tell Cyrus that, unless he could hide in a hole like a rat, or like a frog in water, he could not escape their arrows.

(d) Charade.—The charade is a later development of riddle-making, a product of literary activity rather than of primitive efforts at poetry or rhetoric, and thus is essentially artificial. The charade usually turns upon words or syllables composing a word, sometimes on words composing a phrase. It has not inaptly been termed a 'syllable-riddle' ('Silbevöllersfelde'). Examples will indicate its character better than a formal definition.

Here is one taken from Greek sources:

σωσία, ἡμετέρα, σωσία, ἡμετέρα, οὐκ ἂν ἔμεθη, τὸ χείλεσθαι, 'the whole an island, the lowering of an ox, and the voice of an assurer.' The interpretation is καθάλ. ἡμέραν, ἡ ἡμέραν, ἡ σφαίρα, ἡ σφάιρα, ἡ ἑλέα, ἡ θηλή, 'the day every day, the ash.'

We owe a beautiful ancient Latin charade to Anius Gellius:

'Semel minusane, an bis minus, non rat solo.
At utrumque eorum, ut quondam audari dei,
Iovi ipsi regi noluit concedere.'

Its solution lies in the equation: Semel minus bis minus = ter minus = god Terminus, whose symbol, a boundary-stone, is a column in the temple of Jupiter erected by Tarquinus Superbus.

A famous charade on 'cod,' which, according to most authorities, has been incorrectly ascribed to Macaulay, runs as follows:

'Cut off my head, and singular I act;
Cut off my tail and plural I appear;
Cut off my head and tail, and, wondrous fact,
Although my middle is left, there's nothing there.
What is my head?
A sounding sea;
What is my tail?
A bower;
What am I?
Mid ocean's depths I fearless stray,
Parent of softest sounds, yet mute forever.'

A. Führer has called attention to the existence of charades in Sanskrit poetry; and, singularly enough, many of these have a religious significance.

(e) Epigram.—According to the Greek view, the epigram, in its original sense of a poetical inscription on votive offerings or grave-stones, was closely related to the riddle. In many instances the resemblance would have been complete if the epigram had suggested a challenge to solution.  

1 'Charade' is a word of French origin. In his Dict. de la littérature (1770) Sébastien gives the following definition: 'Ce mot vient des Grecs, et signifie en grec 'charade', et en lat. 'charadon', un discours propre à tenir le temps; on dit en Languedoc: allons faire des charades, pour allons passer l'après-soupé, ou autres velléités. Le mot est venu en France, parce qu'en ce pays les assemblées de l'après-soupé, le peuple de cette province s'amuse à dire des histoires pour passer le temps; on dit : Leurquoi (quod est, que signifie).'
2 Quoted from Ouhert, Rabat und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen, p. 107.
3 See ZDMG xx. 385 (1885) 909.
4 Ouhert, p. 385: 'Zahlreiche Epigramme könnte als Rätsel gelten, wenn man ihnen die Ueberschrift nimmt; zahlreiche üproden als Epigramme gelesen, die aber die eigentliche Lösung zu ihrer Hand entgehen.' This statement is made especially of the Greek field.
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illustration taken from a grave-stone is interesting:

&oumta oia wte daa an, v. & a. daa v. (o. ouart, de, tpe. tene.)

"My name is theta rho alpha sigma u. nu alpha chi u. sigma; Changed was my native land; to be wise is art."

This Thrasymachus was a sophist mentioned by Plato.

(f) Arithmetical riddle.—The arithmetical or numerical riddle is next to be noted. Many of these are very trivial and are based upon the form of the numeral.

E.g., "I have twenty remain when one is subtracted from nineteen". The solution depends upon the form of the Roman numerals XIX and XX.

A serious form of arithmetical riddle was developed especially by the Jews, through the numerical value of the letters of the alphabet. Many Jewish commentators made ὑπάρξ ( = 'serpent') one of the names of the Messiah because the numerical value of the letters is the equivalent of ὑπάρξ. In Gn 14 the reader is supposed to find the name of Abraham's steward because the numerical value of the Hebrew consonants making up the word Eliezer equals 318, the number of the patriarch's attendants.

Jewish writers developed this method of writing and interpretation into a system and the name Gematria. Instead of the intended word, its numerical value was produced by permutation of the letters; in course of time this developed into the kabbalistic method of interpreting OT Scripture. One numerical riddle appears in the pages of the NT; it is the number of the beast, 666 (Rev 13:18). The custom of taking the letters of a word in a numerical sense was a part of every Gnostic system. As a prominent example we may take the word ἀρτονόμος, used by the Gnostics as an amulet because the numerical value of the Greek letters totalled 663, the number of days in a year.

Another form of the arithmetical riddle is found in the OT, and was much cultivated by the Jews of post-Biblical days and terned by them the middath (752). A typical example occurs in Pr 30:15:

"There are three things that are never satisfied, Yea, seven that are never filled, Enough."

These two lines contain the riddle proper; the answer is given in the following verse:

"Shoot; and the hungry shall have their fill;"

The numerical riddle in this form is the favourite type among the Arabs, and instances of it have also been found in Sanskrit literature. It was also much affected by the Jews of Talmudic times. The Jewish scholar A. Wünsche has published a collection of the middath, type of numerical riddles under the title, 'Die Zahlensprüche in Talmud und Midrasch.'

3. Origin and development.—The riddle originated in the infancy of the human race. J. G. Herder, in his Von Geist der hebräischen Poesie,

"marks that 'all peoples in the first stages of culture are lovers of riddles.' The same spirit which gave birth to the folk-song and folk-proverb likewise produced the riddle. A genuine folk-

riddle is a spontaneous expression, coming from the depths of the soul of a people or race, not from the mind of an individual, and consequently is anonymous (cf. art. PROVERBS). Riddles are therefore in a real sense the true poetic forms of primitive thought. Many riddles of primitive man, who also frequently used the same literary device in his description of an occasional accidental occurrence, when it constituted a mystery for him. That Greek with the idea of a riddle which was supposed to be a riddle between ἄρτος and γόρα, two common designations for riddles, and the two terms μύδος and ἡγος is a clear indication that Greek enigmas touched the domain of mythology. These two spheres would of necessity come together when the mysteries current in a nation had furnished the puzzle for the riddle-maker. Mythological speculation actually forms a part of the riddle-hymn of the Rigveda (see below).

A sharp distinction ought to be made between the original folk-riddle and those more artificial ones which have come to us through the channels of literature. Rolland lays stress upon this distinction by dividing riddles into two classes: (1) l’énigme vraiment populaire; (2) l’énigme savante ou littéraire. It is, however, difficult to define many of the riddles of antiquity. Many have come down to us in their original form. We possess them, if at all, in the polished (and in a sense artificial) form resulting from the labours of literary men. The writings of the great literary geniuses of Greece are liberally sprinkled with such riddles; many involving subtle metaphysical discussions are found in the Rigveda. Modern investigators have made collections of riddles current among people of primitive culture. In a recent edition of Rolland the editor has added an appendix giving an account of riddles found in the Woleis of Senegambia, and similar collections are to be found in the journals of learned societies and missionary periodicals.

Chronologically the riddle may be followed to a remote antiquity. A very ancient Semitic riddle is preserved in a Phoenician tablet:

1. Who becomes pregnant without conceiving?
2. Who becomes fat without eating?

The answer is 'Clouds.'

The collection of Greek riddle is associated with Minos, king of Crete. When his son, Glaukos, disappeared, the monarch consulted an oracle; the reply was in the form of an enigma which was solved by the seer, Polydorus. There are many allusions to this riddle in Greek literature, especially in the great tragedians.

Pre-eminent among enigmes littéraires are the riddles of the Vedic writings. The spontaneity and naïveté of the folk type have entirely disappeared, and instead of these characteristics they distinctly reflect metaphysical speculations and an abstruse type of Hindu thought. The same qualities characterize the enigmas with which the Greek philosophers were accustomed to enliven their banquets. At certain periods of literary activity there have been revivals of the art of riddle-making; writers distinguished for their efforts at enigmatic literature have amused themselves by producing riddles usually trivial in subject-matter, yet frequently beautiful in form. Riddle-making was an affectation with the Greeks of the Byzan-
tine period, and their production of imitators and theatrical rules for riddles lost its grace. Olberrt mentions three poets of the 11th cent.—Psellus, Basilius Megalono-


1 Dechinen en esigmes populaires de la France.
2 1357, originally published in 1628.
3 Rawlinson, W.A.F. II. table 16, lines 48-50.
4 Apollodorus, ii. ill. 1.
Anglo-Latin poets of the 6th cent. and their Anglo-Saxon successors collected and wrote riddles extensively. In France of the 17th cent. men like Boileau delighted in penning riddles—Boileau's riddle on the flea is famous—while Voltaire and Rousseau did not disdain to try their skill in making them. Fénon tests the sagacity of Talamaque by propounding riddles to him. The popularity of this form of literary expression in France, during the period covered by the name just mentioned, may be judged by the publication of the Recueil des énigmes de ce temps, under the editorship of the Ménestrel de France. This volume was a vehicle for the publication of riddles, and Duchesne edited a Magasin énigmatique.

In England riddles were much affected by literary men in the age of Swift, who produced many of them. The trivial subject-matter of Swift's riddles—'On Ink,' 'On a Pen,' 'On a Fan'—indicates that they were merely the by-products of literary activity and employed for the purpose of whiling away idle hours. But it was left to Schiller, after going back to the age of the Sibyls and learning the art of making riddles from them, to develop the riddle into a beautiful poem, a work of literary art. One may be quoted to show that, while the subject-matter is trivial, the verse bears all the marks of the genius of the German poet.

Triviality as to subject-matter is the outstanding characteristic of modern literary riddles, and in this particular they are wholly unlike those of antiquity. With the ancients, as is noticed below (§ 6), riddles touched the serious issues of life. Life and death were involved in untravelling them; weighty policies of State depended on their solution; and even the sacred rites of religion were enlivened by the proposing and guessing of riddles.

4. Form.—Riddles are usually expressed in rhyme or verse. Goethe sets forth this characteristic:

'So legt der Dichter ein Rätsel,
Künstlich mit Worten verschränkt, oft der Veranschmachtung ins Gewebe seines Gedichts ein schöner Anfang.'

Samson's enigma, the only popular riddle preserved in the OT, bears all the marks of ancient Hebrew poetry (Jg 14:9). The Greek riddles scattered through the works of the poets and philosophers in imitation of the Hebrew prophecies and weighty policies of State depended on their solution; and even the sacred rites of religion were enlivened by the proposing and guessing of riddles. The Anglo-Latin poets of the Middle Ages put their enigmas into hexameter verse, and the riddles of the Anglo-Saxon period are in metrical form. Many Jewish Hebrew poets of the Middle Ages exercised their muse by putting riddles into poetic form. The length and character of these may be judged by a production of the poet al-Harizi (13th cent.), in which he takes 46 lines to describe the ant in enigmatical form. It was a favourite custom of the native Arabic grammarians to put their rules in poetical riddles. Many examples of these have been collected by G. Theodor. Schiller's riddle quoted above shows how this poet invested it with the peculiar charm of rhytmical expression. It is the poetical form in which it is couched that lends the riddle much of its impressiveness and stimulates the intellect to solution.

5. Occurrence.—As riddles are rooted in metaphysics, it is not surprising to find that they are of universal occurrence. They have been discovered among the peoples of primitive culture the world over. Abbé Bollet, in writing of the Wolofs of Senegambia, says that these savages at the evening time in the hutDefault document text
Riddle contest between the two famous seers, Calchas and Mopsus. According to one tradition, the former is victorious; according to another, the latter; but in either case the variatio be his life. The authority of Plutarch supports the legend of a struggle of this type between Theognis and Homer, in which the latter is worsted and dies of mortification. In the Theban legend the Sphinx destroys those who fail to solve her riddle, and, when Oedipus is successful, the monster devours himself over a precipice. There are modern Greek legends in which the failure to solve a riddle costs a man his life. A monster living in a castle propounds a riddle and gives forty days for its solution. Unfortunately is the person who fails, for the monster devours him. The resemblance to the story of the Sphinx is evident. In the Mahābhārata the legend takes another form: the hero Yudhishthira frees two brothers from the fetters of a monster by the solution of a riddle. Teutonic legends are of similar import: in the so-called Wartburg-Krieg there is a deadly riddle contest between Odin and the giant Walthrudin, and another instance has been immortalized by Schiller. In certain parts of Germany the boy who fails to solve a riddle is greeted with such expressions as: 'Er ist des Hahns Kind, Ich habe ihm mein Henker scheeren,' 'Kommt in die Hölle,' 'Ist tot.' These expressions may be relics from the times when the unsuccessful competitor actually lost his life.

In other legends the winning of a bride is made to depend on the solution of a riddle by the suitor. This custom was known in the India of Vedic times, and also appears in the Norse legend which represents Thor as promising his daughter to the dwarf Alvis on condition that the latter answers a riddle correctly; a species of such use preserved in literature; Samson's Greek compere Hercules, although uninvited, go's to the wedding of Keyx and joins the rhapsodists in the solution of riddles.

Plato is responsible for the statement that riddle-making was a favourite pastime with lads in his day; when the Romans came under Greek influence, the boys were instructed in the forming of enigmas. In the best days of their history the banquets of the Greeks were something more than drinking-bouts; intellectual pleasures were cultivated, and prominent among these was the riddle, which was the delight not only of poets and philosophers, but also of the masses. The banquet was under the control of a symposiarch, whose direction the riddle passed from person to person. The successful guesser won a prize, who failed paid a penalty. Usually the prize was the laurel-wreath, and the penalty consisted in drinking unmixed wine or wine mingled with water. Aulus Gellius describes an Athenian dinner-party of his day (A.D. 2nd cent.); the host propounds a riddle to each of his guests; the winner receives the laurel-wreath or the cup of a

1 Cf. Tarandot.
3 Cf. Schiller, Tarandot, p. 459. v. 475.
4 Grammarian Pompeius.
5 We are indebted to Athenaeus for these details (xl. 437).
6 Notes Attica, xii. 207.

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8. Riddles in religious ceremonies. — The
strangest use of riddles to the modern mind is
in connexion with religious rites and ceremonies.
Among peoples of primitive culture enigmas are
asked even at the primitiveable counterpart of
harvest time. Among the Bolang Mongono (Celebes)
riddles are never asked except when there
is a corpse in the village. In the Aru archipelago, while a corpse is unclothed, watchers
propound riddles to each other or think of things
which others are to do. This practice is evi-
dently rooted in animism, and enigmatical lan-
guage may be used to puzzle the spirit of the
departed. A reminiscence of this custom seems
to linger in Brittany, where old men are accustomed
to seat themselves on grave-stones and ask each
other riddles after the friends of the deceased
and the mourners have gone home. Among the
Akamba of British E. Africa boys and girls at
the time of circumcision interpret pictographs which
are termed riddles. At harvest time the riddle
is looked for in the corn which is reaped to
make the crops. The Alflores of the Central Celebes
engage in riddle-guessing during the season when
the crops are tilled and are growing. On
the solution of a riddle they exclaim: 'Make our rice to
grow, make fat ears to grow both in the valley and
on the heights! An animistic conceptions probably
underlie this custom, and the prayer is to be
regarded as addressed to the spirits of the ancestors.

(a) Oracles.—The answers of the Greek oracles
were usually couched in a riddle or enigmatical
statement. In this connexion it is exceedingly
suggestive that Aristotle1 terms the answers of oracles ἐρωτόστυλα, a word commonly used for
riddles. The oldest Greek riddle is the answer of
the oracle to Minos, king of Crete. As oracles
were consulted before important political under-
takings and military campaigns, the significance
of the enigma in Greek life cannot be over-
estimated.

E.g., immediately before entering upon the disastrous
Sicilian expedition, the Athenians consulted the Delphic oracle;
as a result the Pythians advised the Athenians to bring
the priestess of Athene from Erythaea. This enigmatical reply
turns about the name of the priestess Ἵνασά (' Rest').

This is also a riddle especially adapted for riddles because
it was puzzling and consequently impressive, and at the same time concealed ignorance of the
future.

(b) At festivals.—Riddles formed a part of the ritual
at the festival of Agrionia, sacred to
Dionysus. In the rites of this festival women first
sought for the god as if he had been lost. When
they had ceased their quest, they exclaimed:
'Dionysus has betaken himself to the Muses.'
Then there followed a sacred meal at which these
worshippers propounded and answered riddles
giving hints to the meaning of the island
name, to a similar custom prevailed at other religious festi-
vals; at least an allusion has been discovered to it
in a fragment of the poet Diphilus. A riddle
contest between three maidens in connexion with a feast,
Atalanta and the island of Tharthar, re-
ferred to in his comedy entitled Thersites. The Loves
of Meno enunciated riddles that were to be asked at the
bráddka feasts. One of the enactments may be quoted:

1 Whatever may please the Brahmanas, let him give without
grudging it; let him give riddles from the Vedas, for that is
agreeable to the masses.²

(c) In Vedic hymns.—Vedic literature reveals a
unique use of riddles in religious ceremonies and
in metaphysical speculation. It is most suggestive
that the title of the hymns of the Bráhma, or Brahmanas,
is a designation for a poetic religious riddle, as well
as a term descriptive of speculative discussion.
ETymologically the word denotes 'analysis of the
Brahma.' In one of the Vedic hymns the description
of Agni is put in the form of a riddle:

What is the calf that has by itself given birth to its mothers? The germ of many
(mothers), the great seer, moving by his own strength, comes
forth from the lap of the active ones. (The mothers are
waters.)

The famous riddle hymn of Dirghatamas is a part of
the Rigveda. It contains 52 verses of which
all except one are riddles. This hymn of which
is theosophy and theosophical speculation which
revolves about cosmic phenomena, mythology, and
human organs. The hymn may be characterized
as a poetical expression of primitive Hindu philo-
sophy in enigmatical language.

It was intended to be used by priests as they offered sacrifices. The
priestsstripped of poetic riddles 'enliven the mechanical and technical progress of
sacrifice by impressive intellectual pyrotechnics,'
was in connexion with the famous horse-sacrifice,
or avamédha. This part of the ritual was con-
ducted by two priests, one asking the riddle
and the other answering it. For the answer
there are so unique in the history of religion that they are
worthy of special notice.

At the horse-sacrifice one priest asks: 'Who, verily, moveth
quickness alone; who, verily, is born again and again; what
forsooth, is the remedy for cold; and what is the great
(greatest) píle.'

The other priest, however, asks the priest called adhrtyáp,
'What, forsooth, is the sun-like light; what sea is there
like unto the ocean; what, verily, is higher than the earth;
what is the thing whose name is not known.'

The answer is: 'Brahma is the sun-like light; heaven is the
sea like unto the ocean (the god) Indra is higher than
the earth; the measure of the cow is (quite) unknown.'

Again, the following questions and answers: 'I ask thee for
the highest being. What is the highest being within the
universe; I ask thee for the seed of the lusty beast; I ask thee
for the highest heaven of speech.'

This lays claim to the highest amount of the earth; this
sacrifice is the navel of the universe; this soma (the intoxicating
sacrificial drink) is the seed of the lusty beast (god Indra); this
Brahman priest is the highest heaven (i.e. the highest exponent
of speech.²

(Translation is that of Bloomfield.)

LITERATURE.—1. Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,
Berlin, 1885; G. Jacob, Altertumliche Parallelen zum AT, do.
1897, p. 15.; M. Jagger, 'Assyriische Rahel und Sprich-
vorter,' in RASS ii. (1894) 274 ff.; F. E. König, Steiat, Rhetorik,
Poetik, Leipzig, 1900, p. 12 ff.; L. Löwe, Die Lebens-
K. Oberth, Rhetorik und Gesellschaftsleben der alten Griechen,
Berlin, 1890 (indispensable for a study of Greek riddles);
E. Rolland, Deux contes inconnus populaires de la France,
originally published, Trehos, 1862, new ed., with preface by
Gaston Paris, Paris, 1877 (valuable); A. Wäschne, Die Rath-
zwischen-Porträts der deutschen Kantoren, Leipzig, 1900 (illu-
graph).

Other literature has been mentioned either in the
body of the art. or in the notes.

Ridicule.—See Abuse.

Rights.—T. E. Holland, as a preliminary to his
account of rights in the legal sense of the term,
has defined a right generally as one man's
possession including all means to the end, and as
means, not of his own strength, but of opinion or
the force of society.²

The definition is useful as bringing out the complex character of the idea of

1. Jewish Life in the Middle Ages, p. 132.
2. Birds, 670.
3. Plutarch, de Pyth. orac. xix.
5. Ill. 299.
RIGHTS

It implies, as he goes on with excellent lucidity to indicate, the fourfold relation between (1) the subject or person who has the right; (2) the person to whom the right is addressed; (3) the object over which the right is exercised; and (4) the act of forbearance which is exacted. The definition further emphasizes the important fact that jurisdiction has, in all right, the meaning of recognition necessary, and it properly distinguishes between those rights which rest merely on the approval of public opinion (subsequently by an unfortunate choice called moral rights) and those which are protected by legal enforcement. This is distinct from other theories which have pointed out if it is intended to exclude reference to the rights of nations. And this criticism leads to another. The definition contains an implicit denial not only that, besides the rights actually recognized by society, there exist one another rights, in accordance with which there are founded on the requirements of human nature itself—things that are rights simply because they are right—but also that there is any essential relation at all between the adjectival and the substantival meaning of the word. A science like jurisprudence has the right to define its terms in the way most convenient for its own special purpose. But that is a different thing from claiming that its use expresses only the legitimate or the most fundamental use of the term. In opposition to this, it may be claimed that any definition of right generally must be defective which fails to indicate what this relation is. In the present article, written from the point of view of ethics and religion, the main object will be to supply this omission. In the attempt to do so it will be convenient to preface the main subject with a short statement (1) of the origin and development of the idea of individual rights, and (2) of the chief theories that have been held as the ground of rights, with the view of leading up to (3) a more inclusive definition, and suggesting some definite objections to the present concept of the rights of individuals and nations which may serve as a verification of its conclusions.

1. Development of the Idea of Individual Rights.—It is by this time a commonplace of sociology that in early forms of society, so far from finding a stage at which individual thought and action are free from the pressure of the social environment, we have one in which the mind and will of individuals are dominated by the collective mind as expressed in the customs of the group. This subordination is nowhere better illustrated than in the history of the idea of right. If we turn to the early use of δικαίος in Greek literature, we find it in Homer simply in the sense of possessing rules or customs, and as in this sense the meaning of civilized life, in contrast to the conditions of the Cyclops. Between this and the use in Thucydides and Xenophon in such phrases as δικαίος πατριώτ and δικαία ἐκτάσει there is a wide gap. In these a moral reference to things that not only is it the rule to do, but that may be claimed by the individual as by right, has emerged, and we might think (particularly in the latter phrase) the more explicit recognition of the idea of the right which the individual in turn possess. But the student of Greek ethics knows that in its classical exponents there is as yet no word corresponding to either rights or duties in the modern sense. We have to wait another generation before, in the Stoic ἀδικήσεως, we have the definite specification of things that are right to be done as definitely belonging to the individual. Even here we are still far from the idea of these as implying corresponding right. In early Roman law itself, which did so much to develop the idea of personality, the idea of duty, as Maine has pointed out, is far more prominent than that of rights. What Roman law effected was to translate the Stoic idea of personality and the law of nature, which personality embodied, into terms of the particular law of the rocker of a universal justice or right of the nations, to pave the way for the recognition of the further idea of rights that belonged to an individual independently of his membership in a particular society. Hence we see that the law of nature, which as two ideas, the legal and the moral, proceeds pari passu, seeing that the idea of the individual as a personality with rights as against society is at once the creation of the recognition of him as endowed with rights in society and an important factor in the development of the claim for his recognition itself. The story of the spectral analysis of the law of nature into the prismatic colours of the natural rights is a long one. The initial influence was undoubtedly the Christian religion, appealing on the one hand to a primitive state of freedom and equality on the other hand to a relation of man to God which was essentially a personal one. But these seeds of the idea of the rights of man had to await a social congenial to them, which was first found when English tradition and temperament led to a revolt against social and political despotism in the time of Wyclif. By the middle of the 17th cent., and still more by the 18th, the claims of rights, in both this and New England, were already deeply tinged with individualistic theory as to the nature of government, in which we see that the Frenchman that Milton declared that all men were naturally born free born to command and not to obey; 1 that a century later Blackstone wrote:

'The principal aim of society is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature; 2 and that even Burke, in the midst of his violent protest against the doctrine of absolute rights, formulates a doctrine of society laying stress on the idea of rights as something innate.

Civil Society is an institution of benevolence, and law itself is only benevolence acting by a rule. Men have a right to justice; they have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of maintaining that industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life and consolation in death. Whatever each man can separately do without

1 Holland, who quotes this view, refers to the interesting illustration of the uncertainty in the terminology of the word for 'right' until the suggestive phrase power-interest was coined by a Japanese writer on Western public law in 1898. It is important to realize that the word 'right' is the right common to all nations, not international right.

2 Liddell and Scott, s.v.


4 Quoted in W. Wallace, Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics, p. 215.

5 Quoted 18.
trespasing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to all with all his combinations of skill and force can do in his favour. 1

These passages are sufficient to show the close connexion between the development of the idea of right in its later phases and the development of the theory. But, before turning to this, we may notice how the circumstances which made religion the main influence in the development of the idea of rights in the middle period explain also (what otherwise might seem an inversion of the natural order) why, looked at from the side of the question, the rights of spiritual rights should have preceded the claim to political rights and the claim to economic rights should have lagged behind both. While it may appear that the movement here is from the more inward to the more outward and material, in reality it was in the first place from condition to the conditioned, and in the second from the more formal and abstract to the more substantial and concrete. Doubtless the instinctive sense of human capacities in the individual, as dependent for their development on the active agency of society in the removal of all removable obstructions, 2 was operative from the first. But it was only through freedom of thought and speech and some measure of political power that this sense could make itself articulate and the way could be prepared for the establishment of the concrete ideas of rights, the problem of once more the influence exercised upon the development of men's ideas as to their rights by powerful forms of abstract theory as to the ground of rights in general and as to the sphere of law, and it is not difficult to understand why, from the side of the individual, a fuller idea of the rights of the individual, and of his claim to the active assistance of society in the recovery of the 'lost title-deeds of humanity' in the sphere of material well-being, has been so late in developing.

III. THEORIES OF THE GROUND OF RIGHTS. - I. Theory of the Social Compact. — If what has been said as to the history of the idea of rights is sound, we may expect to find that, while ancient theories of the nature of justice as we find them from the time of the Sophists downwards are susceptible of translation into the language of rights, the problem of the ground of rights in explicit form is essentially a modern one. It was not till the question of the rights of the subject was definitely raised in 16th cent. England that theories as to their origin and ground came to be central in political thought. It must be sufficient here to select the more typical. From the outset responsible thinkers have worked under a profound sense of the moral or inward reference contained in the conception of rights. It was in this spirit that modern theory at its outset sought for the source of legal rights, not primarily in the will of another, but in the will of the members of society themselves expressed in a compact.

'The theory of rights as founded on compact has taken two forms according to the view of human nature expressed in the compact.

(a) 'Might is right.' — Starting from the conception of a state of nature (as in Hobbes's well-known account of it) as a war of all against all, not only law and government but society itself is conceived of as resting on a compact whereby individuals agree to resign their natural but barren right to all things in order to secure a limited portion guaranteed by the overruling might of the sovereign. The ground of a man's rights on this view may be said to be his own will to peace and security; but, as he has renounced all right to control of the actual condition of peace, it is only by a fiction that he can be said to will the rights that are actually assigned to him. These depend on the will of another. But, as on the side both of sovereign and of subject there exists no other reason for loyalty to the contract but fear, the logical outcome would seem to be that rights resolve themselves into might. This was concealed from Hobbes by his own misgivings; and Spinoza prepared the ambiguity and, by purging the theory of this inconsistency, claimed to have preserved natural right safe and sound in the civil state — robbed it, in other words, of its saving grace.

The view that right rests on no other basis than might, however contrary to men's instinctive judgments, once suggested, has much to support it in the violent origin of many forms of society and in the imposition of conditions of life that depend on the will of the stronger; and, under the influence of some modem ideas of the meaning of the struggle for existence, it has recently assumed a new importance as applied to the rights of nations. It must be sufficient here to notice the objection to it that is at once the most obvious and the most fatal.

If we look at society as it actually is at any stage of its development, instead of a community of crouching slaves it presents the appearance of a willing and orderly interchange of services involving mutual rights and duties, however little consciously recognized in this the freest and most perfect of all states. It does not lay claim to the idea of the rights of individuals which were merely that rational, free, and independent society would hold together for a day. Custom in society, like habit in the individual, which has been called 'the great fly-wheel of life,' may reconcile to isolated inconveniences, but customs as a whole (as sociologists are now agreed) represent ways of thought that have been more or less consciously selected as the best adapted to secure, under the circumstances and beliefs of the time in which they arise, the satisfaction of fundamental instincts and to further common interests. Impotent to mould customs, the will of the individual may be broken by them or broken by them if it measures itself against them, and it remains true that the system of rights and duties under which men live is supported in the last resort not by might but by the general sense that it is in harmony with their ideas of the kind of life which they desire to live.

(b) Natural rights. — It was the perception of this fact that led to the second form of the social contract theory as it was held by Locke and profoundly influenced political thought for a century and a half after him. According to this theory, society is natural. Law and government are instituted, not to hold it together, but to guarantee certain fundamental rights which are endangered by the weakness of the social element in its members — chiefly those of life, liberty, and property. The contract here is not of the citizens but of the citizens with the state or government. The mutual conditions are clearly stated: between the citizens as a body and the sovereign for the time. The substance of it is that law and government shall concern themselves with the maintenance of the conditions which may preserve these rights to the individual. A theory which would appear to involve a purely utilitarian idea of the basis of the rights which society recognizes, but the idea of a law of nature which had fixed these fundamental rights as some-

1 Ep. I. For the clearer statement of his view see the posthumous Tractatus Politicus, ch. ii. There are of course other elements in Spinoza's philosophy which lead to a totally different conclusion.

1 Quoted in Wallace, p. 212.
thing absolute and imprescriptible in the individual was by this time too strong and was for the present sufficient to overpower the appeal to general happiness, which in England was more congenial to the temper of the succeeding age.

On this view an antithesis is set up between the quite definite standard of social enactment and the quite indefinite idea of rights imitable from the individual. It was vain to try to define these rights. Utilitarianism, like virtually all other systems of law, is not the science of morality but the science of law, and the names of the objects both the names of things entirely indefinite in meaning and scope until we know what is the kind of life, what use is to be made of liberty, wherein the 'right' to property precisely consists. In the result the claim to natural rights was merely the removal from the meaning of right of any reference to a standard other than what Isernon had long ago called 'that wild and vast notion of what in every man's conception is just or unjust.' Any attempt to translate such a view into practice could only end in despotism under government—Cromwellian or Napoleonic, as the case might be. When pressed in theory, it was no less bound to issue in reaction in favour of the claim of the State to assign the limits of individual right on its own principles and so lead back by another route to might as the one so justly condemned.

2. Utilitarian theory.—The way to this reaction was prepared by the appeal to utility in such writers as Jeremy Bentham, who could see nothing in the doctrine of natural rights but 'anarchical fallacy.' It was metaphysics, and that worst form of metaphysics, metaphysics upon stilts. 'Rights are the fruits of the law, and of the law alone. There are no rights without law—no rights contrary to the law—no rights anterior to the law.'

Law doubtless is the declaration of a will on the part of individuals to whom other individuals are generally disposed to rejoin obediently. But this disposition to obedience is the result, not of any harmony of the law with natural rights, but chiefly of habit supported by a sense or calculation which each individual makes for himself as to what he stands to gain or lose by breaking away from the current.

The theory thus stated has the advantage over natural right in perceiving that rights must be relative on the one hand to actual concrete interests, and on the other to the good of society. But, in conceiving of the one concrete interest as consisting in the sum of satisfactions or displeasures which is, qualitatively identical, and of the control of society as concerned merely with the arrangements that will give each individual the maximum of freedom in the pursuit of such satisfactions with a minimum of inconvenience which any interference involves, this advantage is counterbalanced by the disappearance of all distinction between interest and right. From the side of ethics, this means that duty becomes an empty word; from the side of politics, that there can be no appeal to a 'right' in such a world as this. The true and useful convenience is that of society. But this convenience is merely what is required to produce an average of satisfaction among the individuals and is without claim on any one of these except in so far as it coincides with his own. It is not to be wondered at that such a view should be apt to justify alternately the purest anarchy, as in the once popular doctrine of laissez-faire (q.v.), and the purest tyranny, as in the exaltation of the State as the creator of all right. Utilitarianism does not require the necessity of adhering to what is an 'ought' or a 'to be' as opposed to what is.

There is to be 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'; with a view to it, 'everybody is to count as one, nobody as more than one.' But for whom is this? It is, 'as it appears to him, who has the advantage of being a judge of the public fancy.' Not for the legal conscience of the society. The development of what was desired of a better name may be called the idealistic theory of rights is the history of the attempt to do justice to the partial truths which these one-sided theories represent. We know from Plato's dialogues how far current theory had gone in the assertion of the doctrine that might is right, and of the contractual theory which we have seen is required to supplement it. His own theory of justice he develops as a direct answer to it. But his treatment of justice as a general feature of the good life rather than a particular phase of it obscures its application to the question of rights. What emerges is that the aim of civic society is to do the fullest justice to the capacities of individuals by assigning each his place in an organized system of social purposes. Aristotle's treatment of the same subject in this same spirit is not to face more directly the issue raised by the Sophists as to the existence of a natural or, as it would be better expressed, an essential right. His conclusion amounts to the denial of any hard and fast line between the natural and the conventional, and thus is partly natural, partly conventional. Some laws there is an element that is universal and one that is particular to the circumstances: they all, e.g., condemn theft, but the penalty will be different. In the same spirit a distinction is made elsewhere between an universal, or common, law and the theories of the particular countries. Some have seen in this an anticipation of the 'law of nature' as understood by 18th cent. writers. Aristotle's treatment of law and government elsewhere, as having for its aim the realization of what is best in man, has exonerated him from all responsibility for what D. G. Ritchie has called the 'turgid river of rhetoric' on this subject that has flowed through modern politics.

While the Epicureans reverted to the Sophistic theory of right as founded on convention, the Stoics rooted it, almost literally, in the eternal unchangeable reason, an imperfect embodiment of a law of nature identical with the Divine Reason. We have already seen how this conception was more fertile on the negative than on the positive side—in the condemnation of artificial distinctions between races and castes than in the assertion of the rights of individuals as souls of infinite possibilities. To the Roman lawyers the appeal to a ius naturale meant merely the appeal, as in Gaius, to laws that were common to all nations.

In Aquinas the law of nature appears, not only side by side with civil law, but as the foundation of it. As something deeper than human law and institution, forming a pattern on which they should be modelled, it thus receives new authority. From a mere statement of what is common to nations it becomes a 'law in the soul,' from which the life is preserved, to marry, educate children to know the truth about God and live in society. 

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1 Clarke Papers, i. 261. In this sense it merges in what is sometimes called the 'intuitional theory of rights,' but is only a tame expression of the other.

2 Jeremy Bentham, Works, iii. 221.

3 Jb., p. 319.

4 Ibid., i. 11.

5 Eth., iii. 13.

6 Particularly Pol. i.

7 Ulpian extended the ius naturale to all living things. This enabled him to assert that, while slavery existed, 'pure gentiles,' 'by the law of nature all men at the first were born free.' We have here a transition point from the idea of natural law as merely a fact and natural law as providing an ideal of human life. If we take the codification of law by Justinian as the last act of the ancient world, we may call this idea the sacred legacy of the dying civilization.

8 Sommer, i. 2, qu. xiv, art. 2.
In other respects he leaves the doctrine very much as he inherited it from Aristotle.

If not, as he has been called, the discoverer of natural rights, Grotius (q.e.) was the first clearly to assign a ground in nature to the origin of civil society. This, much more particularly to apply them to the life of nations. In opposition to Ulpian, Grotius maintained that law and right apply in the proper sense only to human beings: "no one is properly capable of right which does not by nature understand a right." And he conceived in the wide sense that there is a right and a wrong attitude of mind towards them, but not in the sense that they can share in a common purpose involving correlative rights and duties. The natural law on which natural rights are based is defined as 'the dictate of right reason indicating that any act from its agreement or disagreement with the rational and social nature of man has in it a moral turpitude or a moral necessity, and consequently that such an act is forbidden or commanded by the law of God.' From this and from his further definition of human nature, here referred to as the nature that was 'created at the beginning and restored first after the Flood, then by Christ,' he makes it abundantly clear that he has in mind an ideal right, after the pattern of which the actual but not the ideal right is formed by God Himself must conform its will.  

However true Rousseau's criticism 2 of him may be respecting the details of his great work, it is wide of the mark as to the principle from which he starts. His weakness rather is one that is shared by Rousseau himself—his inability to free himself from the current ideas of a state of nature and of the State as 'an artificial body' founded on a 'treaty of subjection' which modifies natural rights. To this we must add a certain ambiguity in his treatment of society itself, which, conceived of as a continuous and incomplete life of its own 'like a waterfall,' at other times as a mere aggregate of individual wills. What was of enduring value in his work was the first clear assertion in modern philosophy of social good as the basis of all law and justice, and the indication of this principle in the life of nations at a time when Europe was aghast at the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. As Plato asks us to look at justice writ large in the State before looking at it in the individual, Grotius writes his claim for natural or essential rights in the large letterings of international law which Hobbes and Locke and the later writers (including these writers) as belonging to another order than actual political society and unrealizable in it, but as the very spirit and substance of the existing order. From this point of view, right presents two aspects. It may be defined, on the one hand, as 'that which is really necessary to the maintenance of the material conditions essential to the existence and perfection of human personality'; on the other, as 'the universal condition of action through which the ethical whole as a differentiated structure is enabled to preserve and develop itself.' But these two definitions are only different ways of expressing the same thing, seeing that the personality to which all rights are relative is not something merely individual, but is actualizable only in the medium and through the opportunities that the particular social and historical order affords. On the other hand, this whole, as an 'ethical' one, can attain its full differentiation and perfection through the fullest development of the personality of its members.

The theory thus shortly stated has the advantage of combining the essential elements of truth which the more one-sided theories contain. With the theory of right it recognizes on behalf of the State that there must always be a reserve of force to guarantee rights in general against the invasion of force, on behalf of individuals and classes within the State that under particular circumstances the use of force may be necessary in order to procure the recognition of moral rights not otherwise procurable. It insists, however, that the use of force requires justification and that the justification can be derived only from the nature of the ends for which force is used. It recognizes that all rights are the expression of a will. But it adds that this cannot clothe them with any moral significance if it is only the 'scattered will' of individuals bent on their own ends with no really common or general interest. It is from this that the civil society makes possible. What gives actual rights moral significance is that they are the conditions which each, when he understands the meaning of his own life, must will for the full realization of what he seeks to. Similarly the element of true representation that is recognized in so far as the validity of any claim of right is denied which is not founded on some concrete requirement of a social well-being. Where

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1 Sà plus constante manière de raisonner est d'établer toujours droit par le fait (Du Contrat social, bk. i. ch. ii.).
2 De Torti Belli et Pacis, bk. i. ch. i. § x. 1.  
3 Tb. 2.
4 C. E. Vaughan, Political Writings of Rousseau, Cambridge, 1915, i. 17.
5 See T. H. Green, Works, ii. 341.
This theory parts company with it in rejecting the conception of social well-being as consisting merely in the possession by the members of equal security in the pursuit of ends essentially individual. The idea which it substitutes will best be illustrated if we proceed to notice some corollaries which follow from the above statement.

The principles underlying the conception of rights are those that the rights in the full sense of the word are relative to human personality as it may be at its best; (2) that personality expresses itself in activities that are in essence social. From these it follows (1) that there is no "level rate" of rights. Rights vary according to the power of performing social functions and to the character of the function that is performed. The rights of the child differ from the rights of the adult as possibility differs from actuality; the rights of a doctor from the rights of a layman; of a member of Parliament from those of an ordinary citizen, and so on. From this point of view, we can see that rights imply duties in a deeper than the legal sense. They are correlative not only to the duties of another, but to the duties of the subject of the right itself. What holds for the occupants of different stations in society holds for the individual in so far as he performs different functions in the different relations in which he stands to his fellow-citizens in different spheres of activity. His rights as a parent differ from his rights as a citizen; his rights as a trade unionist from his rights as a member of the State; his rights as a citizen from his rights as a member of the brotherhood of humanity. (iii.) From this again it follows that conflict of rights arises not so much (as in the older view) between an abstraction known as the individual on the one hand and an abstraction called society on the other, as between the rights and duties that attach to an individual in virtue of his membership of different social groups. This, it may be claimed, corresponds to what has actually taken place in modern times when the chief problems arise from the adjustment of conflicting claims of organized societies rather than of individuals with the State. But it may also be said that, by interpreting all rights as alike concerned with the conditions of human perfection, the conflict between the new problems peculiar to itself which call for particular treatment in an article like the present.

1. The rights of conscience.—The principle is that the ground of all rights is the opportunity that they afford for the betterment of human life. So regarded, they are seen to constitute a system or hierarchy corresponding to the system of interests which constitute the contents of human life and stand to one another in the relation of importance according to their comprehensiveness. It is this that justifies a man in sacrificing his duty to his right to support his family by the labour of his hands to his duty and rights as a trade unionist in a strike, or, again, his rights as a trade unionist to the State. The latter has priority over the former as the more peculiar. The principle here seems clear, however difficult the application of this principle may on occasions be. But a difficulty remains which seems to be one of principle rather than of application in the case of rights that appear to fall outside of the hierarchy of social functions. This concern in objects—truth, beauty, and goodness—that may be called supra-social. On any one of the other theories it is possible to cut the knot, whether by the frank subjection of the individual to the State, or of the State to the individual, or by a distinction between the temporal and the spiritual, or in a new form of ultimate goods such as science and religion, the temporal to civil law. But on a theory like the present, which sees in all rights, civic or other, the conditions of a spiritual perfection, no such resource is available. Such a solution must end either in irreconcilable antagonism or in a mere form of subjection of conscience and religion to the State founded on some arbitrary or speculative consideration of superior right. For the fuller discussion of the rights of conscience and the age-long controversy between Church and State see the next article, "MAXIMILIAN, CHURCH. But two points here call for mention. (1) further implied in the conclusions of this one. (1) With regard to the rights of conscience, we must be prepared to insist that no solution is possible which fails to recognize from the point of view of the individual the claim of the modern State to be the trustee, not only of law and order in the ordinary sense, but also of all that man has already willed of the good within its own borders and therewith of the conditions under which both individuals and Churches can realize their aims. On the other hand, the modern State to realize its own profound interest in the improvement of the system of rights already established so as to make it a fuller expression of the personality of its members, and particularly the interest in the highest extension of a liberty of thought and speech and action as the primary condition of the development of the best in its members.

1 "What policy," asks Spinoza, "more self-destructive can any nation follow than to regard as public enemies men who have committed no crime or wickedness save that of freely exercising their intelligence?" 2

(2) From the side of particularity of religion and the sphere wherein, we have noted that only here the liberty of the spirit as a legal condition of life has the same status as the liberty of the mind in the realm of thought. We have noted in the history of the Church and the state of religious liberty in modern times that this has been the case. We have noted that if there is no truth in the claim that the Church and the state of religious liberty in modern times that this has been the case. We have noted that if there is no truth in the claim of the modern State to be the trustee, not only of law and order in the ordinary sense, but also of all that man has already willed of the good within its own borders and therewith of the conditions under which both individuals and Churches can realize their aims. On the other hand, the modern State to realize its own profound interest in the improvement of the system of rights already established so as to make it a fuller expression of the personality of its members, and particularly the interest in the highest extension of a liberty of thought and speech and action as the primary condition of the development of the best in its members.

1 Since the general and the particular will are identical, right and duty coincide. By virtue of the ethical fabric man has rights so far as he has duties as far as he has rights (Hegel, Philosophy of Right, § 155).
The rights of nations.—We have already seen how the idea of the ‘right of nations’ was launched by Grotius with his legendary treatise, under the barbary of the Thirty Years’ War. In the centuries which followed its widespread acceptance may be said to have been the greatest triumph of civilization since the establishment of the general idea of law in the Roman world. But the term itself, and especially the far more subtle ‘nationality law,’ invented by Bentham, was in reality a misnomer, not only in the sense already noticed (that it was a mistranslation of the Roman natis gentium), but in the sense that it referred primarily to societies as political units and not to nations, the modern sense of the word. So interpreted, idealistic theory, with its conception of the body politic as the trustee of the conditions under which individuals and subordinate societies are free to exercise their capacities of contributing to the fulfillment of human destiny, has had no difficulty in accepting it, and, in spite of apparent exaggerations of State right, may be said to have only set its seal to this advance. But the question does not end there. Since the rise in the second part of the 19th century of the idea of nationality, in the strict sense of the word, and especially the conflict with itself, has ever since, and in recent years has become acute. Granted that States are personalities in the sense explained and share the rights of personality, many of them may be said to be multiple personalities, inasmuch as they include a variety of groups whose members are united by the deeper ties of community of blood, language, and literature, religion and historical tradition. When these suppressed personalities rise to consciousness of themselves, does not the claim, it may be asked, to be the guardian of a particular form of civilization to be common to that political independence which alone enables them to realize their own particular destiny?

1 What form of human life," asks J. O. Bluntschli,‘could have a better natural right to existence than the common spirit of a nation?"

What guarantee, we may add, of purposeful existence can there be short of a self-chosen political constitution corresponding to its peculiar genius? Other things being equal, it would seem that a nation-State will be stronger and happier, not only, as Lawrence puts it, than a State which is not a nation, but than a nation which is not a State. And, if for strength and happiness we substitute, in accordance with our principle, the test of human goodness, it would seem that political independence which alone enables them to realize their own particular destiny, is far more likely to result in a new form of political union, which shall at once protect them against aggression from other nationalities and open out means of contact with them to the realization of the organic unity of mankind.1

From this standpoint there is no more inherent difficulty in recognizing the political majority of nations than in recognizing the civil majority of individuals. True, there can be no conventional limit to the minority of nations and it will always be difficult to determine one's place in it. But it has too often been left to be decided by the judgment of God—in other words, by war. But modern precedents have made us familiar with all degrees of personality in communities,2 and it may be hoped that, with the development of international law and the diminishing risk of experiments in self-government, other tests than that of the sword may be discoverable. Here, too, it should be noted that, apart from disputable theory, there is no reason to deny the possibility of circumstances arising under which the claim of nationality may have to give way to the general interests of humanity, on which it is itself in the last instance founded. In such a case the readiness of a nation to recognize this limit and to exercise the required degree of patience and self-control would itself be the surest proof that it was a new and not an independent State. Thus, these circumstances change.

Under the same supposition, finally, the fear of danger to the parent State from the grant of independence would largely disappear. Even as things are, we pay far too little regard to the number of ties other than force, and the additional affections between peoples likely to be born of a franker confidence in one another's loyalty to the elementary con

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1 See art. NATIONALITY.

2 See Lawrence, p. 57, 'The kinds of fully sovereign international persons,' and the following sections.
ditions of human good, to guarantee the desire for the maintenance of some form of political order. It is considerations such as these that provide a solid basis for the hope that, just as the horrors of the Thirty Years' War prepared the way for the general acceptance of Grotius's idea of International right in the old sense of the word, so the horrors of the Great War may result in the general recognition of it in the new sense. Given such a recognition, it will be impossible to stop short of the attempt to provide the necessary sanctions to the new order, and so, in the words of a great statesman of the time, 'to translate the idea of public right from abstract into concrete terms' by substituting 'for force, for the clash of conflicting ambitions, for groupings and alliances and a precarious equipoise, a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal rights established and enforced by a common will.'

**LITERATURE.—**No exhaustive list of books could be attempted. The following may be consulted:


**RIGHT AND LEFT.—**See Circumambulation, vol. iii. p. 658; Sun, Moon, and Stars (Introductory).

**RIGHT AND WRONG.—**See Ethics and Morality.

**RIGHTlessness.**

**Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES),** p. 777.

**Buddhist (E. J. THOMAS),** p. 778.

Christian—


Christ's teaching (W. C. ALLEN), p. 784.

St. Paul's teaching (J. DENNEY), p. 786.

**RIGHTlessness (Babylonian).—**In a new study, such as that of Assyriology, in which the meanings of the words have to be determined, there is naturally a certain amount of doubt as to their precise force; and it may even be that words which the Assyro-Babylonians would have regarded as of the utmost importance remain unrecorded in our lexicons, because they have not been found in the inscriptions, do not occur often enough, or have been mistranscribed.

1. The words generally rendered 'righteousness.'—These are kērtu (kēt̓tu) and mišärā (mēsharrā), 'righteousness' and 'justice,' which are, in a measure, interchangeable terms, the former being from kēsrāw, 'to be firm, fixed,' and the latter from kēštā, 'to be straight right,' the Heb. yashar, the root of such names as Jasher (2 S 10), Jeshar (1 Ch 28), 'uprightness,' etc. Both kērtu and mišērā are common attributes of gods and men, the deities more especially connected with the idea being Samaš, the sun-god (whom as his light penetrates everywhere, was regarded as knowing best all that took place on the earth, and who became the impartial judge of men), and Rammān (Rimmon) or Adad, in Assyrian Adad (Hadad), the storm-god, whose air, pervading all things, had the same property, and perhaps to a more satisfactory degree.

2. What the Babylonians understood by righteousness.—One of the most interesting, though probably not one of the most important, inscriptions dealing with this question is that formerly called 'Warnings to Kings against Injustice.' This inscription, which is published in WAI IV, 2 pl. 45 (53), shows what righteousness on the part of the ruler was expected to be. He was to favour justice and to be well-disposed towards his people, his princes, and the intelligent classes of his subjects.

1 Henry Ashiqu, Speech in the House of Commons, 29th Dec. 1617.
the Jewish and Christian background of Western ethics and religion that a mere comparison of terms could do little to elucidate the significance of righteousness in the Buddhist system. The term 'righteousness' (dhamma), as descriptive of conduct in human relations, coincides with morality. For this purely ethical sense see art. Ethics (Buddhist). The term is generally used, however, in a religious or ethical application. In Christian thought, it is the notion, not of ideal human inter-relations, but of the conformity of the individual to a divine standard. God as absolute moral perfection is the ideal of righteousness.

5. Righteous kings. — One of the earliest kings renowned for his righteousness seems to have been Sargon (Sarru-kēn, 'the righteous king'), of which the ancient Hebrew, and which is the proper name which may be connected with the legend that he passed the summer months of his year on earth with his spouse Ilâqki and the remainder in the under world with Ēērsē-gal (Persephone), righteous in the fulfilment of what the Šemites of old must have regarded as irksome, and which is perhaps best translated hero 'Truth' and 'Righteousness.' Another form of the sun-god was Tammuzzu, the Sumerian Dumu-zīd, 'the righteous son,' or the legend-name which may be connected with the legend that he passed the summer months of his year on earth with his spouse Istar and the remainder in the under world, which, though to the Aramaic, as Sarru-kēn, Gilgulīti, 'the righteous king, the righteous,' or the like (the Babylonians did not recognize the name of the Arab god 'Ammī in the element ammī). In Assyrology one of the kings claiming the virtue of righteousness was Sennacherib, and his grandson, Assur-bani-apli, 'the great and noble Assapphire,' it is interesting to note that himself bar sarubti, rain kētti, 'the king of righteousness,' 'the lover of uprightness,' or the like.

6. Other references showing the estimation in which righteousness was held. — Among these are the final words of the record of Bel-nadin-apli: Limmūttu zēr-mus kēttā rasam, 'Hate evil and love right (or righteousness)'; such names as Nabū-kēttā · nṣur, 'Nebo, protect righteousness (or justice)'; Ištī · šalu n kēnī kasap-tu ullaqqi, 'He will receive his money from the honourable and the righteous.'1 The star of justice and righteousness (zakakāb kēttā u niṣīr) seems to have been the slow-moving planet Saturn ("Sag-isd"), identified, seemingly, with the sun, and, called in Sumerian, mul Gi-gi (for Gin-gin)—a reduplication capable, apparently, of being translated by kēnē and he under God. Whatever they may be embedded are so fundamentally distinct from

1 H. V. Hilprecht, Assyriaca, Boston, 1894, p. 183, 1, 14.
2 P. Haupt, Akkad. und sumer. Kalletchriften, Leipzig, 1892, p. 60, lii, 24-25, tr. from the Sumerian.

MORALITY (Buddhist). — There are several words in the Buddhist writings which coincide more or less completely with the idea of righteousness; but the principles in which they are embedded are so fundamentally different from

1 G. B. Stevens, in HDB (iv, 2649, e.v. 'Righteousness in NT.')
2 C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 115.
dhamma—the principles of morals that he professed to follow.1 He is also called dharmikā, 'righteous,' in the same sense. Similar terms are dhammāthā, ‘virtuous rule,' dharmadāna, ‘charity,' and charāṇa, ‘righteousness,' also translated more exactly as 'conduct.' The blessings of the virtuous man are that he becomes wealthy, famous, has self-confidence in any assembly, dies without bewilderment, and is reborn in heaven.2 All this part of the popular teaching to the laity, to those who have not grasped the first truth of Buddhism. But, except in the highest ethical level of the teaching due to the founder, there is nothing distinctly Buddhist in it.3

The ideal of righteousness is the ideal aimed at by the monk, the man who has realized at least the first Truth, the existence of pain. To realize the other three Truths involves a course of training, whereby he attains to the perfect state of the saint. He aims no longer at meritorious actions, but at developing in his character the qualities that lead to salvation and abandoning those that hinder it. The latter are seen most clearly in the list of the ten fetters (samyojana).4 Not merely must vicious acts be avoided, but sensuality itself (kama), ill-will (paṭigha), pride (ācchādani), hypocrisy (mahāpadāna) must also be uprooted. And so among the positive qualities to be acquired we find friendliness, compassion, sympathy, equanimity. Here is a process which, if carried out, would lead to righteousness in the sense of the elimination of moral perdition, but it is not the final goal. These qualities are important because they lead to it—i.e., to absolute cutting off from existence and craving for existence in the world of birth and death. Besides the desire for existence here or in the sensual heavens there are other desires the desire that is forever free for all supersensual existence (ānāpāṇa, anāpāṇāra), belief in the efficacy of good works and ceremonies, as well as the intellectual errors, belief in a permanent self, doubt, and, last of all, as the ultimate fetter, ignorance. So, too, the chief positive quality to be attained by his character knowledge, not of an ideally pure being, but of the true nature of compound things, that they are painful, impermanent, and soulless; and the truth of their soullessness (anattāta) is the Buddhist way of asserting that there is no higher reality behind these.

Earlier than these schematized lists of the fetters, or bonds (nīvaraṇa, āvāraṇa), is the picture of the monk given in the Sutta Nipāta. Intent on the extinction of craving, he wanders alone like a rhinoceros (35), free from affection for wife and children, without even a companion, unless he finds one who keeps the Dhamma (40). He practises absolute continence (brakmachārya), avoids all theories and disputations (750), abandons doubt and heresies, aims at purity (vinudda)—not at mere moral purity, but, as the other terms show, at being independent (anāpāṇa, anissāya) and undefiled (anāpālāta) by contact with mundane things—and he is purified by knowledge or wisdom (paññā, 184).

1. Mahāyāna developments.—The chief ethical change in Mahāyāna was due to the growth of the view that it is possible to attain, besides the knowledge of the Path, also the omniscience of a Buddha. Every one is potentially a Buddha, and by the thought of enlightenment (chittotpāda) he may begin to pass successively through the numerous less existences in which his aim is not merely to become a Buddha in order to teach, but also to acquire merit, which may be transferred to others. He is then a bodhisattva (q.v.), and is thus described:

He has the numberless vows practised the good conduct of well done kamma, aims, morality, patience, fortitude, meditation, wisdom, resource, learning, conduct, vows, and penance; he is an endower of great friendliness, compassion, and sympatgy; in his mind has arisen equanimity, and he strives for the seal and happiness of all beings.5

This, although it reintroduces the doctrine of karma, and, as it were, calls up the practice of self-control, is a much fuller and loftier conception than that which makes the practice of friendliness and compassion merely a means to one's own release. But the practical result was not to make this the ideal for all. It opened at the same time an attractive way for the ordinary man to obtain happiness, not by effort of his own, but in reliance on the bodhisattvas, who have accumulated merit for his benefit. Rebirth in Sukhāvatī ('the Happy Land,' the heaven of the Buddha Amitābha) is the reward of those who call on the name of Avalokiteśvara (see art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Buddhist]).

The prayer of a bodhisattva in the Bodhicaryāvatāra,6 x., is:

‘May all those in every quarter, who are afflicted with pain of body and mind, who labour through doubts, be happy and happy. Throughout worldly existence may loss of happiness never be their. . . In whatever hells there are in the world of asuras and elsewhere, there be not certain beings, those who suffer in the cold hells obtaining heat, and those paired with heat becoming cold.’

This is the ideal of self-sacrifice aimed at by a bodhisattva, but the centre of the teaching comes to be devotion to such savours of men. They become more and more raised above the level of common human beings, till they are even identified with the immortal gods of Hinduism, and are worshipped with gratitude and adoration as great beings, through whose merits all may reach Sukhāvatī.

Those beings become happy in the world who keep in their minds the name of Avalokiteśvara. They become released from old age, death, sickness, sorrow, lamentation, pain, dejection. They suffer not the extreme pain of sāmasa. Robed in pure white, like a bird flying with the need of the wind, they go to the region of Sukhāvatī to bear face to face the Doctrine of the Buddha Amitābha. And having heard the Doctrine, the desire of salvation no longer torments their bodies; nor does old age and death with lust, hate, and delusion, nor the pain of hunger and thirst torment them any more. But as long as the firm promise of Avalokiteśvara is not fulfilled to release all beings from all pains, as long as they are not so happy that the purest enlightenment.

The latent antinomianism goes on increasing. In the larger Sukhāvatīyāsika rebirth in Sukhāvatī is ensured by ten times repeating the name of that country, but those who have committed the five sins that bring retribution in this life, or who have obstructed or abused the Good Doctrine, are excluded. In the smaller Sukhāvatīyāsika, however, we are told:

‘Beings are not born in that Buddha country of the Tathāgata Amitāyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this life, but shall attain it thereto, in the dwelling of the blessed Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven nights.’

The ideal of the arhat, though it suffered from the abuses common to all organized forms of asceticism, did maintain for long a noble ethical standard. In the legends of the Buddha given by thecommentators on the Dharmapala and the long series of commentaries to the Pāli, we find a series of examples, which, if they are without historical basis, are all the more important in


showing how the Buddhist church interpreted the ideal of its founder. There is the story of the monk abandoned by his fellows because of his love of cleanliness. He walked along a path by the side of a heated water, washed and dressed him, in order that by caring for his body he might fit his mind for instruction; of the weaver's daughter for whose sake the Master made a journey of thirty leagues, so that she should not die without enlightenment of the poor monk would not go to heaven until Buddha accepted before the hospitality of the whole city.

The Mahâyâna developments were not an outright contradiction of the Hinâyâna teaching. The arhat ideal was recognized, but dispensed as being only a stage to be succeeded by the ideal of becoming a Buddha, the perfect enlightenment of whom, indeed, includes the enlightenment of the arhat. But the change destroyed the older ideal, so far as it opened a way to happiness through the merits of others. The conception of merit is also unethical. The bodhisattva does not give aid to becoming good, but confer upon others the enjoyment of the results of goodness. Merit is an external source of good, the accumulation of the benevolent result of so much self-denial, that the recipient of the benefit is one who has not, and are not required to have, the moral ability to perform it themselves.


EDWARD J. THOMAS.


2. Terms.—The technical term for 'righteousness,' ḫetsâh, or fem. ḫetsâh, is connected with the Arabic ḫidh, 'truth,' 'sincerity,' 'farness,' and denotes generally what is true, right, fitting, or conducive to the end in view. The corresponding adj. ḫâr, ḫaddî, righteous, is applied only to persons, except in Dt 4:9, where the active voice of the god, ḫaddîdîn. The denom. vb. ḫâd is used mainly in the forensic sense of being 'in the right,' the Hiphil ḫât, 'justify,' conveying the several ideas of declaring the just man in the right, Dt 25:1, 2 S 15:7 etc., helping to vindicate his cause (Is 50:8), and bringing the sinner into right relations with God (Is 53:10, Dn 12:9). In AV ḫâ, yāšāh, 'straight,' 'upright,' (Jer 1:5, 'be even or smooth'), is frequently translated 'righteous,' RV following this looser practice only in Nu 23:21. Nearly related terms are ḫârî, mishpâṭ, originally in the sense of 'custom,' afterwards specifically of judgment or justice; ḫâṣî, tâmîn, 'spotless' (in the ceremonial sense), hence also 'perfect' (from the moral point of view); ḫâ, nāḏî, 'innocent'; ḫâ, nāẖōḥî, 'straight,' 'honest,' 'righteous'; ḫâ, kêsî, 'firm,' 'true.'

2. The connotative conception of righteousness.—As among other ancient nations, in Israel righteousness is primarily interpreted in terms of social usage. The righteous man is he who adheres loyally to the moral and religious customs of his people, while the 'wicked' sets them at naught. The concept is both moral and legal, in a scrupulous regard for Jahweh and His commands (Gn 12:16), combined with signal manifestations of that lavish generosity towards one's kindred (15:28) and hospitality to passing strangers (19:18) which have always been reckoned among our most sacred duties. The word was a common man. David also identifies 'righteousness' with the magnanimity which he has shown towards Saul, in refusing to 'stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed,' even when the Lord has made him to hear to do so (1 Sam 24:14). In both cases righteousness is perfectly consistent with prevation or deceit (Gn 13:11) and deeds of fiendish cruelty (2 S 13:10) towards the foreigner. On the other hand, the wicked do violence to the just prerogatives of God and their fellows (Gn 9:6, working 'folly' [i.e. godlessness] in Israel) (Gn 34, Jos 7:13, Jg 20:6-10, 2 S 13:8), and staining their hands by deeds such as have neither been 'done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came out of the land of Egypt unto this day' (Jg 10:12).

3. The prophetic ideal of righteousness.—The 8th cent. B.C. saw a violent breaking down of the old landmarks. Through the increase of wealth and luxury which followed in the wake of military successes, religious and moral wrong was widened by widening guilt. Forgetful of the Covenant, rich men used their wealth to 'trample the face of the poor, refusing him an honest wage, eating him from field and home, and for the debt even of a pair of shoes selling him into slavery (Is 3:24, 5:21, Am 2:8, Mic 2:2, 5:26). The merchants in the market-place robbed him equally of the just return of his wages, 'making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and forging scales of deceit' (Am 8:5). Against such oppression in high places there was neither security nor redress. The judges at the gates, openly accepted bribes and perverted justice (Is 1:30, Am 6:5, Mic 3:1), while religion itself was made a cloak to cover wrong-doing and cruelty (Is 1:28, Am 2:13).

In the moral chaos that ensued Amos raised a stern call to righteousness. Jahweh had no desire for sacrifice or offerings. To Him the very profusion of their gifts was but multiplied transgression (Am 4:7). Away then with the din of their songs and the strumming of viols! But let justice (mispâṭ) roll down as waters, and righteousness (ḥâr) as a mighty stream. It is interesting to observe that the more sensitive conceptions of the Elohist writer regards Abraham's act of deceit, as one of those deeds 'that ought not to be done,' bringing 'great sin' upon Abimelech and his innocent people (Gn 20:8).

1 ḫâ, 'more in the right than I,' the only instance where either vb. or adj. is found in the fem., a woman not being considered a 'person' in the eyes of the law.
ness (δόλαθ) as an overflowing stream (125). In this great statement of principle Amos has advanced the idea that the presence of justice and righteousness is not just a matter of avoiding evil but of fulfilling righteousness (9), the ripening fruit of righteousness (102). In Isaiah’s keynote of holiness also justice is blended with mercy. The man holy in God’s sight must ‘put away the evil of his doings’ from before His eyes, ‘cease to do evil: learn to do well’ (Isa 1). If a judge lover of money, he keeps his eye on the interests of his nasal tribes—which lead men to ‘justify the wicked,’ and deprive the innocent of their right standing in court (52)—and not merely seek to judge honestly, but take an active, energetic part in furthering the cause of the widow and fatherless. Justice is a virtue that is enjoined on all who live in Israel. It was the keynote of the prophet’s influence. For ‘Zion’ is that of a city of righteousness, whose king and princes exalt justice as the lodestar of government, and whose people dwell together in mutual confidence and security (120. 91152. 16252). Micah holds before the rulers and judges of Israel and his people the same pure standard of judgment (Mic 3), and inculcates on all men respect for the threefold principle of a righteous life—to do justice, and to delight in love, and to walk humbly with thy God (69). These notes are repeated in Jeremiah and later prophets. The good man is he who ‘doeth justly, and seeketh truth’ (Jer 5), who ‘thoroughly executeth judgment between a man and his neighbour, oppresseth not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and sheddeth not innocent blood’ (76), who ‘delivereth the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor; and企th not truth with his neighbour, executeth wholesome judgment in the gates, deviseth no evil in his heart against his neighbour, and loveth no false oath’ (Zec 8), who ‘walketh with God in honesty and integrity, and turneth many away from iniquity’ (Zec 13). ‘For the Lord loveth judgment, and his_counts the righteousness of the humble, and seeth the prayer of the lowly’ (Ps 142).

2 This positive conception of judicial righteousness, which throws the stress on the vindication of the innocent but defenceless poor, acquires an increasing importance in the later literature. Cf. Dt 2117, 2779, Jer 582, 5910, Ps 10457, etc.

3 This verse of this Isaiah uses ‘judgment (nishpa),’ the virtual equivalent of religion in its practical aspect (Is 4214). In Ezekiel’s more astonomical conception of righteousness there is a characteristic recurrence of the ritual element; but the prophet has a true spiritual justice in the act of humanity as the test of righteousness with God. The righteous man, who ‘doeth judgment and righteousness,’ has not merely kept himself free from idolatry and uncleanness, but ‘hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, and hath not oppressed his neighbour, hath covered the naked with a garment; hath not given forth [ie, his money] upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgment between a man and his brother, and hath kept my judgments, to do truly . . . saith Jahweh’ (18-9). And on the princes, who are to uphold the banner of righteousness in the better Jerusalem that is to come, the injunction is laid: ‘Put away violence and spoil, and execute judgment and righteousness; lift off your exactions from my people, saith Jahweh. Ye shall have just scales, and a just ephah, and a just bath. The ephah and the bath shall be of one measure,’ etc. (45). 4. Righteousness by the Law.—With Ezekiel we find prophecy passing into legalism. But the definite step in this direction had already been taken when Deuteronomy was accepted as the canon of faith and morals (621 B.C.). The book itself is steeped in the spirit of the greater prophets. Unlike them the characterization of Israel was not that of a people, less in the image of sin, humanity, and love—especially towards the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger—as the vital expression of religion, which is identified with love to Jahweh (69). But, in exalting the duties of humanity into commandments, statutes, and judgments, which Jahweh your God commanded to teach you (6010122, etc.), it shifts the emphasis from willing, cheerful pursuit of moral goodness to the pains-taking effort to obey an external Law as the only ground of acceptation with God. The tendency towards legalism is found in the more cursory and less intense paragraphs of the Law. The more powerful impetus from the Law of Holiness (Lv 19-26) and the full-blown Priestly legislation (P), in spite of the former code’s sympathy with the poor and needy, and its summing up of the whole Law in the phrase, ‘You shall love thy neighbour as thyself’ (Lv 1918-24). Life now became a rule, a yoke of obedience, which pressed even more heavily on burdened consciences. The pathway to righteousness lay in the keeping of all these commandments (Dt 6022429). To this end the study of the Law, prayer, and alms-giving were enjoined (Ps 71), success in life (Jes 11). Kings were judged good or evil according to the measure in which they kept ‘the statutes and judgments’ of the Law (1 K 111832, 2 Ch 7175, etc.). And men claimed ‘good’ at God’s hand for the ‘good deeds’ which they had done in observing the Law themselves, and imposing it on others (Neh 5191314-22, 21).

This nomistic ideal of righteousness more and more pervades the literature of the age. The piety of the Psalms is, no doubt, strongly influenced by the preaching of the prophets. The perfect man of the Psalms ‘walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh truth in his heart’ (Ps 15), ‘hath clean hands, and a pure heart; hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, and hath not sworn deceitfully (24),’ keepeth his tongue from evil, and his lips from speaking guile; departeth from evil, and doeth good; seeketh peace, and pursueth it (34),’ ‘is gracious, and giveth (37),’ ‘disperseth, and giveth to the poor (112).’ Even so the thought is near at hand that only by such conduct can one become a guest in Jahweh’s tent, and dwell in His holy hill (157), secure the Divine blessing of ‘righteousness,’ i.e. the right standing before Jahweh (24), win many days of good (34), even ‘inherit the earth’ (379, 112), and have his righteousness ‘endure for ever’ (119). The nomistic ideal finds still clearer expression in Ps 1, 19, 119, where the Law is celebrated as the subject of the man who meditates by day and night, his joy and crown, the fountain of light and purity, peace, freedom, and defence against evil, and the standard of judgment in the end. To this mind of Israel, whose heart is set upon the ‘feareth God, and escheweth evil’ (11-9), and rests his claim to appear before God, and be justified, on the ground that he has refrained from all vanity, deceit, and idolatry, and been the constant adherent of the Law (cf. Ezekiel’s demand for just scales and measures cf. Lv 1914-16, De 2535-46, Ps 11116129,20).
friend and upholder of the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (31:2). The same idea prevails in Proverbs, though more ethical conceptions and forms are primary, as 'wisdom' is primarily intellectual, 'to know wisdom and instruction; to discern the words of understanding; to receive instruction in wise dealing (conduct), in justice, probity, and equity' (1:4).

The beginning of such knowledge is 'the fear of the Lord, with integrity of heart' (Prov. 15:33), and through obedience to the revelation of Wisdom, the foster-child and deputy of God (7:1-26), who rewards all those who love her with riches and honour, 'yea, durable riches and righteousness' (here equivalent to prosperity, or good fortune, the result of a right standing before God), but the wicked with calamity, which sweeps over them like a whirlwind (1:33-3:8).

In books like the above righteousness is not identical with sinlessness. Even the best men are guilty in God's sight. If He were quick to forgive injuries, no one could stand in His presence; but with Him there is forgiveness, that He may be feared (Ps 130:4). Thus Job can maintain his 'righteousness' (6:23, 10:13 etc.) in spite of the fact that 'a mortal man cannot be in the right before God' (Job 9:20), and that 'righteousness is used in the sense of general rectitude. The righteous man is he who fears God and follows truth and uprightness, even though some measure of sinfulness may cling to him, while the wicked man despises both God and wisdom. Ecclesiastes, on the other hand, would bring the whole life into and make everything of righteousness with the perfect keeping of the Law, though he warns his readers against being 'righteous overmuch,' lest the spring of life be lost in the endeavour, for 'there is not a righteous man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not' (1:7). This separation of righteousness and welfare of mankind is founded on the concept of divine existence of either side (2:24-3:2, 7:21-27). The editor of the book, however, insists on the full nomistic rule of life: 'Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man upon earth, to keep himself free from sin' (12:13).

5. The righteousness of God.—Primitive morality is never merely human. Society includes gods as well as men, and the gods are conceived as the divinities of the righteous. Therefore, the righteous conception of public justice. Thus righteousness rests fundamentally on the Divine character and will. This idea runs through the whole OT. Jahweh is the fountain-head alike of the rightful customs of His people and of the later statutes and judgments imposed by the authority of judges and lawgivers. In interpreting these customs and statutes, the judge is His mouthpiece (Ex 18:14, [E], Dt 17:19). The moral codes likewise are His 'words,' which reflect His character and express His will (Ex 20:1, Lv 19:2, Dt 6:17 etc.). The prophetic expositions of righteousness are equally the oracles of Jahweh and spring from the righteousness which is His by nature. Jahweh demands 'justice and righteousness' because He is faithful and righteous (Is 5, Am 5, Zeph 3) and later His righteousness is seasoned with love (Hos 2:4, 11:4-12:4), tenderness and compassion because the devouring fire of His holiness is a spirit of redeeming grace as well as judgment (Is 1:27, 43:2-6). The plaintiff by which Jahweh is to redress injustice is a plaintiff of righteousness (1:27, 28), and the line of peace and abiding prosperity for her and all the world is the line of 'judgment and righteousness' (11:2, 32:31-32:34). But nowhere is righteousness divorced from love and mercy. Jahweh will be gracious unto His people and will have mercy upon them; 'for Jahweh is a God of judgment' (30:8). He is a God that 'exerciseth love, justice, and righteousness in the earth' (Jer 9:8) and cor- erteth His judicial authority over the people in anger (10:24). Love and justice are, as it were, the two poles of the Divine character, each essential to the full harmony of His nature. In various passages of the Psalms they appear in poetic parallelism, as though love were the twin-sister of justice (Ps 33:6, 26:11).

With the prevalence of the forensic conception of righteousness, Jahweh came to be regarded as the Supreme Judge of men and nations. And it was felt from the first that the Judge of all the earth must do right (Heb. 1:13 according to med. pseu.) in distinguishing sharply between the righteous and the wicked (Gen 18:24). This thought of an impartial Judge, putting the just man in the right and condemning the wicked, appears in many different contexts. Thus He wipes out the sinful world, but saves 'righteous' Noah (6:8). He over-whelms Sodom and Gomorrah, but saves Lot (19:24). He smites Pharaoh and the Egyptians with all manner of wonders, but lets His afflicted people go free (Ex 10:23). He blesses them so long as they keep the Covenant, but takes vengeance on them with cooks and plagues to the extent of driving them from the land which He has given them to inherit (Dt 7:11 etc.).

He is a jealous God, who visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of such as hate Him and despise His commandments (Ex 20:5, 97ff., Nu 14:18, Dt 7:19). He judges between David and Saul, requiring David for his 'righteousness and faithfulness;' but bringing the kingdom of Saul to an end (1 Sam 20:42, 2 Sam 16:5). He is judge of the elders and princes of his people, because they have 'devoured the vineyard,' and 'grind the faces of the poor' (Is 5:5). He visiteth His people for their deceit and treachery (Jer 9:12). He executeth judgment in their midst for the abominations they had done before Him (Ezk 5:9, 11 etc.). On the wicked He raineth down coals of fire, making their portion 'brimstone and burning wind,' while the 'upright beheld his face' (Ps 11:10). He even makes Himself good [godly] to the good [godly], perfect to the pure, righteous unto the pure (18:24-26 etc.). In the punishment which He thus metes out for unrighteousness the guilty themselves must admit that He is 'in the right' (Ex 9:30, Ps 51:11). But, as the good judge showed his righteousness in actively promoting the cause of the defenceless, so Jahweh puts forth His righteous arm to help the poor and down-trodden (Dt 10:18, Mic 7:4, Ps 35:3-7 etc.). As Israel itself is the supreme type of the 'righteous' oppressed by its enemies, his righteousness is manifested chiefly in its vindication. The 'righteous acts of Jahweh,' which the joy-makers celebrate 'around the water-troughs' in the days of Deborah (Jg 5:11, 1), are His saving acts on the battle-field of Megiddo. So also in Samuel's farewell address (1 S 12) the 'righteous acts of Jahweh' are His acts of deliverance from the day when He brought forth His people out of Egypt. Thus 'righteousness' is frequently equated with 'salvation' (Is 56:1, Jer 51:19, Dn 9:4, Ps 4:7, 35:11 etc.). The 'sun of righteousness' (Mal 4:2) is a striking figure for Jahweh's saving grace soon to shine forth over the people of the earth, not in a little (Jahweh Sidd'an, 'Jahweh is our righteousness' (Jer 23:7), is to be interpreted in the same sense. The sprouting of the righteous Branch is the

1 Of course, we must not identify righteousness with salvation. . . . Salvation is, so to speak, the clothing, the manifestation of Jehovah's righteousness' (A. B. Davidson, Theology of the OT, p. 906).
RIGHTEOUSNESS (in the Old Testament)

spring-like promise of Israel's redemption (ib.). In like manner the judgment in the valley of Jehoshaphat, 'Jehovah's judgeth' (41 39), means salvation for Israel.

This connotation of the term, however, is peculiarly associated with the great prophecy of restoration in Isa 40-55, where Jahweh's whole dealings with Israel shall be viewed in the light of His 'righteousness.' The people, Israel have sinned and paid the penalty of their sin. The verdict of history has proved them absolutely in the wrong. Nevertheless, they feel that they have a 'case' (mishpāḥāt), which cannot for ever be 'passed over' by their God (Is 40 10). Israel is Jahweh's people, bound to Him by the everlasting Covenant—His Servant, chosen by Him to 'send forth judgment to the nations' (42 6). Though too often 'far from righteousness' (the conduct which belittles Jahweh's people), and blind and deaf to its high calling as His Servant, Israel is yet more completely in the right than the peoples that have 'robbed and spoiled' it. From the ideal point of view, the Israelites may even be regarded as the innocent victims of oppression, who may therefore readily be justified on the recognition of their rights, from we (50 9-10). In answer to the claim, Jahweh is pleased for 'his righteousness' sake'—His loyalty to the covenant of grace—to bring them deliverance, and so to 'manify the revelation' of His righteousness through them. Throughout, it has been righteous (true to His word) in all that He has promised to do (41 25 45 9); and His righteous word will not fail Him now (45 5). Already He has raised up Cyrus, 'whom righteousness [here in the sense of victory]1 followeth at every step' (41 5); and He will continue to multiply His righteousness and its deeds until the temple and its temple have been rebuilt, and the waste places of Judah raised up (44 28-29). For He is 'a just God and a saviour' (45 6)—a righteous God, whose righteousness is made manifest in salvation (40 12 51 16 52 11). With salvation will come 'righteousness' [the power that makes for victory] and strength' (54 6), peace [prosperity] flowing 'as a river' (48 8), and abounding joy and gladness (55 13) welling up from hearts that know and follow after righteousness [in the prophetic sense of right-doing].

The word of Jahweh is like the dew, and his word is a fountain of springs (51 36). Thus is the redemptive righteousness of Jahweh the fulness of its purpose in the conversion of the world to Him. 6. Divine Righteousness.

Righteousness. In the heyday of national prosperity it was easy to believe in Divine righteousness. But amid the general disorder which accompanied the downfall of the nation keen questions arose. If the Judge of all the earth 'doth right,' why must the righteous suffer, while the wicked enjoy long and prosperous days? These questions first become vocal in Jeremiah, whose ministry for righteousness was one continuous martyrdom. 'Too righteous [too completely in the right] art thou, O Lord,' that I should contend with thee [ac. at the bar of justice], yet would I lay my case before thee: Why doth the way of the wicked prosper? What are they all at ease that deal very treacherously? (12). When Jahweh answers only with the promise of yet graver trials, the prophet breaks into bitter expositions, even charging Jahweh with doing all this. 'He that is of God is my son, my first-born, and the noblest of the children of mankind; and my wound incurable.'—'Truly thou hast been to me a deceitful brook, as waters that are not sure' (15). 'Thou hast fooled me, O Lord, and I let myself be fooled; thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed. I am turned to a laughing-stock; they mock me, every one doth mock me' (40 30). The same poignant cry bursts from the lips of Habakkuk in the agony of the Chaldean oppression: 'Thou that art too pure of eyes to look upon evil, who canst not behold iniquity, why dost thou look on the work of wrong-doers, why be silent when the wicked man [the Chaldeans] swalloweth up the righteous [Israel]?' (1). From prophets the challenge is caught up and re-echoed by the people under the bondage of exile and in the barren days that succeeded the restoration: 'My way is hid from mine eyes: I perish and die, though I 'trust' in the Lord and 'hold fast to my oath by my God' (Is 40 23); 'Every one that doeth evil is gone [acceptable] in the eyes of Jahweh, and he delighteth in them. Where then is the God of judgment?' (Mal 2 17); 'It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinances and walked hitherto?' (Mal 3 13). But behold now the arrogant are blessed (happy), and the doers of wickedness are built up: yea, they tempt God, yet escape' (34).

To these heart-breaking appeals of earnest souls there came no direct answer, but only the exhortation to 'trust' in God (40 9-24), to 'behold' and 'serve' the Lord (40 3-4), or wait with patience till the 'vision' should reach its appointed end (Hab 2 3), and the son of righteousness should 'rise with healing in its wings,' when the righteous should 'skip as calves of the stall, and the lion shall lie down with the ox, and the child shall play on the highway' (Mal 4 4). But bolder spirits fought out the fight and lifted the problem to a region where the troubles of the righteous melted away in the eternal sunshine of God's face.

The most heroic of these conflicts is reflected in the book of Job. In the pattern of righteousness, Job is suddenly plunged into overwhelming suffering and misery. Trained in the ancient dogma that suffering is the penalty of sin, yet firmly convinced that he has done nothing to merit these calamities, and gazed to despair by the orthodox 'consolations' of his friends, he boldly arraigns God's rule. 'I am innocent, but it is all one. God destroyeth the innocent and the wicked alike.' There is no justice in His reign. 'The earth is given over to the power of the wicked; and God blindeth the eyes of its judges,' so that they can no longer distinguish between right and wrong. And God cannot deny the charge. 'If it be not he, who then is it?' (59 13-14). The poet reaches no intellectual solution of the problem thus raised. Salvation is found only in a dazzling vision of God's majestic majesty, in a vision of God in nature, before which Job and all his sorrows are swallowed up (42 1-10). He does, however, rise to the thought that, after he is dead, God will appear upon his dust, as Goel, or Champion, to bear witness to his innocence, and that he will arise from the dust of Sheol, 'from the mountain of destruction,' and 'behold the vindication of his cause (19 25-27). The door which he has thus unlocked behind the veil is pushed wide open by later psalmists, apocalypticsts, and sages. By the time of Jesus immortality had become an assured hope of Judaism. And the problem of Divine
righteousness was solved in a view of God's government which embraced both this age (25ff., 'δόλαν; αλογον, 'ξοντον') and that which was to follow. [V. 13. 14.]

There is the idea of the Gerechtigkeit, ver-

züglich im AT; JDD T v. (1800) 173 ff.; E. Kautsky, Ubers die Derivate des Stammes πτως im AT Sprachgebrauch, Tübingen, 1893; G. Dahmen, Der Geist der martliche Einführung der Anfänge, and A. D. Kay, The Prophets of Israel, do. 1895, pp. 71 ff.; J. Schultz, OT Theology, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1895, ii. 241 ff.; A. Dillmann, Handbuch zum AT, vii. 3 ff. All these writers, among others, have called attention to the fact that there is a condition of entry into the kingdom. It is (b) brought into connexion with the Law (and the Prophets). Then we have to consider the cases of the scribes and Pharisees, which shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. It is the condition of entry. There is this 'righteousness.' It is therefore (c) condition of entry into the kingdom. It is (b) brought into connexion with the Law (and the Prophets). And the contrast implied seems to be this: the scribes have what they call 'righteousness,' which is dependent upon observance of the Law, they suppose; whereas the Pharisees represent the form of the Law which I give you goes deeper than does theirs, your 'righteousness' will necessarily be in some sense more abundant than theirs. [V. 25-45 give a twofold series of three illustrations of the way in which Christ 'fulfilled' (i.e., gave a deeper meaning to the Law).

1. (a) 21-25—The law, 'Do not murder,' implies, 'Do not have angry thoughts.' Therefore, if your brother has a matter against you, go and be reconciled to him. This seems to imply that righteousness is a right condition of the heart, caused by a deeper appreciation of the Law and born out of the Law conduct.

2. 26-30—The law—Do not commit adultery,' implies, 'Do not have impure thoughts.' Therefore exercise moral discipline. This also seems to imply that righteousness is a right condition of the heart, caused by a deeper appreciation of the Law and born out of the Law conduct.

3. 31. 32.—The Law sanctioned divorce, but limits this to cases of fornication. Therefore it is imperative to impose the Law, thus instituting upon supposed legal rights which are not consistent with the highest morality.

4. (a) 32. 33—The Law said, 'Do not swear falsely,' but carry this farther, 'Do not swear at all.' This seems to imply that righteousness will sometimes fulfil the Law by extending its sense.

5. (b) 33. 34—The Law commanded retaliation. Turn this into a retaliation of love.

6. (c) 34. 35—The Law said, 'Hate your enemy,' but do the contrary—love him. This, again, seems to imply that righteousness will sometimes reverse the literal sense of the Law.

These illustrations are very different in kind. In 1. (a) and 2. (b) they imply an excess of the Law which penetrates beneath the letter and seeks to find and carry into effect the spiritual principle which is logically involved. Murder presupposes anger; therefore avoid anger as well as murder. Adultery implies lust; therefore, resist lust. We might suppose that the 'greater righteousness' of the disciples is either the moral principle or the cause of action, rather than the literal Law interpreted or the moral acts in which this morality of the heart expressed itself, viz., reconciliation to the brother, moral discipline, or both together. That is to say, anything given to the sanction of divorce is quite arbitrary; i.e., whilst the disciples might take the illustrations 1. (a) and 6. (c) as examples of a method of interpreting the Law, L. (c) would give them no principle of exegesis by which they could deal with any other law. Righteousness here therefore must be understood as a conduct based upon a deeper interpretation of the Law, and perhaps be regarded as illustrative of a method of interpreting the Law by arguing from the particular to the general. If false swearing is wrong, so must any kind of swearing be. If love to one's neighbour is commanded, this must be held to imply love of all men. But L. (b) is again a quite arbitrary cancelling of a law, by substituting for it the exact opposite. Here righteousness is certainly not moral condition created by obedience to the Law. It may be right moral condition which revolts against the Law and substitutes for it something different, or right conduct due to such reversal.

These facts would lead us to suppose that the idea of righteousness implied in these illustrations was that of conduct rather than of the moral condition which gives rise to conduct; that is to say, Christ is dealing with 'righteousness' as a term with a definite meaning (= 'right conduct') which He presupposes. The right conduct which is requisite is to take an opposite consideration than that of the scribes and Pharisees, just because the methods of interpreting the Law which He taught them would enable them to widen out almost every single command to cover a far greater area of conduct than did the Pharisaic exegesis.

But, whatever the idea of the 'greater righteousness' which these illustrations are intended to convey, it is noticeable that the term 'righteous-
RIGHTEOUSNESS (in Christ's teaching)

It is not usually used to describe righteousness. This is probably due to the fact that, according to a well-known teaching, righteousness is a term used for describing the heart when it is in agreement with the will of God. It is therefore probably due to the fact that, according to a well-known teaching, righteousness is a term used for describing the heart when it is in agreement with the will of God.

The illustration of the interpretation of the Law seems to support this, by way of contrast with the Pharisaic righteousness, true righteousness is a right condition of the heart, caused by a right understanding of the spiritual Tenor of the Law, which issues in right conduct. But this is never called 'righteousness.'

Thus, in the Sermon on the Mount, Christ seems to be employing the term as a known conception, using it therefore, as it were, in inverted commas. The Jews sought for righteousness by the method of obedience to the Law taking effect in religious acts. All who resisted it, from the bottom of their hearts would ultimately be dissatisfied, however guided by the method by which they sought for it (57). The righteousness of Christ's disciples (i.e. their religious conduct) was not to be less than that of the scribes (57). Obedience to the Law, almsgiving, prayer, fasting—all these were obligatory upon them (58-18). But they were to be practised in a different spirit, based on a better understanding of the Law, and void of the ostentation which marred the Pharisaic devotion.

These results are not unimportant. All through the Sermon on the Mount, Christ is teaching about conduct as related to the Law, and this conduct is termed 'righteousness' just because that was a current usage. It is a technical term used by Him in its technical meaning. All that He is concerned with here is the relation of His disciples to righteousness in comparison with the relation to it of the Pharisees. In both cases it is to be based on the Law, but in the case of His disciples it will assume a more far-reaching character due to the better method of dealing with the Law which He gave to them.

In other words, we have no real clue here as to Christ's own doctrine of righteousness, no new definition of it, no attempt to give its content and scope and range. We may, if we please, select from His words such ideas as love and purity, and say that these constitute the content of this doctrine. But they are not actually so termed, and His silence suggests rather the view that He would not willingly have predicated righteousness of men at all.

It will be seen that in the Sermon 'righteousness' seems to be used with reference to a meaning which it had in contemporary Judaism, that of the righteousness based on observance of the Law which good men exhibited in such exercises of religion as almsgiving, fasting, repentance, and prayer. Whatever Christ is reported to have taught about it did not change the entire content of the word, but spiritualized and deepened it. If His disciples rightly understood the Law, they would not neglect such ordinances as almsgiving, fasting, and prayer, but would exercise them in a spirit which would make them to be real righteousness, which God would reward. In this conception of the 'reward of righteousness' we are still in the circle of current Jewish conceptions. So far as this Gospel is concerned, Christ does not sweep away the conception of reward, but purifies it. The unostentation and the value of human works which we should receive a reward from God, who sees the unseen.
which deal with the relation of Christians to the older Judaism. He regards the new community as the true Judaism, and is at pains to record such teaching of Christ as showing how the righteousness of God had displaced their religion, and how the Messiah had re-interpreted for His disciples the true meaning of the Law and the ordinances. When recording, therefore, the teaching of Christ on righteousness, he has not used mind chiefly such sayings as brought into contrast Christ's teaching and the most current and popular conception of the Law, but has gathered together all which he found in the New Testament to 'the exercises of religious acts.' These still retained their objects, but characteristic of the spirit of true righteousness, and characterized them as practiced by the Pharisees. To find in all the qualities commended in the Sermon on the Mount 'the characterizing' of the Pharisees, and truly of true righteousness, is to find the writer of the art. 'Righteousness in NT' in HDB, is to miss the whole point of the First Gospel. These many qualities may perhaps constitute 'righteousness,' if that word was used in a sense which permits it, but they are never called 'righteousness' in the First Gospel, and indeed are carefully distinguished from it. Only one or two of the righteousness which is to characterize the disciples, but, when next we come to the word, it is in, and in the rest of that chapter, righteousness is illustrated as consisting in such religious devotions as almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, i.e. in concrete, not internal, righteousness.

It will perhaps be said that 2318 shows how the righteousness of the disciples is to exceed that of the Pharisees, and must therefore bear the burdens of the Law. This shows an exegesis of the Law is to be deeper, directed more to the spiritual content than to the surface meaning of its precepts. In the New Testament is the Law no longer used as it was in Judaism, though it might be so termed by any one who cared to use the word, but in the New Testament it is rather the meaning of the Law, the meaning of the word is not the same from which a moral concept of righteousness, in the sense of the word as used by the editor of the Gospel, can spring.

Righteousness therefore in Christ's teaching, as moral, as imperial, means conduct, in respect of religious ordinances, and the moral relation to others, which is the outcome of a right understanding of the OT. In what relation does it stand to Christ's personality? In this, that the Messiah had given a new method of interpreting the Law.

This, of course, is not the whole of Christian teaching on righteousness, but it is all that is the First Gospel has given to us. That is only an additional proof that this Gospel springs from a Jewish Christian society which only partially understood Christ's teaching and His person. For them He was the Messiah, who was soon to inaugurate His kingdom. He was also the true interpreter of the Law. Those who followed His teaching would hold fast to the Law and to the ordinances of religion. They would then become the righteous protecting the kingdom.

How closely the conception of righteousness in the First Gospel follows the Jewish conception of it may be seen from a study of the cognate adjective (bimnos). This means, generally speaking, a 'pious,' 'religious,' Jew. In the Gospels Jesus is a 'righteous man,' and this quality would have led Him to put away his betrothed wife, when she was found to be with child (19). Jesus Himself is called a 'righteous' man by Pilate and his wife (2779, 91). The Pharisees appear to men to be 'righteous' (2987). I.e. they are supposed to have kept all the regulations of a particular class, whether the thought is of the pious heroes of the past (‘adorn the tombs of the righteous,’ 2390; cf. ‘Able the righteous’ 2399), or of the righteous’ who will enter the Messianic kingdom (1845, 2357).

Of course there is the same vagueness here as there is about the use of the word in Jewish literature. But one prevailing characteristic of 'the righteous' in Jewish literature is piety based upon conformity to the Law, which takes effect in outward and active religious acts, such as almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. To the editor of the First Gospel 'the righteous' were those who would be admitted into the kingdom. But who were 'righteous'? Not all Jews (38 86), nor the scribes and Pharisees with their hard and literal interpretation of the Law, but there was one man who fulfilled the Law, who received the clue to its meaning given to them by the Messiah. For them the Law was not in one jot or tittle abolished (59). Rather it was permanently valid. But they had a clue to its meaning which would make their righteousness by that return to be of the scribes and Pharisees in so far as it had a deeper soil into which to strike its roots.

Neither St. Mark nor St. Luke has recorded any saying of Christ containing the term 'righteousness.' The adjective occurs in Mk 29, whence Mt 99 has borrowed it. Mt places the adjective in the mouth of Christ in the following saying: 2992 = Mt 99 = 1414 = the resurrection of the righteous (here it is used, as in Mt 1334, 257, 46, of the inferences of ultimate blessedness); 1518 and 260 (in the same sense as in Mt 99); 286 (applied to the NT teaching about the resurrection). We learn therefore nothing fresh from these Gospels as to the teaching of Christ on the subject of righteousness.

In the Fourth Gospel the term occurs in one connexion only. That is in 1624. The Holy Spirit is to be the guide of righteousness ‘because I go to the Father.’ The meaning may be that righteousness in the widest sense of the term had been completely manifested in the life of the incarnate Son of God. When He returned to His Father, this manifestation was completed, by that return it was proved to have been a real manifestation. And that manifestation would henceforth be the standard by which all other conceptions of righteousness would be tried and proved to be faulty. The adjective is used three times in the Gospels—once of Christ’s ‘judgment’ (23), once of human ‘judgment’ (72), and once of God the Father (1725).

Of course, it is not possible to discuss the bearings of Jn 1624 on the whole concept of Christ as to righteousness. For that would lead us into a re-statement of the whole Johannine theology. If Christ taught that He was the incarnate righteousness of God, the question is at once raised, How does this affect men? That leads to the doctrine of the relation between Christ and men in all its many bearings, including the doctrine of sin and of its removal, and of the mystical union between Christ and the believer. All that we can do is to note the fact that, whilst the First Gospel deals with righteousness from the human standpoint and regards it as closely connected with a right view of the Law, the Fourth Gospel, in the one passage concerned, deals with it from the standpoint of the divine righteousness perfectly manifested in the eternal Son of God.


RIGHTEOUSNESS (in St. Paul’s teaching).

1. Importance of the term.—Righteousness, as a popular term in universal use, is of course sometimes employed by St. Paul in its current and popular sense. Thus, when he asks, What partnership

1 Similarly in the Apocalypse literature 'the righteous' are those who are to inherit the kingdom (cf. Volz, p. 216).
have righteousness and lawlessness with one another (2 Co 6:14), or speaks of himself as equipped with the weapons of righteousness on the right hand and on the left (2 Co 6:7), or says that the kingdom of God is not near, and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (Ro 14:17), it is most natural to suppose that he uses the word in the large and somewhat indefinite sense which every one understands. We may regard it as a standard for conduct—a standard determined not by the nature of the person who is to exhibit the character or quality of righteousness, but by his relation to other persons or things—and that the requirements of this standard have been met. But two things demand special consideration of the term in St. Paul. One is the extreme frequency with which δικαιοσύνης and the cognate terms (δίκαιος, δικαιοῦν, δικαίωμα, δικαίωσις) occur in his writings. If we discount the Pastoral, the examples of these words amount to 101. This alone would show their peculiar importance for him. Besides this, there is the undoubted fact that he uses some of them in a technical or quasi-technical sense, with the correct understanding of which is bound up the correct understanding of the gospel. Thus δικαιοσύνης θεός is rightly spoken of by Holstenius as a ‘technical Abbreviation, or for St. Paul’s conception of Christianity; in the mathematical sense it is a ‘symbolic’ expression of his gospel.

2. The righteousness of God.—The formal presentation of δικαιοσύνης θεός as the sum and substance of the Christian message is made in the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul is not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God to salvation for all who believe (Ro 1:16). All the explanation of this being that in it there is revealed righteousness and δικαιοσύνης θεός. The genitive case can be used to express various relations; and, so far as grammar goes, δικαιοσύνης θεός might mean the righteousness which belongs to God (i.e. which is His character as a righteous one), or righteousness which is required of men, and will acknowledge as answering to His requirements; or, again, a righteousness of which God is the source or author. Obviously also some if all not of these ideas might be combined; and, if in any sense technical or symbolic, it has probably combined or a designation of itself shades of meaning which would originally have taken different grammatical forms.

In modern times there have been three main lines of interpretation. In the first the genitive, θεός, is taken as a simple possessive, and the righteousness which is revealed is God’s own character. The gospel shows men what God is. They may have imagined that they knew Him before, and even that they knew what He was, but by His righteousness. But they misconceived the attribute which they called by this name. To them it was merely a retributive or distributive virtue—the attribute in virtue of which God renders to every man according to his work. As such it is a greater mystery than they had thought, and it hardly could be conceived as the content of a gospel. But, when God’s righteousness was actually revealed in the gospel, it turned out to be quite different from this. It was not retributive or distributive, but self-imparting or communicative. It streamed out ceaselessly from God, and overflowed upon men and into them, becoming their righteousness also. That is why the news of it is gospel. It is glad tidings to the sinful that it is the very nature of God, in spite of their sin, in entire indifference to the sin, conceivably even on account of their sin, to best against their sinful nature with His searching self-communicating righteousness till sin is overcome and God’s own righteousness fills the once sinful nature of man. That sinners are saved by God imparting His own character to them is true, but it does not follow that this is what St. Paul means when he uses the expression δικαιοσύνης θεός. The problem which the gospel had to solve was for him a moral problem, but here the δικαιοσύνης θεός is conceived simply on the analogy of physical force. It flows out unconditionally from God towards all men as water flows from a spring, or as heat radiates from the sun. But moral problems cannot be stated, let alone solved, by merely physical categories; and, when St. Paul wrestles, intellectually, with the problem in Romans 3, he uses quite another character. Further, while an attempt may be made, in consistency with this view of the δικαιοσύνης θεός, to make room for Christ in the gospel—to point to Him as a conspicuous proof that divine righteousness has the self-imparting quality here claimed for it in Romans 3—it is not easy to get the place that He has in St. Paul. For the apostle He is not a conspicuous illustration of the nature of divine righteousness; except in Him and in His Cross there is no revelation or knowledge of the character of righteousness. He is the place where the righteousness of God is made manifest to those who believe, but He is not described as an instance of divine righteousness.

3. OT usage.—A more impressive and suggestive interpretation of δικαιοσύνης θεός is that which, while still treating the genitive as possessive, finds the key to the meaning in those OT passages in which God’s righteousness is spoken of, not as distributive or as self-imparting, but as doing right or justice by His people. In the OT generally the functions of ruling and judging are closely connected; and, when the king judges, he is conceived as helping his people to their rights rather than as administering statutes. In books like the Hebrews, and the Old Testament in general, God is generally represented as wronged and oppressed by a wicked world, and God manifests His righteousness when He vindicates them and delivers them from their enemies. Hence God’s righteousness as righteousness which requires repayment of what they trust, and to it they appeal; by the manifestation and exercise of it they are justified and saved. In a real sense, it is one with His grace and faithfulness. It puts His wronged people in the right in the eyes of all intelligent people. The Lord fulfills the righteousness of His people for their vindication, their salvation, as against all who condemn and oppress them or put them in the wrong.

Passages like Ps 35:20-21, 51:14, 71:5, 110:24, or like Is 1:19, 52:7, 56, illustrate this. In most of these the subject spoken of is the nation, and it is
easier, of course, for a nation than for an individual to feel that it is in the right, and that, if God's righteousness were manifested, the result would be its justification and salvation. A comparison of vv. 1-24 in Ps 143 shows how this national revelation, on God's righteousness, which would vindicate the people can be combined with an individual sense of sin which cannot face the judgment of God. The just (but wronged) nation can be saved by the manifestation of God's righteousness; its justification is an "analytical" proposition, which can only be regarded as a metaphor into the position which is its due; but, if the sinful individual, who cannot face God's judgment, is to be justified, the process must be different. His justification cannot be the declaration of what he is—the demonstration of the righteousness of the righteoua; it must be a synthetic proposition, which not only declares something about the sinner, but also does something for him, securing for him a new relation to God. It is worth noticing that those who attach to these OT passages about the nation, or the faith community, the heart of it, the explanation of St. Paul's δικαιωσφ αυτῶν—Ritschl, e.g.—also connect justification in the NT sense with the Church rather than the individual. The writer can only confess himself baffled with this. When St. Paul preaches his gospel of δικαιωσφ τεος, it is the gracious person, the person of God, whatever their shortcomings, are still in the right as against their pagan oppressors, and who can depend on God's righteousness to put them in the right—i.e. by one and the same divine act to justify and save them; or he preaches to individual sinners, Jew and Gentile alike, who are in no community but that of guilt, and of whom it must be said, if they are eventually justified, not that God has justified His injured people and vindicated their righteous cause, but that He has justified the ungodly. This would be itself enough to show that δικαιωσφ αυτῶν, as embodying the sum and substance of St. Paul's gospel, is not equivalent to God's faithfulness to His covenant obligations, or to His action regarded as the consistent carrying out of His purpose to bless and save His people, but something more original and startling—more congruous with the idea of a new revelation—than this.

4. St. Paul's meaning:—But there are other reasons which forbid us to attach St. Paul's δικαιωσφ αυτῶν to such OT passages as are referred to above. For one, St. Paul himself refers to none of these passages in expounding the δικαιωσφ τεος. He declares it to be witnessed to by the Law and the Prophets, and his favourite references are Gn 15 and Hab 2. There is not an allusion even to Ps 98. Further, as W. Boussset has pointed out,1 this conception of the righteousness of God fell, in later Judaism, wholly or almost wholly into abeyance.

1 In place of the merciful righteousness of God (the righteousness of God sympathetically interested in his wronged people), we find the predominant the distributive, forensic, disinterested righteousness.

The last epithets not only describe the change, but convey an unsympathetic judgment of it; but the fact referred to is indubitable. St. Paul had to face, as he would not like to face. Therefore, to popularize the idea, and to show that we who could lose the sense of their own demerit in the sense of membership in a community which could appeal to God as having a righteous cause, but to people who had to meet the living God standing alone, or only in a community in guilt with little or no relationship. The idea exhibited in Is 54:17 or Ps 93:2 would mean nothing for such people. If it were not unintelligible, it would be irrelevant; and, in spite of the powerful pleads that have been made for it by many scholars, it cannot be regarded as the key to St. Paul's mind.

This key may be found only if we concentrate our attention on the passage in which God's righteousness not only mentions but expounds the δικαιωσφ τεος, and if we observe the place that it holds in the connexion of his thoughts. This passage is Ro 3:21-32. The δικαιωσφ τεος is preached to a world which is ὑπεκύκλου τω υιω, liable to God's judgment—a world, as such, to feel the need of righteousness to vindicate them, but of condemned and unsaved men, who need a righteousness of God because they have none of their own. It is a righteousness bound up with and inseparable from the righteous Christ. His character as διαθησθαι. It is not something that we can seize and understand, apart from Christ, and inside of which we can then, consistently, make room for Christ. It is not enough to say with W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam:

1 There is one signal manifestation of righteousness, the nature of which it is difficult for us wholly to grasp, in the Death of Christ.1

The death of Christ is not 'a signal manifestation of righteousness'; in the sense in which St. Paul uses the term; that is to say, this death of Christ is the whole and sole revelation of the δικαιωσφ τεος as the hope of sinful men. Apart from it there is no manifestation of a δικαιωσφ τεος at all. And it is so because God has set forth Christ in His blood as διαθησθαι—i.e. either as a propitiatory sacrifice or in propitiatory power. There is a cautious way of declining to think out passages like this, illustrated, e.g., by J. B. Lightfoot in his Notes on Epistles of St. Paul (London, 1895, p. 272), and an impressionist or emotional way, illustrated conspicuously by G. A. Deissmann, in ch. 6 of his Paulus. Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtl. Skizzes, Tübingen, 1911; but nothing is more certain than that St. Paul in Ro 3:21-26 was exerting his whole intellectual force, consciously and deliberately, and with a daring which drew back at nothing, in an effort to comprehend and explain the way of salvation for sinners abridged as δικαιωσφ τεος. This δικαιωσφ τεος and the ἡστηρσια are correlative terms. There would be no δικαιωσφ τεος for sinners but for the διαθησθαι. The διαθησθαι has two characters. It deals with sin for its remission; that is, it deals with that side which answers to God's will to forgive and save sinners. But it deals with sin as it is—as that terrible thing which, in St. Paul's conviction and in God's judgment, is one with death. When Christ died for sin—when God set Him forth, in His blood, a propitiatory power or sacrifice—then, and not till then (ἐν τω τοι τινα καρπω, Ro 3:25), was the διαθησθαι revealed to men. The way of salvation, as a way in which God gets sinful men right with Himself, and at the same time deals with sin as nothing less than the awful reality it is, now lies open for the world. From God's side the δικαιωσφ τεος covers the double truth that God is δικαιοσ (i.e. not indifferent to the sinfulness of sin) and διαθησθαι τω ἐπεισεδραν Ἡστηρσια (i.e. a gracious sin-forgiving God).2

We may perhaps best express this otherwise by saying that what is manifested at the Cross as the ultimate truth in the universe—the divinest thing in the divine—is love bearing sin. To whom does this appeal? It appeals to sinners, not to those who trust in themselves that they are righteous. For what does it mean? 1 Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, 100, 1905, p. 35. 2 There is clearly visible here, what has played so large a part in doctrines of atonement, the idea of a harmonization of the divine attributes of justice (holiness) and mercy in the work of Christ. The δικαιωσφ τεος includes both.
appeal? It appeals for faith. When a sinner is confronted with the divine love in Christ bearing in on him, he is bound to be interested, to be curious as to what he is invited to do? What is the right thing for him to do? The only right thing for him to do is to trust that love unreceievedly, to cast himself upon it, to abandon himself to it, to stake and invest his whole being in it as the final reality in the universe. He is not to quibble about the morality of it, neglect the God of his own conscience, which was so much less wonderful might not meet the requirements on both sides. He is not to make himself worthy of such love before he trusts it. He is not to offer guarantees that, unhealthy as he will, he will prove worthy in the long run. He has simply, immediately, unconditionally to trust it: that is the one right thing for him to do. When he does so, then, in spite of all his sins, it brings him right with God. What he is, as a believer in Jesus, annuls what he was, as a sinner under God's condemnation. His faith in Christ the propitiation is reckoned to him for righteousness; and, in so reckoning it, God's judgment of the believing sinner is according to truth. There is no legal fiction when God justifies any more than when He condems; for, when the propitiation has evoked faith, the sinner is justified by faith/justly thought of in the propitiation He puts forth a power, or makes an appeal to the ungodly, which makes his true description henceforth 'him that believeth in Jesus.' And we must not minimize faith by arbitrary definition. Faith in St. Paul's writings is what faith was in his life—not a mere assent, not the attitude of a moment, but something in virtue of which his whole being was permanently absorbed in Christ who died. It includes entering into the mind of Christ with relation to sin, accepting the divine sentence on sin as it is brought home to the conscience in this way; and it is in this character that it is the basis of God's verdict. As believers in Jesus we are δικαιούμενοι, "righteousness" in δικαιοσύνη, which is that which regards it as the genitive of the author or origin. God provides the θεός which deals righteously with sin for its removal, and so appeals to men that they are brought into the right relation to Himself. This is the kingdom of God. Jerusalem and the temple— δικαιοσύνη—which the righteousness revealed in the gospel—is contrasted with any righteousness of our own, which we might have achieved out of our own resources. Twice St. Paul formally emphasizes this contrast. In one text he says of the Jews as wanting to establish 'their own' righteousness—

—to come to God, so to speak, invested in a goodness which they had achieved by statutory obedience (δικαιοσύνη τῆς ἑκάστου, Ro 10:6), and which rather made God their debtor than rested on a fundamental debt to God; and he formally opposes to this the δικαιοσύνη of his gospel. So also with special reference to his own case in Ph 3:19. Once he, like his countrymen in general, had sought to establish a righteousness of his own, and by human standards had been strikingly successful (ἐρήμωσιν ἡ ἑκάστου, 6:14); but there is always a profound delusion in the idea that we can be good without God. For a sinful man to think so is indeed the sin of sins as well as the most fatal of errors. But St. Paul had become a believer in the truth, and now found himself believing Christian his one desire was to win Christ and be found in Him, renouncing every other hope—"not having a righteousness of my own," viz. that which comes of the Law (τῆς ἑκάστου), but having that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is from God (δικαιοσύνης ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ) on the basis of faith. Righteousness is a gift, not an achievement; not as though it were a material thing, which could be handed over or transferred to one, but because it is the love of God which has made us Christ the propitiation part of our world, and through Him has made the appeal to sinners in yielding to which they enter into the right relation to God. Apart from the faith which yields to this appeal, sinners are not only condemned at God's bar; but on the basis of it they are accepted by God as δικαίους; the δικαιοσύνη has taken effect for them. It cannot be said too strongly that this is the whole of St. Paul's gospel. With Christ the propitiation on one side, and faith in Christ on the other, we have a situation which cannot and need not be supplemented. All the interests of 'righteousness,' in whatever sense the term may be taken, are covered by the δικαιοσύνη, which becomes ours through faith in Christ. Faith in the Pauline sense makes the tree good; and, when the tree is good, there need be no anxiety about its fruits. Protestant theology has undoubtedly erred in making so much of the distinction between justification and sanctification. The connexion is never more striking than in the one adequate inspiration for a holy life—the love of God is shed abroad in his heart through the Holy Spirit given to him. Experimentally or psychologically, indeed, there is no difference between these two things. To have an overpowering assurance of the love of God as it is revealed in Christ the propitiation and to be filled with the Holy Spirit are the same thing; and in that one thing lie the promise and potency of all forms of Christian goodness. Such goodness is never imposed; it is always inspired. It is never a matter of statutory obedience, but always of spontaneous inner impulse. It is a mistake, in speaking of it, to contrast faith and the Spirit, as if men were 'justified' by faith and 'sanctified' by the Spirit, according to a common construction of Ro 3-5 and 6-8. In St. Paul faith and the Spirit are one and the same; they are, in fact, two names for one thing. They are, indeed, the same thing contemplated in its human and its divine relations. Every Christian experience is at one and the same time an experience of faith and an experience in the Spirit. Keeping the commandments—yet we can always say of it 'I believe.' It is this experience that has the power and virtue of all Christianity—or, if we choose to say so, of all righteousness—in it. The only contrast in St. Paul is not one between faith which justifies and the Spirit which sanctifies; still less one between faith which justifies and the sacrament of baptism which regenerates; it is the contrast between coming under obligation to God from the very beginning for all that is called righteousness (whether justification or sanctification)—an obligation which is acknowledged from the very beginning of the Christian life. The Holy Spirit—and refusing to come under initial obligation to God, aiming rather, by the method of statutory obedience ('works of law'), at winning a righteousness of our own, for which we may make the world as much as we please, and carry on as if He were, under obligation to us. This is what St. Paul fought to the death in his own time as Pharisianism, and in essence it survives. It may survive even as a mode of religion—a moderate moralistic religion, emphasizing the importance of faith for sinful man it is a hopeless road. Chalmers spoke of it as 'that
independent natural religion which disowned Christ. For St. Paul to disown the propitiation, to lose its inspiration, to stand boastfully on one's own feet, was (for a sinner) the negation of every possibility of becoming δίκαιος παρὰ τὸ θεόν. If righteousness came into the way, Christ died for nothing (Gal 2:21). Christ Himself—Christ who fulfilled the Law, who kept the commandments of God and His fellowmen, let in the body of’ righteousness into the earth—(Gal 3:18); and it is because men are quickened through faith in Him that the just demand of God's law is fulfilled in them (Ro 8:35). To say fulfilled is them, not by them, is to speak from the religiously, as contrasted with the ethical, point of view; but the end attained is at once religious and ethical. God's justification is always justification characterized by life (Ro 5:1).

6. Difficulties of interpretation.—'Righteousness' may be considered as an actual or only as a possible experience of justice, as an aiming of the present or the future, as realized or contingent, and then certain questions arise in the interpretation of St. Paul which are at least formally difficult. Ordinarily the apostle speaks of the blissful state of those who enjoy it in the present. Men believe in Christ the propitiation, and doing so they become right with God. Justification—God's acceptance of believers as righteous—is spoken of in the past, and exhortations are based on it. Having therefore been justified by faith (Gal 2:20), and being justified, and being sanctified in Christ Jesus (Ro 5:19), they are, as it were, forever justified. This is a statement which goes to the very root of the apostle's thoughts; he thinks of Christians as having yet to stand at the judgment-seat of God or Christ, and of their open acknowledgment or acquittal— in the past. He speaks of the state of the world, and the believer is still in suspense. There is no more characteristic sentence in his writings than Gal 5:3: ἐκ πίστεως ἀπόκτενετε τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. The emphasis ἐκ πίστεως has us who are Christians, as opposed to the Pharisaic Jews. This is our religion, and the only true one. Ἀπόκτενετε ἐκ πίστεως, 'in the spirit,' and ἐκ πίστεως, 'in virtue of faith,' indicate respectively the divine and the human basis of the standing Christian experience, each implying the other. In ἄμα δικαιοσύνην we see that ἄμα δικαιοσύνην, implying the whole plane of life which is the Christian life, is the result of faith, and the Christian believer, is the care of Christianity; and in ἀμα δικαιοσύνην we see that, in spite of the priceless- ness of the experiences of those who live by the Spirit and in faith, there is still a supreme blessing which keeps the soul eagerly expectant. That blessing too is God's final verdict in our favour. Perhaps there is no formal solution of the difficulty that we are justified by faith, and that our ultimate justification is in suspense—that we cannot be too sure of the pardoning love of God now, and yet that our final benefit from it is involved in unknown contingencies. It is an aggravation of the difficulty that the very apostle who is so insistent that righteousness is of faith apart from works of law is equally emphatic that men are judged at last according to their works (Ro 2:12-14); 1 Co 3:13.

So that he has sufficiently evokes the difficulty by such arguments as we find in Ro 5:6, and that the 'works' by which we are to be judged are not 'works of law'—acts of statutory obedience—but simply the moral fruits of our life. This is true, but does not entirely meet the case. The in case that the heaven is inv. same moment the close of the Christian life on earth, just like the propitiation at the beginning of it, is a way of making it indubitator that this religion is trans-acted in the world of moral reality from beginning to end. There is a sense in which religion transcends morality. Christ is the end of the Law; believers are not under law, but under grace; their righteousness is possible of becoming δίκαιος παρὰ τὸ θεόν. The Law is evoked and inspired. But, if any one thinks on these grounds that in Christianity he comes into a non-moral region, or one in which morality can in any way be discounted, the Cross and the Judge- ment-Seat are there to correct him. The whole system lies within the internal order, and the Law is not only (formally) annulled; it is (really) established. We have the same problem to face in the teaching of our Lord. In the reception of the Prodigal Son we see an illustration of justification by faith with a man who had broken (the 2nd) the Law; to man put right with his father simply by trusting in his father's love, and yielding to its inspiration. In the builders on the rock and the sand we see men judged according to their works, and we know that both parables are true. The difficulty is to realize that the Law is still all important, but this is the supreme lesson of Christ and His Apostle. It is involved in everything that St. Paul has to say of the δικαιοσύνην θεοῦ, alike as related to the δικαιοσύνην and to the βίαν τοῦ Ἱησοῦ.


1. Term and definition.—The concept of righteousness holds a conspicuous place in Christian literature, and, though it varies in content according to the nature of the subject spoken of, the central part of the concept is generally in sight. It frequently stands for virtue generally as implied in 'conformity to its law, or the divine or moral law.' In English we have the advantage of a separate term for that part of the concept which belongs to the sphere of law, but 'justice' is often practically a synonym for 'righteousness' in the wider sense, as may be seen in various instances in the English Bible.

The distinction between the narrower and the wider sense of the term is discussed by Aristotle. In the former aspect he regards it as the highest of the ethical virtues, being 'virtue towards another,' and therefore the opposite of 'vice towards another' (virtus). This is the principle which regulates the relationships of men to each other within a community or the State, it is both 'distributive' and 'corrective.' This is the restricted sense which the term usually bears in the language of juridically constituted community, it is not 'individual' on his own.' This sense of the word is frequent also


1 Ethik, bk. v.
in theology, especially when the relation of man to God and the moral order of the world is in question.

2. Righteousness in the history of Christian thought.—As to the conception of it in the course of Christian thought, it is, perhaps, a surprise to find that the line followed does not begin at the point reached in the Gospels and by St. Paul. The starting-point is rather to be found in the Apocryphal books of the Bible than in the New Testament, and it may be seen in Cicero and among the Stoics. Christianity, though continuing to give full proof of its power as a life to renew the world, undoubtedly fell to a lower level when the manifold gifts and activities of the first age had passed away. The lofty conception which had been purified and exalted by the new relation to God and the sense of divine onship which Christianity had established now became obscured, and a general drift towards a legalistic moralism set in. The tendency to regard Christianity as a new law had powerful support in many influences, both Jewish and heathen, but most of all in the common view of religion, which regards the relation to God as determined externally by the observance or non-observance of religious duties—a view which is probably the average one of religious thought generally. But righteousness falls to be so measured by external standards. Thus down to the Reformation the prevailing conceptions that come to light now and then wear the complexion of the Church system, which stood before the conscience as the authority of religion.

Two aspects of the subject have been much discussed which it is important to keep in view (the connexion between them was not apparent for a while, yet it is of the closest kind and has come to the front of late): (1) the place or function of righteousness in God; for an attribute of the Divine nature, and (2) righteousness as a quality required of man in the scheme of salvation. The course of thought on each of these points has been guided largely by previous assumptions in regard to God and man, partly ethical or philosophical. This will best be seen if we proceed as follows:

(a) Righteousness in the ethics of the ancient Church.—The general tendency to regard righteousness from the standpoint of law and moral or religious observance was in the ascendant all over the world in the second century. This drift is evident in the Jewish Christianity from the first; and it grew more and more predominant as the Church system was developed and claimed regulative authority over faith and conduct. The fall from the level of apostolic days is very perceptible in the early literature. Apocryphal and apocalyptic books which were widely read, the growth of the ascetic ideal, and other influences of the time led to an excessive emphasis on traditional ideals. We are safe in assuming that in the mind of the people righteousness was identified with the highest excellence according to current ideals. This had long been the common way of regarding it, and it continued to be so regarded even after philosophy set about defining the idea. The speculation of the schools had led to little positive result. The principle of a twofold conception of the soul and world is deduced by Aristotle in his classification of the virtues as intellectual and ethical, and which was taken up by the Stoics in their virtues of the wise man and those of the masses, has hindered the unity of the moral ideal. The complication was increased step by step, and now we find that the order of righteousness, and the nature of this justice, but definite ground was not reached till Aquinas.

The influence of Cicero and the ancient way of thinking is apparent in Ambrose, who adopts the four cardinal virtues of the ancients, and maintains that the Christian fulfils the ideal of the just and good man and his work is also an act of the order of the monastic vow. In Aquinas the varying elements of the moral ideal which floated before the ancient Church are reduced to apparent system, and in which the cardinal virtues of Aristotle he adds the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. Adopting the four cardinal virtues, he assigns to justice the duties of religion and neighbourly love. We have thus the ascending tendency of the three degrees, in which the highest is to be reached only by way of 'poverty, chastity, and obedience.'

While, however, we look in vain for any definite scientific conception in the ancient Church, there is no difficulty in ascertaining how it was commonly viewed. The two extremes, self-interest and natural that the practice of charity, so conspicuous among the Christian communities, and so great a power in winning the heathen, should be regarded as a means to, if not as righteousness itself, the result of the whole tendency of the Church, the giving of alms, and praises the giving of alms as an effectual intercession against a multitude of sins. This view is as old as Daniel (47). It is a commonplace in most of the early literature, Jewish and Christian. It appears as a variant on Mt 61, where some editors accept μετρητά έργα for μετρήτα ώργα.

It is in Lactantius, who has been called the Christian Cicero, that we find the fullest expression of the common view. Bk. v. of the Divine Institutes is devoted to 'justice':

'Although justice embraces all the virtues together, yet there are two, the chief of all, which cannot be torn asunder and separated from it—piety and equity. . . . But piety and equity are, as it were, the two horns of the bull of justice... All the righteous are not great against a suppliant, but to be bountiful, beneficent, and liberal.'

The influence of Cicero and the ancient way of thinking is apparent in Ambrose, who adopts the four cardinal virtues of the ancients, and maintains that the Christian fulfils the ideal of the just and good man and his work is also an act of...
death of the Son of God, who for this purpose became incarnate. The position is thus reached that all divine action must be subject to the law of righteousness, which is the supreme ethical principle in the theodicy. This doctrine has the greatest significance in the progress of theology, but it did not receive adequate recognition till the Reformation. In the confusion characteristic of the older ethics the true ethical ideal both for God and man, for the former not alone, but also for the latter, has been lost. It has been seen that power, will, and love in God are subject to an eternal law of justice which guards the order of the universe, a principle was found, fruitful in the best results, which casts a significant light upon the righteousness required of man. So long as the theory of a double morality held the field, moral obligation rested on external authority, on the will of superiors, and as a consequence the moral ideal lacked unity and coherence. This is seen in the Roman Catholic view of an ‘original righteousness’ given to primitive man and in the doctrine of an ‘infused righteousness’ assumed as the ground of justification. Both points were long the subject of keen debate, and they came ultimately to mark the dividing-line between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The chief point in the controversy was the question of whether the conception of righteousness is reduced to what is after all its essential elements, as that by which man is accepted and justified before God—the central problem of St. Paul’s theology. This is the main conception which figures in all subsequent theology. The Catholics affirmed that man is justified in virtue of a righteous disposition produced in his heart through prevenient grace, the Protestants maintaining that justification is grounded solely in the righteousness of Christ imputed to faith, and is not procured by merit in man. We thus arrive at the point where the NT leaves the problem and discover that the righteousness required of man is after all the righteousness of God.

(c) Righteousness in Reformation creeds. — In general outline the Reformation doctrine has held the field in all Protestant churches, and has been the present. The modifications which have come in, in the course of thought, belong mostly to the harsher forms in which it has sometimes been maintained. Opinion has varied considerably about ‘imputation,’ about the legal and forensic aspects involved by the ‘double righteousness’ of Modern and especially recent theology shows a notable advance upon the systems of the 17th and 18th centuries. Theory has come to follow more closely the lines of a living faith and experience. It is seen that Christianity secures not merely forgiveness and reconciliation, but righteous character and life.

3. Modern developments. — (a) The Grotian view. — The Grotian and Arminian view has significance as a protest against the harsher aspects of the Reformation view of righteousness. But the principle that law in God may be relaxed or set aside as His wisdom may determine, and that the Atonement is not a satisfaction to justice but a relaxing of penalty, fails to explain the necessity implied in the death of Christ. Grotius maintained that so far as churches down the ages might have forgiven men without atonement, it would have been unsafe to do so in the interest of creation—a view advocated in some modern theories of atonement.

(b) The Socinian view. — The Socinian view of the Atonement is that justice is a necessary attribute of God, and maintains that forgiveness is open to all on repentance and obedience.

(c) Schleiermacher. — Schleiermacher’s view is suggestive as opening lines which recent thinking has followed. With him justice belongs exclusively to the ‘connexion between sin and evil’. It is known to us through the consciousness of sin, and covers the whole sphere of human experience, and thus far it is involved in the order of man’s world, but the function of justice is diminished or displaced through the redemptive agencies which radiate from Christ.

(d) Ritschl. — With Ritschlian retributiveness and punitive justice has no place in the material and religious sphere. The righteousness of God is ‘simply the consistency with which His love provides for the good of men.’ This view subordinates justice to love to such an extent that the former cannot have a separate function in the moral order of the world. Yet, if it is maintained that the love of God in creation and redemption always reaches wise, holy, and righteous ends, righteousness must be implied in all manifestations of love. Thus all the data of the problem, if fully considered, favour the contention that justice is an immutable quality in God and the world. See, further, art. RITSCHLIANISM.


For the juristic conception of righteousness specially useful are: K. Hildenbrand, Gesch. und Syst. der Rechts- und Staatsphilosophie, Leipzig, 1890; A. Trendelenburg, Naturrecht, do. 1865; J. Lorimer, Institutes of Law, Edinburgh, 1890; H. Spencer, Justice, London, 1891.

In recent theology may be noted books on atonement where aspects of righteousness are given, especially those of R. W. Dale, The Atonement, London, 1878; J. Mead Campbell, Nature of the Atonement, do. 1878, and C. R. Moberly, Atonement and Personality, do. 1907; also T. Erskine, Atonement, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1907; H. T. Paton, The New Man, Edinburgh, 1877, and W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, The Epistle to the Romans (ICC), do. 1902, where the ‘exegetical tradition’ on St. Paul’s doctrine is discussed.

A. F. SIMPSON.
ROUGHTINESS (Egyptian)

Accordingly, the Elouent Peasant, addressing the seemingly unjust Reni, ironically asks:

'It is not wrong, I suppose, a balance that is away, a tongue of a balance that is falsely, a righteous man that has sworve from the right path?'

An official describes himself as:

'A man of truth (or righteousness) before the Two Lands, irritable and violent like Thoth, even more accurate than the plummets, the likeness of the balance.'

A frequent boast of the high official of the Old Kingdom is:

'Never did I judge two brothers in such a way that a man was deprived of his father's property.'

An Old Kingdom noble asserts that he was straightforward in the royal presence and free from falsehood.

'Speak the truth which the god loves every day. The scribe Ta/hotep renounces one to act in accordance with might, free from falsehood. A well-known XVIIIth dynasty official claims to have been free from iniquity, accurate of mind, with no lie in him.

'Speak the truth (méset), do right (méset) for it is great, it is mighty, it is enduring,' an utterance ascribed to the sun-god Re himself.

'I have not spoken lies knowingly,' says the deceased to Osiris.

'I have not spoken lies' is one of the statements in the Assertion of Sinlessness.'

(3) Justice.

The viziers, nomarchs, and high officials are depicted as often acting in an unrighteous manner. The officials were expected to exhibit a high standard of justice. We are informed that 'men expect the exercise of justice in the procedure of the vizier.' The vizier must not be wroth with a man wrongfully; he should be wroth only with what one ought to be wrath with. He must deal with petitioners in accordance with the law and equity and help them to their rights. The petitioner must not be able to say when the verdict is pronounced: 'My right has not been given me.' Again, the vizier must not be a respecter of persons or show partiality, for he is the god among men. He must not, however, go to the other extreme and act like the vizier Akhthoi, who discriminated against some of his own kin in favour of strangers, in fear lest it should be wrongly said of him that he favoured his kin dishonestly; 'that,' we are informed, 'is more than justice.' The ideal judge must be 'a father of the lovely (noub), a husband of the widow, a brother of the forsaken, the garment of the motherless ... who comes forth at the voice of him who calleth.' If such an one veils his face against the violent, who shall repress the heart of the oppressed? A judge must be as unerring and impartial as the balance.


2. Vogelsang, B. 1, 158f., p. 136f.


5. Sethe, Urkunden, i. 57, line 14.


7. Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 970, lines 8-11.

8. Vogelsang, B. 1, 318f., p. 215f.


RIGHTEOUSNESS (Egyptian)

Book of the Dead, both in the 'Introduction' and in that part of it which is sometimes called the 'Negative Confession,' but happily often, and wrongly, the 'Negative Confession.' Among the sins there denied are murder, incitement to murder, robbery, theft, oppression, impiety, lying, slander, dishonesty, avarice, haughty temper, pride, licentiousness, eavesdropping, impurity (adultery and unmixed purity), and a number of ceremonial transgressions. A more detailed picture of a righteous man according to Egyptian standards can be obtained from the funerary accounts of the dead inscribed upon their tombstones and upon the walls of their tomb-chapels, and also from the stelae scattered about the literary compositions of the Middle and New Kingdoms. The good qualities most usually claimed by or assigned to the dead, or commended by the sages and men of letters, apart from those already fully discussed, are: (1) generosity and beneficence, (2) avoidance of slander, (3) honesty and fair dealing, (4) faithfulness to superiors, (5) hospitality, (6) piety towards the dead, (7) sexual morality, (8) regard for old age, (9) regard for parents, wife, and near relatives, (10) good temper, (11) avoidance of robbery, (12) fear of the dead, (13) love and avoidance of pride, (14) discretion and avoidance of loquacity, (15) avoidance of crimes of violence. (1) Generosity and beneficence.—These qualities were admired in no less than in modern Egypt. Aspiration for the following formulas frequently occur in inscriptions of the funerary and subsequent period: 'I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him who I found without a boat.' Sometimes in addition the deceased claims to have 'given sandals to him who was naked, a cloak to him who was without a cloak of oxen, and corn to him who asked for it.' A high official of the Middle Kingdom tells us that he gave corn to the whole land and so rescued his city from hunger. 'No other,' says he, 'has done what I did.'

The nomarchs of the feudal age constantly boast of their beneficence. One of them thus describes his rule:

'I gave bread to the every hungry person of the Cerastes-Region. I sold this land either with the corn thereon or paid for it. Moreover, I filled its shores with large cattle, and its weary meadows (7) with well-fed cattle. I never deprived a man of his property so that he complained of it to the god of his city. . . . Never did a man fear because of one stronger than he, so that he could command more than he was able.'

Another nomarch, after making similar claims to beneficence, assures that he gave to the widow as to her who possessed a husband, and that he did not favour the great above the little in all that he gave. A great official in the reign of Thutmosis III, deplores his rule as follows:

'Father of the poor; judge of the orphan; protector of the weak; avenger of him who has been deprived of his possessions by one who is stronger than he; husband of the widow; shelter of the orphan; place of repose for the weeper; . . . praised because of his character; one whom respectable persons thank because of his merit; one for whom health and life are besought by all people.'

(2) Avoidance of slander.—Harkhuf, nomarch of Elephantine, says of himself:

'Never speak I anything evil unto a powerful person against any people, for I desired that it might be well with me in the presence of the king.' But happily often, and wrongly, the 'Negative Confession.' Among the sins there denied are murder, incitement to murder, robbery, theft, oppression, impiety, lying, slander, dishonesty, avarice, haughty temper, pride, licentiousness, eavesdropping, impurity (adultery and unmixed purity), and a number of ceremonial transgressions. A more detailed picture of a righteous man according to Egyptian standards can be obtained from the funerary accounts of the dead inscribed upon their tombstones and upon the walls of their tomb-chapels, and also from the stelae scattered about the literary compositions of the Middle and New Kingdoms. The good qualities most usually claimed by or assigned to the dead, or commended by the sages and men of letters, apart from those already fully discussed, are: (1) generosity and beneficence, (2) avoidance of slander, (3) honesty and fair dealing, (4) faithfulness to superiors, (5) hospitality, (6) piety towards the dead, (7) sexual morality, (8) regard for old age, (9) regard for parents, wife, and near relatives, (10) good temper, (11) avoidance of robbery, (12) fear of the dead, (13) love and avoidance of pride, (14) discretion and avoidance of loquacity, (15) avoidance of crimes of violence. (1) Generosity and beneficence.—These qualities were admired in no less than in modern Egypt. Aspiration for the following formulas frequently occur in inscriptions of the funerary and subsequent period: 'I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him who I found without a boat.' Sometimes in addition the deceased claims to have 'given sandals to him who was naked, a cloak to him who was without a cloak of oxen, and corn to him who asked for it.' A high official of the Middle Kingdom tells us that he gave corn to the whole land and so rescued his city from hunger. 'No other,' says he, 'has done what I did.'

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RIGHTENESS (Egyptian)

moralists warn the young against prostitutes. A 12th Dynasty monarch of Cuse maintains that he 'never passed a night of shame.' Another Old Kingdom monarch asserts that he never, since he was born, caused any man to pass a night of shame, i.e. never committed sodomy.1 A person named Akhthoi, who lived during the Late Kingdom, 'did not lust after the wife of a man nor covet the hand of one whom he had loved.'2 Verily,' he adds, 'a man of good birth who does this—he father deserts him in the law-court.'4

(8) For the remaining qualities see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 13.

4. The Pharaoh as the upholder of righteoussness.—The Pyramid Texts, the most ancient religious writings that we possess, the so-called Pyramid Texts, the chief qualification for the Pharaoh to the realm of the sun-god was physical purity.3 Magic also played a great part in furthering the welfare of the dead, the Pyramid Texts themselves being for the most part a collection of powerful spells which enabled him for whom or by whom they were received to rule the celestial kingdom. But even in these very ancient texts more than mere physical cleanliness or magical power is sometimes demanded; the deceased must also be righteous. Thus we find that the ceremonial washing of the dead king by the four gods who preside over the Pool of Kenset, or by the Worshipers of Horus, is a most important ceremonial act. It has also an ethical significance. During or following the ablutions a spell asserting the righteousness of the deceased is recited.5 The ghostly ferryman who conveys the dead over to the Field of Eau is thus addressed:

'O thou who stirrest over the righteous who hath no boat, ferryman of the Field of Eau, this N. is righteous before the sky, before the earth, this N. is righteous before this island of the land whither he hath swum and whither he hath arrived.'

The claim of the deceased to be righteous had of course to be tested, and in the imagination of the Egyptians, with their innate love of litigation, the test naturally took to the legal process. There are already in the Pyramid Texts allusions to the posthumous trial;6 but many of the inscriptions on tomb-stones and tomb-chapel walls of officials and private persons from the 12th dynasty onwards are explicit on this subject. On the one hand, the deceased had to advert to the facts of the legal process. On the other hand, the deceased himself claims to have been virtuous, 'because I desired that it might be well with me in the presence of the great god,'7 or 'in order that I might offer righteousness to the great god, the lord of heaven.'8 For the rewards of the righteous after death and the punishment of the unrighteous see below, § 9 (1) (f.)—(v).

6. The sun-god and righteousness.—(1) The sun-god as the creator and champion of righteousness.—Breasted has clearly shown that 'the great god' of the above-quoted texts, the divinity who first came to be regarded as the champion of righteousness and the judge of the dead, was not Osiris, but the Heliopolitan sun-god Re-Aotum;9 indeed the sun-god is said to be 'who fashioned (ms) righteousness.'10 Accordingly we read in a Middle Kingdom Coptic Text:

'1 am Re who came forth from Nun... My detestation is wickedness, I behold it not... I am he who made righteousness.'11

Newberry, pl. xxv, line 30 ff. = Breasted, Anc. Records, i. 628.

2 See art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), V. a.

3 K. Sethe, Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte (hereafter cited as Pyr.), Leipzig, 1898-9, 224a-c, 414a-b, 114a-b.

4 Pyr. 111, 21-23. 

5 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 175.

6 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 171.

7 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 171.

8 E.g. W. F. Petrie, Debach, London, 1898, pl. viii fig. 48.

9 Sethe, Urkunden, i. 35, 49, 721.

10 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 170 ff.

11 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 170 ff.


13 Gardiner, Journ. of Egypt Archæology, i. 50, § 12.

14 Gardiner, Journ. of Egypt Archæology, i. 50, § 12.

15 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 170 ff.


17 Sethe, Urkunden, i. 35, 49, 721.

18 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 171.


20 Sethe, Urkunden, i. 35, 49, 721.

21 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 171.

22 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 171.

23 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 171.
(2) The sun-god lives on righteousness.—The sun-god not merely created righteousness, but is said to ‘live’ (i.e. feel) on it, just as the Nile-god, Hapi, is said to live on fish. 1 In a hymn to the sun-god we find that:

'I have come unto thee, lord of gods, Atum-Re'Harakhete, that I may present unto thee righteousness, for I know that thou art best thereon. It was the business of certain gods to present, or lift up, righteousness to the sun-god (i.e. keep him supplied with his mystic anustance). The sun-god ascends each day to commune with the gods who offer righteousness to Re'. 2 We also hear of ‘these four apes who sit in the forepart of the boat of Re', who lift up righteousness unto the entrance of All. 3 The goddess Sakokmak-Uastat is said to ‘stand in the prow of the boat of the Father (the sun-god), overthrowing his enemies and placing righteousness to the sun-god as he passeth.”

(3) The sun-god loves righteousness.—The sun-god, we are told, loves righteousness and truth, 4 and what he abominates is wickedness. 5 ‘More acceptable’ in his eyes is ‘the nature of one just of heart’. ‘He that doeth right is acceptable’ is understood by him. 6

(4) The sun-god and the balance.—The Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead depict the sun-god, in his capacity of judge of the dead, as weighing righteousness in a balance, i.e. testing the righteousness of the dead. 7 In the Osiris myth he is required to render, before the council of divinities, the true version of the judgment. The balance occupies a very prominent place. 8

(5) ‘The place in which judgment is had’.—The texts of the early feudal age which speak of ‘the place in which judgment [by the sun-god] is had’ do not inform us where that place is, and the Pyramid Texts are equally unenlightening. According to a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text, 9 the posthumous trial took place in the cabin of the sun-god’s celestial ship. It is possible that this idea that the two ships of the sun-god were named the Two Rights in the Pyramid Texts. 10 Cf. also the statement: ‘The tongue of this Pfo of is as that of the Right.’ (Middle Kingdom Book of the Dead.) 11

(6) The sun-god as the ideally righteous king.—The sun-god, according to the myths, was the first king of Egypt. Owing to his close association with righteousness and with the kingship, he came to be regarded as the prototype of the Egyptian sovereign. The pattern for all would-be just and righteous Pharaohs. 12

Thus Amenemhet I is described as coming ‘that he might abolish iniquity, gloriously appearing as the sun-god (Atum) him’ (cf. Ps. 80:4 and 85:10).

In a literary composition of the feudal period a sage is represented as contrasting the disastrous reign of a weak Pharaoh with that golden age when the sun-god, the ideal king, ruled over Egypt. He is declared as ‘the shepherd (lit. “herdsman’) of all men, with no evil in his heart.’ ‘Where is he to-day?’ he asks. ‘Does he sleep perchance? Behold his might is not seen.’ 13 Judging from these words, the sage is looking forward to the reign of the sun-god to reign once more on earth, or to the advent of a king whose rule will be like that of his divine prototype. 14

7. Osiris and righteousness.—(1) Osiris originally the type of all dead kings. —In the earliest religious literature Osiris appears most usually 1 in the role of the living, or of the righteous king and sovereign in any excellence, 2 the ethical nature and judicial functions of the sun-god not being accredited to him till the period after the Vth dynasty, when we find that, owing to the growing popularity of his cult, he has passed from the position of dead king to that of living, or of the righteous king and sovereign. 3

(2) Osiris as king and judge of the dead.—The Pyramid Texts sometimes depict the dead Pharao as administering justice, 4 and Osiris, as a dead king, would have acted in a similar capacity. His promotion to the kingship of the dead was naturally accompanied by a corresponding advancement of his judicial status, which also would have been further facilitated by the myth that depicts him as the prototype of all who have emerged triumphant from their posthumous trial (see below, § 5).

(3) The influence of the Osiris myth on Egyptian ethics.—It cannot be doubted that the Osiris myth, with its account of the god’s murder, of the unjust accusation brought against him, and of his final triumph before the judicial council at Heliopolis, has had a far-reaching influence on the ideas about righteousness and justice, not unrighteousness and injustice, must ultimately prevail. The myth, therefore, must have played a great part in the development of those highly ethical ideas which find frequent expression, as we have already seen, in the inscriptions and literary compositions of the feudal and subsequent periods. 5 Thus Ptahhotep could say with confidence:

Great is righteousness, lasting, and prevailing; it has not been disturbed since the time of Osiris. 6

(4) Osiris as the god of righteousness.—Osiris, having assumed the judicial office of the sun-god, acquired likewise his ethical character. He is therefore called ‘the great god, the lord of righteousness, who lives thereon’; 7 or the sole god, who lives on righteousness. 8 I present righteousness before thy face, saith the deceased Honoer, ‘for I know that thou livest thereon.’ 9 Osiris is described as ‘satisfied with righteousness . . . thou whose abomination is lies.’

A Middle Kingdom official named Akhiatho says: ‘I received him who made petition to me. It is what the god (i.e. Osiris) spared apart from the crime that he has minted during the magnum of the same period, informs us that he ‘gladdened the god (Osiris) with righteousness.’ 10

Finally Osiris appears like Re' as the creator of righteousness, for a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text represents him as saying:

‘I am he who created Re', my abomination is iniquity . . . I am Osiris, the god who made righteousness, I live thereon.’ 11

8. The solar quality of righteousness ascribed to other deities than Re' and Osiris.—(1) Like earthly judges, 1 the judge of the dead, in the person whether of Re' or of Osiris, had a body of

1 In Ppy. 1529b, b. Osiris is called the ‘lord of righteousness’ (see also Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 173).
3 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 255.
4 1b. p. 174.
5 For a detailed account of the judgment of the dead by Osiris see art. Osiris.
7 1b. Cf. Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 266.
8 Yopp, Priese, 6, 5-6.
9 Egypt. Stehn in the Brit. Mus. i. pl. 10; see also Tdb. ch. xxvii. (Introd.), p. 133.
10 Tdb. ch. cxviii. line 3.
11 Tdb. ch. cxviii. line 40.
12 judging, Breasted, Religion and Thought, pp. 29, 30, 34.
14 Dods, Religion and Thought, p. 266.
15 Yopp, Priese, 6, 5-6.
16 Egypt. Stehn in the Brit. Mus. i. p. 10; see also Tdb. ch. xxvii. (Introd.), p. 133.
advisers to assist him—the judge, or judicial council over which he presided. Probably the judgment seat was elevated, so that he might weigh with the balance of the day of reckoning, refers to that body. The same ethical qualities and judicial functions were attributed to these assistant councilors as to the presiding judge.

(2). The 'scribe of the gods,' and vizier of the sun-god, who acted as recorder to the solar and Osirian tribunal, describes himself thus: 'Pate of hands, lord of purity, who drives away evil; the son of the sun-god is belaboured, who is lord of the lords... the lord of righteousness; who makes triumphant the weak, who protects the oppressed.'

(3) 'The four aces in the host of Re, in which, according to one account, the posthumous trial took place, are thus described:

Who judge between the oppressed and the oppressor, who live on righteousness, who swallow righteousness, who are dead of bug, whose abominations is inequity.'

(4) The celestial ferryman 'Turn-face' loves righteousness and hates inequity.

(5) The assessors of Osiris in the Broad Hall of the Two Truths are those in whose bodies there is no one who lives on righteousness in Heliopolis. The same gods are addressed as 'lords of righteousness, free from evil.'

(6) The crocodile-gods, who wound the sinners that are behind Hetedpeskus, are also entitled 'lords of righteousness.'

(7) The appellation 'righteous ones' is given to the inhabitants of the Osirian kingdom.

(8) The local gods, who for political reasons, were identified with the sun-god, naturally acquired his ethical qualities, in process of time nameless, and to any divinity.

All this would have created, a general feeling that the gods were on the side of righteousness and opposed to evil.

A deceased person, e.g., speaks of his city god as a 'lord of righteousness,' and accordingly one who was oppressed would appeal to his city god to right his wrong. 'Pharaoh of Memphis is commonly entitled 'lord of righteousness.' It is said of him that 'he will not ignore the deed of any man,' and he is represented as righteously chastising sinners, smiting with blindness him who swears falsely. The Thoth Amun, who is said to be 'contended with righteousness,' likewise punishes the sinner. He assigns him that sin against him to the fire, the flock to the West. Of the 'righteous man,' it is said that 'he acts according to righteousness.' The Peak of the West, we read, 'smiles with the smiting of a savage lion; he pursues him that is without measure and without aid. 'Simples of Elephantine, it should be noted, states, 'the god who is opposed to the antithesis of the righteous deeds, that he did what all my gods love,' and the deceased in the Book of the Dead and Osiris and his assessors claims to 'have done that wherewith the gods are pleased.'

See also arts. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 11.

3 Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 293.
4 Ibid. p. 265.
5 Tdb. ch. clxxxiii. line 41 fl.; cfr. Erman, Geschichte einer Lebensmaid, line 25 fl.
6 See above, § 6 (5).
7 Tdb. ch. xxvi.
8 Erman, Handbuch, p. 91; Ppr. 383, a, b. In a papyrus in the British Museum Library, which the present writer hopes shortly to publish, this maxim is made to the states in the form of an oath.
9 Cfr. Erman, Geschichte einer Lebensmaid, line 26 fl.
10 Loc. cit., Papyrus Texte religieux, l. 112.
11 Tdb. ch. xxvii. (Conclusion) line 0 fl.
12 Ib. f. 180, (Pr.) Line 12.
13 H. Grabow, Urkunden, v. (1915) 41 fl.
15 See Erman, Handbook, p. 50 fl.
16 Tdb. ch. clxxxiii. line 30.
19 Erman, Donatsteine aus der Theban, Grabstätten, in SBA W xlix. 1055, line 16.
20 Gunn, Journ. of Egypt. Archaelog. iii. 884.
22 Erman, Donatsteine aus der Theban, Grabstätten, in SBA W xlix. 1055, line 16.
23 Gunn, p. 84.
24 Budge, Religious and Thought, p. 554.
25 Gunn, p. 58.
26 Gardiner, ZA xlv. 155, line 19.
27 Tdb. ch. xxvii. (Conclusion) line 10.

9. Incentives to righteousness.—(1) The posthumous judgment.—Breasted rightly points out how great a temptation in the interests of virtue was the belief in a judgment after death. 'I desired that it might be well with me in the Great God's presence,' says Harkhuf, a 51th dynasty monarch of Elephantine, when recounting his righteous acts. (2) The judge of the dead, in the person whether of Re or of Osiris, loves righteousness and hates evil.

Dehthotep, when stating that he has not injured anybody, informs us that 'the god loves righteousness.' Senenmut 'spake the truth to the god who is loveliness, he who loves good and hates evil. What the god loves is the doing of righteousness,' says Ini of Dehaahibah. Says Khentenu- er: 'I have not committed evil; I have gladdened the god with righteousness.' Intef, son of Sont, 'wrought not evil against men, it was the god who gave it.' A certain Ahiut, 'received him who made petition... (For) it is what the god loveth upon earth.'

(ii.) Dulls after death was for those who have done 'what their gods praise,' 'what men command and what the gods are pleased with.' When the deceased entered the judgment-hall of Osiris, he must be able to offer righteousness before the face of the god; his heart must be righteous, without iniquity.

'Requiescet' to the Ellegant Poet, 'is for eternity: it descends with him who does it into the necropolis, when he is wrapped and laid in the ground. His name is not effaced on earth, he is not blotted out because of the good. That is the summing-up of the god's word.'

(iii.) The following remarkable passage gives us considerable insight into the ideas about future accountability entertained by the religiously disposed during the historical period:

'As for the godly Council that judges oppressors (trypy), thou knowest that they are not lenient on that day of judging the wretched one, at the hour of performing (their) functions. Unhappy is he who is arrayed as one cousin of (sin) and not thy heart with length of years. They regard a life as an hour. A man remains over after death; his sins are laid beside him and his wrongs are before the face of the judge. He is a fool who has made light of it. As for him who has reached it without doing unrighteousness, he shall abide forever like a god; stepping forward boldly like the lords of Eternity.'

No less highly ethical conceptions about rewards and punishments after death are to be found in the so-called Stela of Khamrau, a composition of the Graeco-Roman age:

Setne (Khamrau) saw two temples—that of a rich man, who, furnished with a magnificent mortuary equipment, was being given to his deities in the necropolis, and that of a poor man, who was wrapped in a mat and had none to walk after him. Setne then exclaimed: 'Pharaoh, the good god, the better it shall be in Amen for great men, for whom they make glory with the voice of singing, than for that poor man whom they take to the desert necropolis without glory of funeral!' However, Setne's son Si-Osiris took his father down into Amen in order that he might see what really did happen to these two men in the hereafter. 'And Setne saw (there, i.e. in the seventh hall of the Tei) a great man clothed in raiment of byzantium, near the place in which Osiris was, he being of exceeding high position (i.e. bishop) and Si-Osiris said to him, 'My father Setne, dost thou not see this great man who is clothed in raiment of royal linen, standing near the place in which Osiris is? He is that poor man whom thou sawest being carried out of Memphis, with his followers following after him, with a banner brought to the Tei and his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds that he did upon earth, and it was found that his good works were more than his evil, and he was called before the Tei and was judged as righteous before Osiris and was brought before Osiris and his assessors before the Tei and was judged as righteous before Osiris, then was he the burial outfit of that rich man, whom thou sawest carried forth from Memphis with great

1 See also above, §§ 5, 6 (4), 7.
2 Religion and Thought, pp. 169 f., 177.
3 Bib., Urkunden, i. 122 f.
4 Ib. p. 50.
5 Ib. p. 57.
6 Bib., ib. p. 71.
7 Egypt. Stela in the Brit. Mus. ii. 9, line 9 f.
8 Ib. p. 21.
9 Ayrton, Curteley, and Welgall, p. xxix.
10 Setne, Urkunden, iv. 430, line 15; cf. ib., line 3 f.
11 Tdb. ch. ccxvii. (Conclusion) line 10.
12 Tdb. ch. ccxviii. line 40; cf. Budge, Book of the Dead (Hieroglyphic Text), p. 4, line 12 f.; Petrie, Penderel, ib. ix.
13 Tdb. ii. (Ac) ch. xxv. (Conclusion) line 1.
14 Vogelsang, ii. 1, 397–411, p. 211 f.
Righteousness (Egyptian)

An XVIIIth dynasty magnate thus admonishes visitors to his tomb-chapel: ‘I have given to my character the qualities which it shall be profitable unto you. Your life shall be long upon earth, ye being in health; ye shall pass your years in happiness.’

1 Of course the Old Kingdom inscriptions call for forthright justice to the righteous for the sake of long life upon earth. 2 His father’s advice to King Merenre: ‘Do right, for thou mayest live long in the land,’ has already been quoted in §. 3 ‘Long lived is the man whose rule is righteous,’ says the sage Ptaahhotep. 4 The scholars say that the word ‘righteous’ is a set phrase, a formula, the only meaning of which is that there is no house for the cove. 5 ‘Wrong-doing,’ says Ptaahhotep, ‘makes his far from away with riches. He has wronged Amenti, and his name will not be written in the book of the dead.’

4 As a further indication to be virtuous, this eminent practical teacher advises that the righteous man will, when he sits in judgment, have before him the image of the king, and that his tongue will be bitter to him. 6 ‘That righteous man will be made to sit in judgment over it (the rule),’ he says. 7 As a further inducement to be virtuous, this eminent practical teacher tells us that the righteous man is to make a will, ‘of us, do we express it, the will is not a living house. 8 Amen. 9 The words of the Thoth, son of Aten: ‘The right of right is breath for the nose.’

10 The reward of righteousness was also meant to endure out the life on earth, at the hands of the gods who will not ignore the deed of any person. 11 They bring misfortune upon the sinner, cause him to fall a victim to a crocodile in the water or to a snake on land, or smite him with disease. 12 However, they show mercy to him that repents and restore him to health. 13 (4) Other rewards—(i) The righteous man was said to be rewarded with a ‘goodly burial.’ 14 King Akhthoi says to Merikere: ‘Make stately thy castle in the West, adorn the palace in the Necropolis as one who is just, as one who doth righteousness.’

15 Those who have regard to the character of Ineni and follow his good example will rest in their seats of eternity. 16 For the importance attached by the Egyptians to a properly conducted funeral see the oft-repeated request in the funerary formulae that the deceased may be buried well or granted a ‘goodly burial.’ 17 (ii) The heir or heirs of the righteous man succeed to his possessions and offices, 18 and his house abides for ever. 19 ‘Make righteousness to flourish and thy children shall live, Ptaahhotep says. 20 (iii) The righteous man’s name endures in the mouth of men; 21 it is not effaced on earth, and he is remembered because of the good. 22 Doubt prays, ‘May the memory of me abide upon earth,’ and Ineni, who did ‘what his city god loves,’ tells us that he who possesses perseverance and worships the gods in due order is good in the mouth of the living, the remembrance of him for ever: ‘All that is expedient,’ he says, ‘is that we use the name and the character of his character, in accordance with what he has done on earth.’

5 (5) The desire to stand well with the Pharaoh—The source of all promotion and honor was the Pharaoh. As representative of the sun-god on earth, he was the ‘lord of righteousness.’ 23 Men must therefore work righteousness to win his favour.

1 Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 66. 2 Petrie, Denderah, pl. xl. A. 3 Pap. Frise, 10, 4 f. 4 Ib., 6, 6. 5 Vogelsang, B. 1, 145 f., pp. 124-127; Gardiner, PSEA xxxvi. 6 Gunn, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, iii. 89. 7 E.g., Gardiner, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, i. 23, 28. 8 Gardiner, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, ii. 23, 28. 9 Ib., pp. 88, 88 f. 10 Ttb. ch. cxxixii. line 38f. 11 See Ttb. ch. clxxii. line 38f; also see (5) below. 12 Gardiner, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, i. 24, § 37. 13 Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 66. 14 Gardiner, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, i. 24, § 37. 15 Gardiner, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, ii. 23, 28. 16 Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 66. 17 E.g., C. R. Lepsius, Denkmuler aus Aegypten und Äthiopien, ii. 138 f., pl. 86; Gardiner, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, i. 24, § 37. 18 Gardiner, Journ. of Egyptian Archeology, ii. 23, 28. 19 Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 66. 20 Pope, Ps., 18, 1 f. 21 Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 131, line 17. 22 Vogelsang, B. 1, 307 ff., p. 211 f. 23 Sethe, Urkunden, iv. 450, line 5. 24 Ib., 69. 25 Ib., 94.
'I did righteousness for the Lord of Righteousness,' says an XVIIIth dynasty official, 'for I knew that he pleased with it.'

Nothing in Osiris' biography tells us that he was beloved by his lord (the king) because of his excellence. 2 A XIXth dynasty gentleman did the right thing that the king loved; 3 and of a XIXth dynasty official it is related that 'she expended her royal property with the estate with the king because of her righteousness.' 4

One of the results of winning the royal favour was the much coveted 'goodly burial.' 5

Djehut says: 'My heart was excellent for my lord (the king), that I might rest in the high land of the noble ones who are in the necropolis.' 6

(6) The desire to stand well with the community.

The Egyptian was intensely anxious, not only to stand well with the king, but also to have the esteem of his fellows. This was another powerful motive, displaying at least outward rectitude. 'I am one who spake good and who repeated what is loved,' 7 and similar assertions, occur over and over again in inscriptions of the feudal period.

E.g., 'I said what the great love and what the commonalty praised.' 8 'I am one who was beloved of all the people. I am one who did that which men praise.' 9 'I never did what all men hate.' 10 'There was not found one who hated me in the presence of the gods.' 11 The praise of one's father or one's mother, honoured by his companions, dear to his brethren, whose servants loved, 12 was one of the reasons, after mentioning his virtues, declares that men when speaking of him exclaimed: 'Would that the earth were full of people like him!' 13 An official of the Middle Kingdom opined that 'he was beloved in a year of scarcity.' 14 'Order that my name might be good.' 15 'I was a shepherd (lit. 'herdsman') of the sort;' he adds, 'in order that my name might be good in the mouth of the [the sfera] city.' 16 Khemeredi says: 'I gave provision unto him who begged it, herbs to him who was sick, food to him who was hungry, and I knew, that my name might be good in the mouth of those who are upon earth.' 17

Public esteem not merely gratified a man's pride while he was yet alive, but it was of practical value to him after death. If his name was good in the mouth of his contemporaries, it added to the renown of his eternal, because of his virtues, visitors to his burial-place would more readily present him with those offerings upon which his welfare after death was imagined so largely to depend, or, in lieu of material gifts, would at any rate repeat for his benefit certain prescribed formularies. Accordingly we find:

'Ye who live and exist . . . ye love life and hate death, ye shall offer to me that which is in your hands; if there be nothing ye shall speak a thousand words, a thousand of bread and beer, etc.' 18 'May my name be good unto men who come in after years,' says Djehut, 'may they give me praise for the favour of the gods.' 19

The desire to secure these advantages was undoubtedly one of the chief reasons for inscribing upon his tombstone, or upon the façade of his tomb-chapel, the enumeration of the deceased's virtues and the account of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-men.

(7) Conscience.—On the conscience as a stimulus to virtuous living see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian); see also Breasted, Religion and Thought, pp. 297 f., 354.

10. Justification of the dead. — (1) Osiris the praiser of the justified dead. — The epitaph 'justified' (my k 3 r = lit. 'righteous of voice') is a legal term, 20 and was applied to Osiris when, thanks to the skilful pleading of Thoth, he had won case against Seth before the tribunal of gods at Heliopolis. 1 After the IVth dynasty all dead persons were identified with Osiris and from that period onwards had the Osirian epithet 'justified' appended to their names. 2

(2) Methods of obtaining justification. — All manner of means were adopted by the Egyptians to obtain justification at the posthumous trial, most of them utterly inconsistent, from our standpoint, with the ethical theory of the hereafter; and yet, in view of the prevailing magico-religious ideas, a natural consequence of that theory having been accepted.

The deceased, who was identified with Osiris, would inevitably have come to be regarded as righteous, though without any special claim of his own to sinlessness—his personality and acts would have tended to become merged in those of the god.

(i.) The pilgrimage to Abydos. — Probably with a view to ensuring this identification after death and securing the benefits resulting therefrom it was considered advisable to associate oneself with Osiris during life. Hence the pilgrimages to Abydos and to the supposed burial-place. 3 We are definitely informed in one instance that the object of the pilgrimage was the 'fetching of the justification.' 4 After the legal formality might be undertaken after death with the same desirable results.

(ii.) The mysteries. — Similar advantages accrued to him who had participated in the Osiran mysteries. 5

(ii.) Parishes. — People could also be made righteous, so as to obtain the necessary influence, by paying the ceremonial ablations. A person could perform them for himself during his life-time in special secret places; or, in the event of his death, after burial, they were prescribed for him after death by divinities, human beings impersonating divinities, 6 or even by himself. According to the Book of Breathings, the deceased, before he entered the Furnace of Eternity, is cleansed from all evil, from every abomination, by the goddesses Uto and Nekhbet, and receives the name 'stone of Righteousness.' 7

(iv.) Magical formulae, etc. — Spells were considered to be specially efficacious in obtaining justification for the deceased. One famous example is the voice of the Book of The Dead, as the complexion and opening words of the 'Introduction' show, was a spell that enabled the deceased to appear blameless in the eyes of Osiris and his assessors.

Similar spells are the claims of the deceased to have participated in the Osiran mysteries, 8 to have undergone purgatory ceremonies, 9 or the assertion that he is this or that god and therefore righteous. 10 Again, he would be justified if, to his accompaniment, the prescribed formula, his head was crowned with the 'wreath of justification.' 11 Cf. also the so-called 'heart-scarab' with the inscription inscribed upon it, 12 the powerful words of the formula, however presented in them, however untrue they might be, became actualities. 13

II. The triumph of evil over good. — This aspect of the problem of good and evil is treated in art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), and very fully dealt with by Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 188 ff.

Certain stanzas of the Gesprächen eines Lebenskünstlers clearly

1 Tdb. ch. xviii. line 1 f.
2 See art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 7.
4 Davies-Gardiner, p. 471; art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), note 3757, p. 410.
5 Gardiner, loc. cit.
6 E.g., Tdb. ch. xxv. (Introd.) lines 21-24 (Conclusion), lines 12-14; art. EGYPTIAN CLAY FORMULAE, V, 8 (c).
7 Art. PERIFERICATION (Egyptian), V, 8 (b).
8 Ib. v. a.
9 P. J. de Hoorack, Le Livre des respirations, Paris, 1877, pl. l. 2; cit. cf. p. 923 f.—c. 1130 f.—1129.
10 Formulé 4.6.265 (fig. 4), the emphasis, the manual acts and would have been pronounced during the performance of all the above-mentioned rites (cf. Proper, loc. cit.).
11 E.g., Tdb. ch. xi. 3-8; D Alejandro, vol. iv. p. 479, ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 13 f.; ch. cxxvi. line 13 f.
12 Art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), V, 2 (a).
13 E.g., Tdb. ch. xii. 5-6 (fig. 6).
14 Davies-Gardiner, p. 111 with note 3; art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), supra, note 13730, vol. v. p. 439, ch. cv. line 8; ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 13 f.; ch. cxxvi. line 13 f.
15 Art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), V, 2 (b).
16 E.g., Tdb. ch. xii. 5-6 (fig. 6).
18 For this woodwind of the gods by means of magic see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 9; Breasted, Religion and Thought, p. 307 ff. For the magical value of the pictorial representation of the models of boats placed in tombs during the Middle Kingdom (ib. p. 110, note 4).
RIGHTEOUSNESS (Greek and Roman)

show that one of the reasons why the author of this 'pessimistic' poem desired death was that he looked to have his wrongs righted in the hereafter. This point has been passed over by Garstang, The Priesthood (Egyptian), pp. 314-316.

12. Administration of justice.—(1) During the Old Kingdom.—There was no clearly defined class of professional judges, all judicial functions being performed by the administrative officials, who were supposed to be learned in the law. Certain of the Upper Egyptian provincial governors probably held the title of 'magistrate of the ten of Upper Egypt,' as if they were members of a special council of ten. The officials who acted as judges in the provinces were formed into six courts of justice, the so-called 'six great houses.' At the head of the courts, indeed, of the whole judicial administration, was the vizier in the capacity of the chief justice. Many of the judges bore the predicate 'mouth of Nekhen.' Disputes about the ownership of land seem to have been a frequent cause of litigation. It seems that, even at this early period, all cases had to be submitted to the court in writing. Special cases of a private nature were heard by the chief justice and a 'mouth of Nekhen.' When the queen of Pilo, was accused of treason, she was tried by a specially constituted court, consisting of 'five men of Nekhen,' without the chief justice. Under certain circumstances a litigant could appeal directly to the king.

(2) During the Middle Kingdom.—As in the previous age, the administrative officials acted as judges, while the vizier still held the position of chief justice, although he no longer bore the title of justice at the capital of every nome, presided over by the local prince. We learn that the 'six great houses,' with the vizier at their head, sat in 1st Towe. There existed at this period officials with the sole title of 'justice.' These were called 'judges,' and their functions were held within a restricted local jurisdiction. There were now more than one 'ten of Upper Egypt,' and 'magistrates of the tens of Upper Egypt' were entrusted with various executive and administrative commissions by the king; we do not know with any certainty what was their connexion with the judicial administration.

The Story of the Eloquent Peasant shows us how a high official dispensed justice during the feudal age. He was assisted by a 'court' to whose charge he handed over the great man paid little heed. This council, be it noted, is depicted as being thoroughly in sympathy with the defendant, the truth being, probably, because he was a member, though quite a subordinate one, of the 'official' class.

(3) Under the New Empire.—As during the Old Kingdom, there was no class of judges with exclusively legal duties, justice was still dispensed by the administrative officials. The vizier was, as before, the chief justice. He held a daily sitting in his audience hall, the great council. The first step in all legal proceedings was the claimant to lay his case in writing before the vizier in this court, where also the vizier tried all crimes committed in the capital. The 'magistrates of the tens of Upper Egypt' had lost their old importance, and now formed merely an attendant council, retaining, apparently, little or no advisory functions. The 'six great houses' were replaced by the ancient title 'chief of the six great houses' being retained only as a traditional title of the vizier. In addition to the vizier's hall, the great council, there were local courts composed of the 'notables' of the town—the administrative officials in each district. One finds that the great council and the local court investigated a case together. When the great council required detailed information about a case that only a local court could supply, it sent out a commissioner, who, together with the members of the local court, held a joint inquiry, during the absence of both parties. The number of the local courts is uncertain. The members of the board of judges composing the local court were largely priests, and at Thebes they seem to have varied from day to day. In cases where a member of the royal house was concerned the composition of the board was enlarged by the heir-apparent of the vizier. In a case of high treason the appointments to it were made by the king himself. There seems to present to be no means of determining what was the exact relation of the local courts to the great council. We know of a case where a petitioner existed, in the vizier's great council, but obtained satisfaction afterwards at a local court.

We probably have the latest existing reference to the great council at Thebes in a Demotic papyrus of the XXIth dynasty.

13. Personification of Môêt.—For full particulars about the goddess Môêt, her priests, and as to whether she possessed an organized cult or not, see att. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), §§ II, and PERSONIFICATION (Egyptian), §§ 4, 7, 9 (c) (2).

LITERATURE.—See the works quoted in the footnotes.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Greek and Roman).—'Righteousness' is the translation of δικαιοσύνη in the NT and in the LXX, where it corresponds to the Hebrew ṣadqaq. The word thus gets associations that denote it in Greek from the idea of justice, which is derived from δικαίωμα by way of Greek philosophy and Roman law.

The justice or righteousness of God in the Bible is sometimes His loving-kindness to the just and the unjust. 'Righteousness' is an apt rendering of δικαιοσύνη in a number of other passages in the LXX where the Hebrew עָבְדִּי is translated by 'servant of God.'

It is not once used in Well- don's translation of the fifth book of Aristotle's Ethics, 'On Justice.' Aristotle first explicitly distinguished the special meaning of justice as one of the cardinal virtues from its vaguer use as a synonym of all virtue or righteousness. He first established the quasi-legal meaning which until recently has found general acceptance. He conceived justice as the recognition of a definable equality or proportion in respect of rights assumed to be ascertained or ascertainable. It was not the limitation of such rights as 'equity,' nor their renunciation by generosity, nor their equalization in the interests of a social ideal. Some of these concepts—

2 Salvo, Art, LAW (Egyptian) and ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 12.
4 E. G., Setho, Urbkunde, l. 59, Line 6.
5 Breasted, History, pp. 79-82.
6 See Gardiner, Z. A. xiii. 1909 121 f.
7 See Setho, Urbkunde, l. 36, line 17, 13, line 3.
8 Breasted, History, p. 41 f.
9 Setho, 99 f.
10 Breasted, History, p. 81 f.
11 Breasted, History, p. 81 f.
12 Breasted, History, p. 81 f.
13 ib. p. 100.
14 ib. pp. 164, 166.
15 Diod., Bk. 51, p. 112.
16 ib. p. 165.
17 ib.
18 Vogelsang, p. 61 f.
19 See further, Religion and Thought, p. 219 ff.
20 Breasted, History, p. 240.
21 ib. p. 246.
22 Grote, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 1909, iii. 16.
23 In this connexion it might be pointed out that Nesp-yhp-n, one of these Pharaonic names, was usually used by two viziers, one for Upper, and one for Lower, Egypt. There were then two great courts, that of the Upper Egyptian vizier sitting at Thebes, and that of the Lower Egyptian vizier at Heliopolis (Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes, Leipzig, 1905, p. 33 f.).
tions are latent in the Stoic and Christian χρήστος, and recently philosophy has used them to transcend or confound the Aristotelian distinction. This is only in appearance a paradox, for much more spiritual treatment of 'justice' in Plato's Republic.

Platonic justice, it is true, is not confined to Aristotelian or ethical formulas, and it is in a sense 'social'. But Plato does not lose himself in the abstract, for injustice is a term which he relates to the broader and more spiritual treatment of 'justice' in Plato's Republic.

He recognizes in anticipation the legal and Aristotelian rules of justice, and tests his own broader definition by them. But for edification and the portrayal of his ideal he prefers to define justice in terms of 'Do this' rather than 'Do this.' Objectively, justice is, he means, but he emphasizes the equality of service in the voluntary acceptance of natural inequalities, not the equalization of rights and rewards.

With these clues we shall not lose our way in the labyrinth of the historical evolution, which for sober students begins with the larger House of Greece, does not use the abstract δικαιοσύνη. But we cannot infer that he lacks the idea. For he has the abstract ἔνοικαι, and in Ἑυρισκόμενος and Sophocles also the metrical more convenient δίκη stands for δικαιοσύνη. When Homer uses δῖκη both of the administration of justice and of ethical justice. In Od. ii. 215 it is bracketed with θευματα, 'dooms', in the concrete sense of judgments. In II. xxi. 542 the entire context of its use suggests the 'later' meaning of strict right, which does not occur in the pronouncements of omen or prophecy in the Odyssey. The word also means 'way', 'manner', 'custom'—this is the way of the gods, the way of mortals, the way of kings. The survival of this sense in fixed prepositional phrases—dog-wise, etc.—leads plausibly to the assumption that the word, that is for Homer or pre-Homer the just way was the customary way known to the elders. The systematic exaggeration of this by the followers of Henry Maine provokes rival systems. Rudolf Hitzel maintains that the legal meaning is the earlier, and that δἰκαίος is by etymology the casting down or stretching out of the judge's staff to part the contest and proclaim his decision. His collections are helpful, but his interpretations of the texts will not bear scrutiny. Jane E. Harrison is equally correct. She assumes that the word meant a thing of nature and that in Euripides' Medea, 411, it is 'the circular course of the whole cosmos.' Dismissing these fancies, we find in Homer δἰκαίος and the derivatives δἰκαιος and δἰκαιοσύνη already used of a simple primitive administration of justice by a king or a council of elders. The adjective δἰκαίος occurs fifteen times or more as a broad term of ethical approval. We might try to define a context by noting its synonyms or associates—'sensible', 'reasonable', etc.—and its antonyms—'insolent', 'savage', 'harsh.' But this would be an uncrucial pressing of the text.

'Just' and 'good-fearing' are comprehensive categories of all virtue or righteousness for the Homerice Odysseus, as they are for the writer of Ae 108. 'He that feareth him, and worketh righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), is accepted with him.' (vii. 333.)

In Hesiod's Theogony, 901 f., Dike appears with the Seasons, Peace, and Ennomia ('good order') as daughter of Zeus and Themis. This seems conscious allegory. And later Greek poets freely adapt to their purposes the parentage, the kin, and the functions of Dike. The frequency of the word in the first 300 lines of the Works and Days arises from the constant reference to the crooked doings of the brie-devouring judges in the lawsuit between Hesiod and his brothers, which is the text of the poet's moralizing and admonitions about justice in general. As in Homer, Dike is the anti-

order to inanimate objects it requires the nicest discrimination to distinguish between ‘survivals,’ naïveté, and the conscious spiritual allegory of Sophocles, of Platonism, and of Wordsworth. 'You don’t preserve the stars from wrong.' The rivers flow into the sea, but the sea doesn’t overflow, for it isn’t just that it should, says the speaker in Aristophanes, Clouds, 1202. 'All things that are born must die,' said Anaximander, 'paying the penalty for seeking, of itself, the best individual existence?'. 'All things are just in the sight of God,' said Heracitus, 'but men conceive some things to be unjust and some just.' And again: 'The sun will not pass his bounds, else will the Erynnies, the helpers of Δίκη, find him out.' Wise men says Socrates 'that it is love and order and sobriety and justice (δικαιοσύνη) that hold together gods and men and the whole world, which is therefore a cosmos—an order, not a licentious disorder.' And the kindly earth in Virgil is justissima tellus, perhaps because, like the just man in Plato, she returns a deposit. These are suggestive passages. But until literary and linguistic psychology has defined their precise intentions in their context, they cannot be combined in the support of pseudo-scientific theories about the evolution of a moral code. The abstract δικαιοσύνη seems to occur for the first time in a line of Phocylides, 'In justice is comprehended all virtue,' which Theognis repeats with the added pentameter, 'Every man is good who is just.' A theme of endless comment was Theognis’ dictum, 'The natural expression of justice is health, the most delightful, to win what one loves.' The conception of the beauty of justice was developed out of the ambiguity of the Greek σάδες. Its culminating expression is Aristotle’s 'Neither the evening star nor the morning star is so admirable.'

Pindar, the student of Herod and conservative, associates Dike with Eunomia and Eirene, conservators of States, and benign Tranquillity, her daughter. The prepositional phrase, 'in δίκῃ, occurs in the vision of judgment to come, though not in the legal and Euphronic sense 'correct.' Pindar emphasizes the idea of justice in his praise of commercial cities—Corinth and his beloved Alexandria, that deals fairly with the stranger. Ruskin’s 'Tortoise of Αἰγίνα' brings this out fantastically, but not so much as the famous line from the justice of the 'superman' in New. ix. 15, 'The stronger man puts down the former right.' and frag. 169 (151), 'Custom (law) lord of all things makes just the most violent deed.'

We can only glance at other writers before Plato. In Æschylus Dike, the daughter of Zeus, the embodiment and the accomplishment of the moral law, is frequently personified with bold metaphor. The Prometheus raises the theological problem of the justice of Zeus who keeps justice in his own hands. The locus classicus for the old

supposition that God confounds the righteous with the guilty is Sept. 598 ff. The Agamenon trilogy emphasizes the awfulness of sin, the certainty of retribution, the irredeemable, and spiritualized, the law that the doer must suffer. The Furies, the ministers of the older law, claim to be strictly and straightly just (εὐδίκαιοι). But already in the Agamenon we hear of another law, that wisdom comes through suffering; and in the final symbolon, the all-including by the unriveting beauty of the gracious goddesses, and the letter of the old law of an eye for an eye is superseded by a law of grace and atonement.

In Sophocles Dike is the avenger, the ally of the right, the assessor of the throne of Zeus by laws of civil order. Plato’s eye is as the all-seening eye of God; her high throne is a stumbling-block to the bold transgressor. Antigone, in a famous passage, appeals to the unwritten law and the Justice who dwells with the gods below against Creon’s unrighteous decree. This cannot be pressed, with Hirzel and Miss Harrison, to prove any special connexion of Dike with the lower world. The interpretation that Dike equals 'custom' in frag. 247 is a characteristic error of modern ethnological philosophy.

Neither Sophocles was apparently affected by the Sophistic 'enlightenment.' The Sophists presumably discussed the origin, nature, and validity of the idea of justice, as of other ideas. There is no evidence that any of them worked out a serious scientific theory of ethics and justice, as is sometimes affirmed by the critical writers against Plato. But the unsettlement of traditional moral faith, in conjunction with the cynical and Machiavellian politics of the Peloponnesian War, presented to Plato his main problem—the finding of a reasoned 'sanctification' for ethics, for justice and righteousness. Their point of view Theocritus and Euripides are an indispensable introduction to the study of Plato. In addition to his dramatic or personal exposition of this ethical nihilism, or the 'superman' philosophy of justice, Euripides’ scattered sentences in a poetic justice could be quoted as illustration of merely eviling or cynical Greek commonplace, and in anticipation of many points made by Aristotle and the Stoics.

Plato.—We have already touched on the Platonic conception of justice and referred to his later applications in this work. A more detailed exposition would involve the Platonic philosophy as a whole, and its first prerequisite would be the removal of the misconception that Plato commits fallacies in elementary logic, and is presumably unaware of any Aristotelian distinction which it does not suit his immediate literary purpose to labour with painful explicitness. The artistic design of the Republic required him to regard justice in its subjective aspect as entire righteousness, the harmony, unity, and right functioning in division, and in harmony of all the ‘parts’ or ‘faculties’ of the soul. But he did not seek purely and with due recognition of other popular or possible meanings of the word. And there are few valuable or

3 Frug. 102 (Hlers). 4 Frug. 91.
5 Plato, Gorgias, 505 A.
6 Gorg. ii. 460.
7 Iepo 1231 A. 8 Cf. Herz, p. 156, n. 1.
11 Eth. Nic. 1129 b 28, repeated by Plato, i. 6. 4; for the justice of visiting the homes of the fathers on the children and other fathers, see Plutarch, Aristotle in Errors, 10.
14 Cf. ch. 117. 15 Chor. 257. 16 Chor. 257. 17 Chor. 257. 18 The justice of the state is recognized, but the prevalent idea that Dior was not acquainted with Hirzel’s and Miss Harrison’s rigid distinctions between δίκαιος and δίκη.
19 Miss Harrison, in Herakles, p. 12.
20 See commentators on Protag, 337 D, Gorgias, 434 B, Lenes, 600 B, 800 A.
21 Sept. 690, Chor. 949.
22 Sept. 694, Ag. 774, Chor. 311, 610.
23 176; cf. Suppl. 176-179.
24 See artt. Philosophy (Greek) and SUMMON BECK.
29 See artt. Philosophy (Greek) and SUMMON BECK.
30 Chor. 224, with Cicero’s comment, de Off. ii. 21; Early, frag. 200.
31 Chor. 234, 234-234. 32 In particular frags. 257, 257, on immanent justice, and frag. 1010, on justice as opposed to tax equity.
33 See above.
valid ideas about legal, ethical, or social justice to be found in Aristotle or in later Greek-Roman literature that adequately indicated somewhere in the Laws or the Republic. One continuation of this, for which space is lacking here, would be furnished by the still unappreciated extent of Cicero's dependence on Platonic ideas of justice in his de Officiis, as well as in his de Legibus. The references are few. If any, sentences in de Officiis, i. 7 ff., to which the most refined ethical thought of to-day could take exception.

Plato, like the writers of the Bible, Cicero, and the English ethical philosophers of the 19th cent., was immensely interested in the ultimate "sanction" of righteousness or justice. This problem is the framework of the main discussion in the Gorgias and the Republic.

Aristotle was indifferent or sceptical. As Gomperz puts it,45 he does not trouble himself about any aneudomastic foundation. Why Gomperz should deem this indifference to what Leslie Stephen calls "the problem which is at the root of all ethical discussion" an advance beyond Plato's "artificial reasoning" is as hard to understand as his claim to the first time in Aristotle's recognition without circumlocution that justice is not directed to the good of the agent but to another. This is merely the formula of Thrasymachus canvassed in the first book of the Republic. The phraseology of his attempt to extend the mathematical analogy to the equalities and proportions of economic exchange—a speculation as obscure and presumably as fallacious as similar modern endeavours. The Pythagorean or Rhadamantine justice of retribution or requital for wrongs, as the meaning "punishment," Greek literature as a whole does not support the pretentions generalization that justice and punishment are nothing but revenge.4 Gomperz approves Herbert Spencer's not very intelligent ridicule of Aristotle's idea of justice because, he says, the other virtues, is in some sense a mean. But Aristotle admits that his formula applies only in the sense that justice (i.e. especially the administration of justice) tries to hit the mean. And his endeavours to show that the "equality" of justice is also a mean strain language no more than any Procrustean system does.

In pure theory the post-Aristotelian systems added little to the ideas of Plato and Aristotle. The Epicurean ethics bases itself on the art of measuring pleasures set forth in the Protagoros and the theory of a social contract expounded by Glanocn in the Republic.4 Animals, being incapable of the social contract, were ipso facto excluded from justice. Man has no obligation to them. The educated Epicureans took these ideas for granted, and did not waste time on Platonic idealism or Aristotelian refinements.

*Atum ipsa utilitas, justi prope mater et aequi. ... 9 Jura inventa metu injusti fatere necesse est.*

1 Greek Thinkers, Eog. tr., London and New York, 1901-12, 12, 235.
2 342 C; cf. 392 B. Pearson rightly rejects the interpretations that find it in Emp. Hcria. 1-8.
4 Eth. Nic. v.
6 A good, this kind of justice aims by award of damages, fine, or punishment to reestablish the violated equality of rights, 'between man and man,' as we should phrase it. The emphasis on obligations ex delicto leads Aristotle to designate this kind of justice as 'corrective,' and the extension of this term to the whole domain of contractual as opposed to distributive justice has vitiated some ethical writers. 'Aristotle's central idea is sound and simple. Modern difficulties are due mainly to insufficient scholarship, or to the still persisting superstition of Aristotle's infallibility. As a matter of fact, though the idea is sound, nor technical, he thinks, in not taking, nor the endeavour to fit it into the schematic definition of virtue as a mean will endure analysis. The term 'distributive,' e. g., seems to refer to the distribution of spoils or grain to the citizens—where, whatever the military or Homeric practice, Greek democracy would have demanded arithmetical equality with few exceptions. But Aristotle also illustrates it by the distribution of profits in a partnership of unequal capitals, which is really a kind of contractual relationship. Further confusion arises from the reference of distributive justice to claims of difference in the case of predominance of political power in the organic constitution of the State. This conception of the problem of justice Aristotle derived from Plato's ἀδίκημα τοῦ δίκαιου. 5 But we cannot enter into this in detail. Let us try to interpret Aristotle's attempt to extend the mathematical analogy to the equalities and proportions of economic exchange—a speculation as obscure and presumably as fallacious as similar modern endeavours. The Pythagorean or Rhadamantine justice of retribution or requital for wrongs, as the meaning 'punishment,' Greek literature as a whole does not support the pretensions generalization that justice and punishment are nothing but revenge. 6 Gomperz approves Herbert Spencer's not very intelligent ridicule of Aristotle's idea of justice because, he says, the other virtues, is in some sense a mean. But Aristotle admits that his formula applies only in the sense that justice (i.e. especially the administration of justice) tries to hit the mean. And his endeavours to show that the 'equality' of justice is also a mean strain language no more than any Procrustean system does.
It was easier to reaffirm this simple dogma than to study Plato's refutation of it.

The famous third book of Chrysippus, 'On Justice', was written on Plato's day, 'to be found everywhere'.\(^2\) The fragments of the older Stoics add little to the Platonic and Aristotelian theory. Justice, the Stoics taught, is a cardinal and 'social' virtue. It is the virtue of due distribution.\(^3\) It pertains neither to the accuser nor to the defendant alone; and, if among its subordinate species are kindliness (χρηστότης), democratic sociability (εὐνοομία), and square dealing, or the quality of being easy to deal with (εὐνοομαλία).\(^4\) Much of Chrysippus's discussion was captiously critical of his predecessors. He repeated Aristotle's cautious censure of the im-

plcit Platonic rhetorical about injustice to one's self.\(^5\) He relented Plato for appealing to the
tological sanction in the closing myth of the

Republic,\(^6\) but maintained against Epicurus that justice becomes an act of piety or pleasure is the good.\(^7\) He rejected the Aristotelian qualification of justice by equity for reasons that would have appealed to Selden,\(^8\) and which were anticipated by Aristotle himself. But he reinstated equity as a form of kindliness or good
goodwill, and hence a virtue of the early Stoic, philosophy upon Roman law has often been pointed out, but cannot be studied here.

The very first sentence of Justinian's Institutes, 'Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas insum cuique tribunis, reads like a sentence of Plato.

Ptolemy's is no less than — to the judge.\(^9\) Among its second edition (g.v. Aristotelian, its subordinate species are kindliness (χρηστότης), democratic sociability (εὐνοομία), and square dealing, or the quality of being easy to deal with (εὐνοομαλία). Much of Chrysippus's discussion was captiously critical of his predecessors.

In later Graeco-Roman literature the somewhat pedantic sage of the Stoics became, under the influence of Platonism and the old Roman virtue, an impressive ideal of righteousness—the just man made perfect—serving humanity (as Homer had done), and the tyrant or the mob (as Socrates),\(^3\) unsubdurable in soul (as Cato).

The subtleties of Neo-Platonism of Neo-Platonism (g.v.) distinguishing the cathartic and the paradigmatic, the ideas we do not concern us. Plotinus repeats the definitions of the fourth book of the Republic.\(^4\) Justice is the making his own business by every faculty of the soul—the willing subordination of lower to higher.

Instead of thus associating righteousness with the theory of justice, we might have studied more broadly in ancient literature and life the approaches that the philosophers—Plato, the philosopher, Plutarch, the historical man, the καλά κατάθεα, the sage, the kinder or more just man.\(^5\) 'Vir bonus est quis?' asks the citizen in Horace,\(^6\) 'Qui consulta patrum, quia leges iuraque servavit'.—that is one idea. 'What a kind good helpful man to take pity on us in this crowd!' exclaims the Syracusan ladies in Theocritus' realistic idyl.\(^3\) It is a singular coincidence that Justin Martyr\(^4\) brings together the same two words from Lk 6.34, to commend the religion of service and charity to the philosophic emperor: θεωρείτης δὲ χρηστότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπιτάσσειν εἰς ἀληθίνον. A history of the words χρηστότης and χρηστότης in popular and later Stoic usage, strangely neglected by Hirzel, would show that this is more than a coincidence. We are in presence of a different ideal of the good or approved man from


sumption. Hence, the word 'righteousness,' came to mean largesse or alms, and that it is often also a general synonym of virtue or of the qualities that find acceptance with God and so justify a man's in His sight—the fulfillment of the law both moral and ceremonial. But it is also become a term of special meaning, being used to denote the specific meaning of legal justice between man and man. There are even texts which warn against the perversion of legal justice by pity or sympathy for the poor (Ex 23:2; cf. Lv 19:15, Dt 17:15). This idea is foreign to the spirit of the Gospels, and some of the chief parables are directly pointed against it. St. Paul returns to the justice of the law only to show its impracticability. It is impossible to fulfill the entire law, ceremonial or moral. In the course of justice none of us would see salvation. Only the freely bestowed grace of God through Jesus Christ can save or justify man. It does not belong to this study to examine Matthew Arnold's contention in St. Paul and Protestantism (London, 1870) that St. Paul's essential meanings throughout are ethical, spiritual, and symbolic. We may quote the only passage which nears St. John's idea, 'justification,' presumably came to him from the LXX, which is peculiarly rich in abstracts in -μα loosely and rhetorically used in vagner meanings than those given to them by the classic poets and philosophers of Greece. Coinced apparently in the sense of the Stoics, a convenient symbol for the awkward τὸ δίκαια e. g. gen., meant at first a claim of right and only incidentally a plea of justification.\(^1\) Plato and Aristotle sometimes use it more precisely for the result of just action. It is the result of just action, the LXX employs the word sores of times, often in lists of synonyms, such as my commandments, judgments, and δικαιον. The meaning 'plea of justification' occurs, but not frequently or with much technical emphasis. Deismans often contrast the law with the rule, so that the word in St. Paul means simply 'acquittal.' This appears no philological necessity for holding St. Paul to a much more definite or consistent use of the word than we find in the LXX. It would seem, then, that the more technical meaning of 'justification' must have been communicated by the LXX, the idea of St. Paul's theology as a whole. However this may be, the entire development of post-classical ethical feeling and of early Christian thought made against the strict legal conception of justice worked out in Greek philosophy and Roman law, and latent in the OT ideal of rigid fulfillment of the law. The development of modern law and the renewed study of the Roman law and the theology of Calvinism in part counteracted these tendencies. But to-day the literature of widest appeal is anti-legalistic in sentiment. And by invocation of the phrase 'natural righteousness' is the LXX employed the word 'wine' to abolish the distinction between justice and beneficence, or justice and equity, and indeed to suppress the idea of justice or righteousness altogether, except as edifying synonym for the entire word or word group. As far as justice is concerned, return to the spirit of Jesus or a temporary confusion of thought the future historian of philosophy may decide.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Hindu). 1. Vedic.—

The conception of righteousness in the Rigveda finds its expression in the term rta, the equivalent of the slayer of crimes, or the one who secures cosmic order, and then the order of the moral law, on the one hand, and of the performance of the sacrifice, on the other. The conception of moral order is doubtless Indo-Iranian, and it is a fair conclusion from the occurrence of Arta as the first element in the supposed key to the word that the El-Arman correspondence that the conception cannot be more recent than the 15th cent. b.c., and that the Vedaycts entered India. Despite the predominantly sacerdotal character of the Rigveda, it reveals abundant evidence of the importance of the conception: the gods themselves are not merely born of the rta—a conception in which physical origin may be chiefly denoted—but they follow the rta (rtaeva); they are practisers of the rta (rta
dv) and knowers of it (rta
dv). The special guardian of the rta is Varuna, the great guardian of righteousness, who moves about discerning the truth and the unrighteousness of mankind (svay
tv
tv jum
tv); and in a curious phrase Agni is declared to become Varuna when he strives for the rta. Accordance with rta, and renunciation of all that is contrary to rta, is required of the sacrificer: the priest assures Agni that he invokes the gods without witchcraft, and offers his devotion with righteousness. Especially characteristic is the famous dialogue 4 in which Yami seeks to persuade her brother Yama to commit inecit with her in order to propagate the human race. Yamaraja, appalled to her pleadings is in effect that her claims of advancing the right would merely lead them into unrighteousness of action; to her assertion that their father Tvastf
d had formed them in the womb to be husband and wife he replies by an assertion of ignorance of the purpose of creation, but an assurance of the existence of the law of Mitra and Varuna, and of the current view that inecit is evil. Righteousness is thus accordance with general opinion, and with this agrees its constant association with truth (svay
tv
tv) and correspondence with reality. This opinion demands the virtues of a simple sect—consideration in domestic relations, political loyalty, truth in friendship, abstention from crimes such as theft and murder, and from women faithfulness in wedlock. Justice not unnaturally in hymns closely associated with the sacrifice much more stress is laid on the merits of liberality than on such manly virtues as courage in war. In Iran speculation on the cognate idea of asc
d led to the deepening of the moral force of the conception and the evolution of Zoroastrianism, but in India the period of the later Sankh
d
d and the Br
d
dnases reveals not an advance, but a retrogression in moral outlook. Insistence on the ordering of the sacrifice has elevated the ritual into a substitute for morality; the priest who in the Rigveda, of necessity, primarily invokes the gods as a supplicant has become possessed, through a knowledge of the details of the sacrifice, of the power to compel the gods. At the same time he is exempted from the moral duty, which is recognized freely in the Rigveda, of performing the moral duty of the sacrificer. It was, indeed, still contended by some that the priest was under an obligation to aim only at securing the desires of the sacrificer by whom he was employed, but the Astaryya Br
d
dh
d finds, as it appears, in the sacrifice its own accompaniment of the bestowal of enormous largesse on the priestly performers. 1 Truth still remains the attribute of the gods, but truth is no longer simple: the gods are par excellence lovers of what is obscure, and for man more than for gods. But the truth is recognized as impossible and equivalent to enjoining silence.

The Br
d
dnases, textbooks of a priesthood which by total absorption in meditation on the ritual had lost touch with the realities of life, do not present fairly the development of the conception of duty among the people generally. This is given to us far more clearly in the Ghyta- and Dharma-s
ds, manuals of rules for religious and civil life, which reveal in full detail the elaborate structure of Indian life as it evolved from simpler conditions of the Rigvedic period. Not only are the respective rights and duties of the four great classes—priests, rulers and warriors, peasants, and serfs—clearly laid down, though with such variation in detail as is inevitable in works of varying date and different composition, but in the classes the plan of the different stages of life is mapped out. Among many rules of no moral value these treatises inculcate the observance of all the moral laws of simple morality—truth, abstention from injury to the person or property of others, charity, hospitality, courage, and devotion to duty—and threaten those who disregard them with pains and penalties in the future life. This more normal outlook on morality is shared by the Upan
d
d
d. The voice of Pra
d
dpati in the thunder-speaking Asvapati, which seeks to lead men to be self-restrained, charitable, and merciful; 2 as the fee in the great sacrifice of life are enumerated in the Ch
d
d
dga Upan
dnd 3 asceticism, liberalism, right dealing, abstention from injury (ahin
d
d), and the speaking of truth. The Taittiriya Upan
dnd 4 has the list of virtues divided into six—truth, asceticism, tranquillity, truthfulness and right dealing, hospitality, courtesy, and duties to wives, children, and grandchildren. The prince Asvapati Ka
d
daya claims 5 that in his realm there is no thief, niggard, drunkard, adulterer, or courtesan. Not only, however, does the Upan
d
d
d not recognize and adopt current conceptions of morality, but they provide for the first time a reasoned basis for moral action by the doctrine that a man's place in life is determined by his former deeds—a principle which at the same time serves as a rationale of the rigid class-divisions of Indian society. In its purest form, associated with the name of Ya
d
dvak
dya, 6 the doctrine is rigidly one of rebirth on earth after death in a station depending exactly on a man's previous deeds, but already in the Upan
dnd 7 this idea is blended with the doctrine of reward in heaven or punishment elsewhere; and in this form, with variations in detail, the conception becomes part of the general Hindu belief. But no criterion of righteousness is suggested, though among those condemned to an evil fate in the Ch
d
dga Upan
dnd is the murderer of a Br
dhra, the defiler of the teacher's wife, the drinker of spirits, the thief of gold, and the man who associates with such sinners. The reason for the omission of any inquiry into morality may be found in the context, but the moral, of the Upan
dnd, which are concerned beyond everything else with the determination of the nature of existence, and

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1 Sat
d
tpatha Br
dhra, xi. v. 4. 1.
2 Br
dhra
d
d, vi. ii. 13. 1.
3 Br
dhra
d
d, vi. ii. 5.
4 Ch
d
d
dga Upan
dnd, v. 5. 1. 6.
5 Ch
d
d
dga Upan
dnd, v. 6. 4ff.
6 Br
dhra
d
d, vi. ii. 13. 4v. 4ff.
regard as the highest aim the merger of the individual soul in the absolute spirit (brahman), which is to be brought about by an act of intellectual insight. The possession of moral qualities is not inconsistent with the attainment of such insight, and the later Upaniṣads make a determined effort to reconcile the claims of ordinary life with those of philosophy by the development of the ideal of the four dāsraya, or stages of life through which a member of the three higher castes is communally required, in their turn, to pass—4 a youth of learning as a brahmachārin, a middle age of performance of social obligations as a householder (grhaśraya), a period of asceticism as a dweller in the forest (śāntraprastha), and a final resort to the life of a wandering beggar (sanyāśayā) who has resigned all connexion with worldly things. This scheme, however, is clearly a compromise; the necessity of passing through the first two stages, and the distinction which it is sought to draw between the second two in such texts as the Tālākta and the 4 Aśrama Upaniṣads, are not laid down in the older texts, in which there is apparent a tendency to contrast the search for the true knowledge with all earthly interests and to regard the attitude of the seeker as essentially one of renunciation of all terrestrial concerns. In the Kauṭilya Upaniṣad it is not inconsistent with the attainment of such knowledge of Indra, who is declared to be true, prevents retribution for parricide, matricide, the slaying even of an embryo, or theft; but this doctrine is isolated in the Upaniṣads.

2 Post-Vedic. — Though later in its records than the Vedic period, Jainism reveals to us a form of belief which was evidently widely spread in the period of the early Upaniṣads, though these texts do not adopt it as completely satisfactory. The doctrine of Mahāvīra in effect appears to have been little understood by the people. The notion of anything given, and sexual enjoyment—all rules for which Brāhmānical parallels and prototypes are present; and even in the fifth, the forbidding of any attachment to any worldly object, though Mahāvīra may have adopted it in opposition to the duty of liberality preached by the Brāhmans, there is nothing but a consistent carrying out of the principle involved in the first four rules. The rationale of the command is clearly the doctrine that the soul is defined by all contact with the things of the world, and that the ideal is to free it from such contagion. In essence the doctrine is purely egoistic; in practice, however, it has been found possible to convert the Jain tenets into a basis for active philanthropy, which can be reconciled with the doctrine of Mahāvīra, intellectual acceptance of that renunciation, and is the most sure method to secure for the soul that freedom from misery which it is its essential aim to achieve.

In Brāhmānism itself a more successful effort is found in the Bhagavad-Gītā to find a positive basis for the practice of the universal law of Mahābhārata in its popular philosophy leans decidedly to the school of renunciation, and inculcates that indifference to the things of the world which enables King Janaka to contemplate with ease the possibility of the non-existence of capital Mithilā. But the Gītā, amid all the confusions of its semi-pantheism and its semi-thesism, remains true to the doctrine that it is essentially man's duty to carry out without desire of reward the obligations of his station in life, which is enunciated by Krṣṇa when he sees Arjuna unwilling to commence the attack on the host of the Kuravas at Kuruksetra. A positive basis for the performance of duty of a non-egoistic character is provided by the doctrine of the unity of the universe in the Iṣvara; he who sees the Iṣvara as pervading all things cannot be guilty of injury to them, for having his own activity and injury to himself as identical with the Iṣvara, which is not open to Jainism, in which there is no bond of unity between one soul and another. The good which one does to another, on the doctrine of the Gītā, is done directly to oneself through this community of existence, while Jainism cannot recognize such action as valuable without serious modification of the essential basis of its renunciation of activity.

Neither the more formal philosophy nor the doctrine of faith succeeds in providing a more satisfactory doctrine of righteousness than the Gītā. To Sāṅkara the ordinary world, and its virtues and vices alike, are unreal, and release from transmigration is attained not by virtue, but by insight into the fundamental unity of the soul and the brahman. Works cannot produce this insight, which is for Sāṅkara the only true knowledge of the Iṣvara, but which in reality cannot be ascribed to any cause whatever, as it lies beyond all causal conceptions. While, however, Sāṅkara makes it clear that works are not the cause, nor the necessary preliminary, of enlightenment, he readily finds a place for them as serving normally, though not essentially, to counteract hindrances which might otherwise impede the appearance of the saving knowledge; and in like manner the observance of the rule of the dāsraya is a normal rule for the seeker after truth. The essential indifference of morality, however, appears in the position of him who has attained in this life the consciousness of release (jīvānānukṛta); no acts of his after this attainment have any concern for him, for the doctrine of the fruition of action (karman) is a mere fiction, he is so enlightened. The logical consequence, that evil deeds may with impunity be performed by the enlightened man, is expressly recognized by the Vedānta-sūtra of Sāṅkara, which even contemplates the possibility of the jīvānānukṛta resorting to the use of such unclean food as a dog might eat. Even in the essential indifference of morality, however, appears in the position of him who has attained in this life the consciousness of release (jīvānānukṛta); no acts of his after this attainment have any concern for him, for the doctrine of the fruition of action (karman) is a mere fiction, he is so enlightened. The logical consequence, that evil deeds may with impunity be performed by the enlightened man, is expressly recognized by the Vedānta-sūtra of Sāṅkara, which even contemplates the possibility of the jīvānānukṛta resorting to the use of such unclean food as a dog might eat. Even in the essential indifference of morality, however, appears in the position of him who has attained in this life the consciousness of release (jīvānānukṛta); no acts of his after this attainment have any concern for him, for the doctrine of the fruition of action (karman) is a mere fiction, he is so enlightened. The logical consequence, that evil deeds may with impunity be performed by the enlightened man, is expressly recognized by the Vedānta-sūtra of Sāṅkara, which even contemplates the possibility of the jīvānānukṛta resorting to the use of such unclean food as a dog might eat.
in which, in conscious opposition to the normal standard of morality, the use of meat, involving the violation of the rule of akhinas, the drinking of liquor, and promiscuous sexual intercourse are used as means of securing that unity with the deity which is the final aim of the system.

The philosophical systems and the popular religions thus set before them the ideals either of intellectual insight or of a mystical and ecstatic union with the deity, and neither could make any progress in developing a theory of morality or in distinguishing morality from ceremonial observance. Such ethical ideals are found only in the Samkhya-Philosophie, as reflected in the numerous Sûtris and Nibandhas, reveals no distinction between ritual and morality; the topic of penances is expanded almost without limits, but the sins to be expiated are as often ritual omissions as moral defects, and no discrimination is ever attempted between them—a condition of thought natural enough in the Brâhmanas, but strangely stereotyped in India. Not only, however, had morality to suffer from competition with ritual; the rich and attractive Vâti literature, which is the source of books of so universal a approach to the religious ideal, and often in its rules of conduct enunciates the purest morality, but places alongside of such precepts, without consideration of incongruity, rules of polity and practical expedience of doubtful or not rarely of positively immoral character.


A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

RIGHTOUSNESS (Jewish).—1. General connotations. — The connotation of the term 'righteousness' (rya and tanya) varies with the different epochs embraced in the literature of the Jews. To discuss the question of what acts, motives, intentions, ceremonies, symbols the Jew designated as falling into the category of righteousness, or as helping to bring it about, is a task best reserved for a host of cardinal Jewish theological teachings on all kinds of allied themes in all their developments and ramifications from the earliest days of the OT down to the latest spiritual product of the movement. In the light of the doctrine, that alone the root rya, counting all its inflexions, occurs over 500 times; and, over such a large space of time as the OT covers, it is impossible to assume that the term always stood for the same ideas to the various successive writers who used it. The OT, which forms the basis of Jewish literature, although admittedly dealing largely with legalistic lore, nevertheless contain a considerable element of theological matter—far more than the Christian theologian is prone to give them credit for; hence, as is inevitable, the term crops up there with great frequency and assumes a new set of meanings in accordance with the then prevalent Jewish views on life, death, duty, religion, and God. The medieval Jewish philosophers, as followers of either Aristotle or Plato, aimed at placing the ideal Jew and the ideal Judaism in quite a new setting unknown to the unphilosophical Jew of the earlier periods, and righteousness with them came to assume a new set of connotations to which the religious consciousness of them arose among the Polish Jews of the 18th. cent., and which has existed down to the present day under the name of Hasidism, the leading eclec- siast is invariably called the rya (godly, 'righteous one' or 'saint'), and, as one of his chief features, would instil this conception of righteousness, that further meanings have from time to time been imported into the term in question.

2. In the early Pharisaic and Rabbinic literature. — Throughout the whole vast realm of the Rabbinical literature the 'righteous' man, the rya, is judged by one invariable norm—conformity to the Torah. Righteousness is an unbroken series of loving and loyal obediencess to the mizváth of the Torah. These mizváth, or 'precepts,' are 613 in number, according to the calculation of the Rabbis, who held that there shold be 613 for the God who aspired after righteousness to come as near as possible to the carrying out of these 613 precepts both in letter and in spirit. The Torah was looked upon as a divine embodiment on earth. Expressions like Torah, 'God,' Holy Spirit, are often used interchangingly and interchangeably with righteousness. To love the Torah with all one's heart and to cleave to it with all one's might was tantamount to the highest and closest communion with the Deity which was possible to the saint. Such was the ideally righteous man. This exaltation of the Godliness or righteousness of all righteousness is already hinted at in Ecclus 12, but grows more apparent in much of the Pharisaic literature of pre-Talmudic times, notably the book of Jubilees and the Psalms of Solomon. Thus, Psalms xiv. of the latter work, after alluding to 'them who walk in righteousness in His commandments,' summarizes by saying: 'He has given us the Law for our life; and the saints of the Lord shall live thereby for ever.' To the minds of the Rabbis the highest type of righteousness is that evinced by what they called the godly (complete saint'), the class who in T.B. Shabbath, 55a, are styled mekuddeshim, 'sainted ones,' i.e. 'they who fulfill the whole Torah from its first letter (Aleph) to its last (Tav). The Torah was the embodiment of Judaism, the first and last word in earth and heaven, possessing nothing superfluous or unimportant. The world was actually called into being through the instrumentality of the Torah, and, should the Jew ever reach so low a pitch as to lay aside the Torah, then will the cosmos be broken up and revert again to its primeval state of chaos. As has already been hinted, the degree of righteousness possessed by a man is dependent upon, and corresponds to, the degree of his conformity to the Torah. The latter situation involves far more than a mere theoretic attitude of mind or heart. It means nothing less than the doing of the whole of the law in every respect, for as has been said, the Deity has bound Himself to this or that dogma. It comprehends the whole domain of human thought, character, and action. Man must not be content with merely following out the rigid letter of the law, a routine holiness tied down to a book. His ideal must be the highness living, which is brought about only by a long-cultivated process of self-sanctification. In the Jewish view, man can never be, he can only be, righteous. To speak of 'Pharisaic self-righteousness' is to falsify the general trend of the Rabbinic ethics. Righteousness was a high peak which the Jew must, during his whole lifetime,
To the Jewish scholar familiar with the theology of his own race the whole argumentation of Paul about righteousness, law, faith, and grace is as unacceptable as it is unintelligible.

"No Rabbinic Jew," says C. C. Montefiore, "could ever have accepted the main argument of the Epistle to the Romans. For it was precisely the Law which the mind of God, and all the other to attain to any measure of human goodness (Sanhedrin and S. T. Talmud, p. 100). Or, as another modern writer has said, 'That the Torah was not such as Paul represented it to be a statement which is true, both philosophically and negatively. He ascribed to its character which it did not possess, and he left out of its description features which it did possess, and which were essential to it.' (St. Travers Hertz, 'Jewish Faith' Chap. 3.)

As a matter of fact, one is inclined to endorse Montefiore's view that Paul, living at the time he did, could not have been familiar with what is generally understood by the Rabbinic position, and therefore ought not to be regarded as a reasonable exponent or critic of it. No Rabbinic Jew was ever cared, as Paul was obviously worried, by the thought that real righteousness was unattainable by him, seeing that the demands of the Law are too multifarious to be ever fully met by any one; nor is there in Rabbinic Judaism any ground for any distinction between 'righteousness of faith' (Rom 4) and righteousness of works. Where there are works in the Rabbinic sense, there must be faith, seeing that the prime motive to the execution of works was the invincible belief in the divine origin of the Torah, and the parts of it, and the means for securing salvation to mankind; and such a belief must presuppose faith in the existence of a God, the simple faith such as Abraham possessed and which gave him the title to righteousness and to the honour of all men. Faith and works together make up the day, the real as well as the ideal life, the life of righteousness before God. The guide to such a life is the Tôrah, whose multifarious precepts the aspirant after righteousness has to fulfil both in letter and in spirit, but not in the way in which Paul (either consciously or unconsciously) travestied it when he spoke of the physical impossibility of any one obeying so burdensome a code. For, according to Sifre, 133a, 'even the truly righteous are not wholly without blame because they too may have committed some unrighteousness outside the letter; for it was the honest striving after righteousness that the Rabbinic mind really had in mind. The seeker after the realization of the ideal of righteousness must resolve to order his life in the way leading to it. If he kept himself up to the same unswervingly high level, fulfilling the precepts of the Tôrah through love and joy of soul' (T. B. Sotâh, 38a; T. B. Shebbâth, 88b), then this very scheme of life was righteousness—no matter what occasional minor lapses occurred in between. Even granted that the Rabbinic Jew may occasionally have felt the pain and anguish of the consciousness of a duty omitted here and a duty omitted there, what was this in comparison with the ineffable rapture of what the Rabbanim termed simhâh shel mizvâh ('the joy of a precept fulfilled')—a joy which inevitably brought in its train other joys of other precepts fulfilled, thus making life an unbroken exercise in the joyous search after a true union with the Divine through a righteously-ordered life? It is of those who have attained this pitch of righteousness that T. B. Sukkâh, 45b, says, 'They beheld the face of God,' viz. that of the righteous who, as is said in T. B. Brôkhâh, 17a, will in the future life 'sit with their crowns upon their heads, delighting in the splendour of the Divine Presence.' To quote a phrase from Lazaurus, 'The essence of a perfect existence is an aspiration joined to unlimited capacity to reach higher and ever higher stages of achievement' (pt. ii. p. 289.)

*See Rashî, ad loc.*
constant danger of an intervening lapse plays no part whatsoever in this Rabbinic programme of righteousness sought and attained. His picture of Rabbinic Judaism is marred by its total ignorance of the Rabbinic doctrine of divine grace. The effect after righteousness is helped and encouraged by heaven, and this because of the very fact of man's frailty, because of the very fact that man's liability to err is so well within the divine ken. 'Let man but sanctify himself only a little,' runs a favourite Rabbinic belief, 'and then God will help him to sanctify himself much by the help and support given him from on High. It was this that King David meant when he said, 'No good thing will He withhold from them that fear Him.' (Ps 84:14) (Mosehli Teshu'atim, Amsterdam, 1740, ch. xxvi.).

Jewish theology looked upon Jews never as a series of isolated units, but always as one consolidated body, a community; a nation, an indivisible entity, and they sought phallic part and whole in righteousness before God. Hence it follows that a life of righteousness on the part of the individual Jew must always involve consideration for the well-being of others. Once dissolve the communal cohesion, then the communal holiness disappears. It is probably owing to some such conception as this that the term ṣam'it, 'righteousness,' came, in the Talmud, to mean 'charity' or 'almsgiving' — a meaning which has remained in popular use among the Jews down to the present day. The Qohelet, moreover, upholds this same view, ascribing to almsgiving — an unbounded borrowing from Judaism. Almsgiving is righteousness, because thereby does Jew help Jew to sustain himself and become one more servant of God.

When asked by Tobias Rofes: 'Why does your God, being the lover of the needy, not Himself provide for their support?', R. Akiba replied: 'By charity wealth is to be made a means of salvation for those among whom the righteous are so rare, that the one to help the other, and thus to make the world a household of love' (T. B. Babba Bathra, 10a, quoted by K. Kohler in S.D. 118a, ed. H. and B.).

4. The sufferings of the righteous; their destiny; their influence on the world.—As one of the cornerstones of Rabbinic theology is the doctrine of divine retribution—that God rewards those who keep His commands and punishes those who transgress them—it is only to be expected that the question of why the righteous suffer should crop up with frequency and find many attempted solutions. The Rabbis developed no systematic philosophy on the subject. Varying opinions are expressed in the Talmud and Midrashim—opinions evidently subjective and individual as the result of the original by the mediæval Jewish theologians and philosophers—but these are tentative and experimental, invested with no dogmatic binding importance. Yet it is true to say that they all cluster round the fundamental assumption which constitutes a premise in the religious creed of Rabbinic and later Jewish thought generally, viz. the reality of a future life. The present world and the world to come are indissolubly linked together. They are mansions of one and the same house. Death, to the righteous, is not the end of all things from one life to another; therefore their sufferings in the present life ought really to give us no occasion for surprise or question, because in all probability a joyous recompense awaits them in the Beyond. Sorrow here will be joy there. Nay, the greater their sorrow in the present existence, the surer is their abounding happiness in the existence which 'eye hath not seen.' The righteous must suffer here, because suffering in the one portal through which they are enabled to reach out to the final inheritance of eternal bliss is the criterion for whether his works have earned for them. Illustrations of these teachings are the following:

In T.B. Qidushah, 460, R. Eliezer b. Zadok says: 'To what may the righteous be likened in this world? To a tree which stands on clean soil but one of whose branches inclines towards an unclean spot. Cut the branch away and then the whole tree stands upon the clean soil. Such are the righteous in the world in order that they may inherit the world as it is come, as it is said, 'Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end shall greatly increase.' (Job 8:7). The anger between death and the lopping off of one branch of a tree—the tree still remaining practically in its entirety—is a particularly happy one because it so well brings out the idea of the life here and the life hereafter as one continuous unbroken whole. In T.B. Hor biph, 19, R. Nabanu b. Rab Hida discusses thus: 'What is the meaning of the words in Ecclesiastes 2:14 'There is a vanity which is done upon the earth; that there be just men and unjust men, unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous'? The meaning is this: Ecclesiastes would say that the reward in this world is like the reward of the wicked in the next world (i.e. everyone is rewarded by the world, but it is only the righteous who are rewarded in the next world, i.e. God)'.

Another aspect of the same train of theological thought is presented by the many Rabbinic assertions about the deathlessness of the righteous.

'The righteous 'by whom God himself玳 says a passage in T.B. Bra'ahkoth, 15a; and the statement is supported by a Biblical text. 'They are like lost pearls of great price,' says T.B. Mo'ed, 7:12, 'lost ones; but they are not really lost, because they exist somewhere—and in all their original preciousness and beauty.' All these views are distinctly corroborated in the teaching of A. B. Kohn, whose Wisdom of Solomon: 'Only the soul is immortal and can enter upon the sphere of the world to come' (Wisdom, 7:7).

Invested with so inimitable a sanctity, it is no wonder that the righteous should shed a spirituality over their surroundings—a spirituality which is helpful and uplifting to others generally. The Zohar elaborates this theme repeatedly.

'Come and see what God does on behalf of the righteous, for although the mortal is divinely deereed upon the world, it is held back for their sake and does not come,' runs a Zoharic comment (on Gn 41:4). 'The righteous are the foundation and the greatest glory of the world, as says and as says (Gen 3:19). 'They create peace in heaven and peace on earth and thus unite the bridegroom to the bride,' runs a third (on Gn 41:19), deeply echoing the pietistic and apocalyptic conceptions of the great worth of the righteous in so far as they 'draw goodness down from above in order to do good to us and to all the universe.'

Quite in keeping with these sentiments are the Talmudic sayings to the effect that the coming of the righteous into the world means an influx of light and glory into the world (T.B. Sanhedrîn, 115a), and that the death of the righteous works atonement for their people (T.B. Mo'ed Katan, 29a; Tannâmâ, Hâha Môth, 7). Glimpses of a wide universalistic conception of this efficacy of righteousness are afforded by the Rabbinic comment on Is 26:2 'Open ye the gates, that the righteous might enter in'; it is not the righteous Israelite that is here referred to, but the righteous nation, any people among whom righteousness resides (Sîfîra, ed. I. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1862, ch. 13). There is a similar comment on the words, 'This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter into it' (Ps 118:20) —not priests, Levites, or Israelites, but the righteous, though they be non-Jews (Sîfîra, loc. cit.).

5. Views of the mediæval Jewish theologians. —The host of textbooks and manuals on ethics abound and phils., and the Talmudic or Rabbinic tradition is a field of fruit for the literary men of the Middle Ages—notably those of the Spanish-Jewish school which flourished from the 10th to the 15th cent.—all adopt conformity to the Tòrah as the norm of righteousness. The interpretation of righteousness as given by the old
7. In modern Judaism.—In modern times the 'orthodox' Jewfinds his ideal of righteousness in the alignment to the standards of living and thinking inculcated in the Talmudic ages by the great Rabbis of the Talmudic ages. Such a self-adaptation grows obviously more and more difficult—and hence more and more rare—with the flow of time and the consequent changes in our values and critical standards. Modern 'Rabbis' Judaism and modern 'Liberal' Judaism (q.v.) lay great stress on the vital necessity of making every allowance for these inevitable developments and changes in the thought and outlook of the Jew. The general science and theology of to-day as well as the dominant critical theories of the nature and authorship of the Bible obtain a large meed of acceptance among these Jewish modernists, this causing them to make many a breach with the old 'orthodox' ideal and materially altering their standards of Jewish religious values.

One has seen in such a movement as the Haskalah, in which the younger generation of Jews who were familiar with the old Talmudic philosophy of the religious and ideal life of righteousness, it is fairly obvious to every student of his writings that the picture that he had in mind's eye of the Jewish saint and follower after righteousness was a compound of Hellenistic, as it were, the man who wields real influence, and suspicion that Maimonides' man of righteousness would have been a somewhat unintelligible character to a Rabbi of the Talmudic epoch.

6. Hasidic interpretations of righteousness.—In the 15th cent. a new religious movement known as Hasidism ('piety') arose among the Jews in Poland—a pantheistic movement in which the mystical element in Judaism, the teachings of the Zohar and the Kabbalah generally, overshadowed and largely crushed out the ceremonial and mysticallist formism belonging to Rabbinic Judaism. The spiritual head of each Hasidic community was known as the pegg, 'righteous one,' whose claims to the possession of righteousness on quite a superlative scale were based upon the peculiarly mystical connotation given to the term 'righteous.' Such an individual was the Divine Source of all life, the man whose prayerful 'righteousness' enables him to become a sort of mediator between God and the ordinary folk, bringing down to them from on high not only spiritual bliss but also material help, miraculous cures from disease, good luck in commerce, family joys, and such like. To select for special esteem a 'man of righteousness,' and to look upon him as a power able to bring heaven down to earth, argues a truly noble conception of Judaism's mission and function. But this also became an instrument of power in itself the poison which proved its undoing. The desire to reach an ecstatic state of mind in prayer came often to be stimulated by artificial means, such as the excessive drinking of intoxicating liquors. The pegg would often seek to impose upon the credulity of his followers by unproved claims to the possession of latent powers; and the gifts in money and kind which would come to him from an adoring clientele could not but exercise upon him a demoralizing influence and serve to breed a corrupt and underhand commerce. Such the pegg has survived down to the present day in many a Hasidic community in E. Europe. Many a one has left behind him an honoured name and an honourable record; and among no sect of the Jews was religion more a matter of life and death than among the disciples of this particular branch of Jewish mysticism.
them. "Have we not served you against the believers?" . . . They waver between the one and the other, belonging really to neither." 2

The Prophet condemns them severely: "At the discretion of the ar-Rigorist," the 'successor' of Muhammad, Abu Bakr, received a surname which shows how much his uprightness was appreciated and the great importance that was attached to this quality. He was called al-siddik, the 'true one,' the 'righteous one,' the 'upright one,' the 'sincere one.' Celebrities of an opposite character are the exception in Islam. In the earliest times we might mention Mu‘awiyyah, a clever, solid, and a victim of crafty disposition; and, in modern times, Muhammad 'Ali, who smiled on reading Machiavelli and said, 'Is that all?'

The proverbs offer some good formulations: "Truth has abandoned me, and I have no longer a sincere record," said Solomon; "Who shall find a man of integrity?" said one of the Psalms: "When truth arises it scatters falsehood." 3

They also contain some subtle psychological remarks:

"The unjust man gives nothing to anyone without getting double return." 4

The fine collection of anecdotes called the Mustatraf contains interesting allusions to sincerity, probity, and righteousness:

"If you say 'yes' about something, do it, for the word 'yes' constitutes a point which is obligatory on a well-born soul." 5

This work quotes Aristotle on the merit of telling the truth:

"The finest discourse, according to this philosopher, is that in which the orator expresses himself frankly, and from which the auditors receive benefits." 6

At the same time, the author of the Mustatraf does not convey the love of justice and truth beyond certain limits. There are times when the practical spirit gains the ascendancy:

"To be just towards some one who is not just may have disadvantages. In this case the unjust measure will be the better course." 7

And farther on he raises a point in casuistry which recalls the famous disputes of the Jesuits and the Jesuit of Lyons who said: 8

"It is said, he writes, 'that lying is laudable when its aim is to reconcile persons who have quarrelled, and that truth is blameworthy when it carries prejudice.'" 9

He gives this opinion as interesting, but takes no side.

If we turn to the accounts of historians and travellers, we find numerous passages in praise of the righteousness of Orientals, especially of the Persians and Arabs. This ascetic virtue in them is connected with the ancient patriarchal traditions. Let us give two or three passages at random.

"The Arabs," says A. de Lamartine, "carried respect for hospitality to the point of superstitious. Their most irreconcilable enemy found shelter, security, and even protection as soon as he succeeded in touching the cord of their tents or the hem of their scarce dress. These heroes, these patriarchs, these virtuous, even all the tenderness of chivalry, unknown in Europe until later, had passed into their customs from time immemorial." 10

Baron d'Aubry 11 cites the medieval romance of 'Antar 12 and the traveller Niehrud and Guermann, on the fidelity of the Arab Bedawin in the matter of hospitality. In 'Antar a young shepherd takes a horseman into his cave to shield him from the pursuit of his enemies. These arrive, and find that the guest has been thrust out. The heroic says: 'Withdraw forty cubits and I shall make him come out.' He then changes clothes with the man and makes him see. The hostile Arabs, recognizing the stratagem, admire the fidelity of the shepherd and let him go free.

An Englishwoman, Mrs. Horterstein, who has written a very interesting account of her adventures at the time of the Sepoy rebellion, praises the integrity of the Muslims, and relates how her elephant-driver, although himself a Muslim, hid her so that she might escape the rebels. 13

Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely.

LITERATURE.—See the works mentioned in the footnotes.

1. Qu'rin, iv. 140, 142.
2. Jb. iv. 144.
7. P. 488.
8. P. 782.

RIGORISM. 811

RIGORISM.—1. Eastern asceticism. In its philosophical sense the term 'rigorism' is applied to that form of ethical idealism which rates reason as the dominant power of the moral life, to the exclusion or subordination of the element of sensibility. Rigorism is thus the ethics of reason. The roots of rigorism lie far back in early Greek philosophy, notably in the naturalistic Cynic and in the transcendental Stoic schools. By the Stoics especially was rigoristic theory developed. The moral rigour of Christianity came to be widely embodied in the discipline and demands of the various monastic orders. As such applied, rigorism stands in opposition to laxity. Monasticism (qv.), as a system, is founded on a profession of rigour. In the East Basil the Great did much to promote ascetic stringency and disciplined monasticism within the Church. But, in spite of rigid regulations, Eastern laxity in the West the great Benedictine system soon came to absorb all the monachism of that region. It maintained a rigorous discipline, but was more practical and less contemplative than the monasticism of the East. And rigorism remained a dualistic view of the world (see Asceticism (Christian)); matter and spirit were to it incompatible. Its fault was to rest content with a negative ideal. The rigours of overstrained asceticism often passed into self-indulgence or were attended by spiritual pride and fanaticism. The Middle Ages, as marked by the rigorous poverty of St. Francis and the fanatical scourgings of the Flagellants (qv.) —a strange externalizing of the doctrine of penitence. The moral experience of the monastic life came at length to be fairly well represented in the 'seven deadly sins' and in the two opposed extremes of the moral laxity, inertness, and discontent which were summed up in the word 'accidio' (qv.).

2. Jansenist asceticism.—Rigorism was applied, in the 17th cent., to the Port Royalists as a byword from the outset of their history. They were called 'rigorists' because, at the Port Royal des Champs establishment, life was very simple and austere, and free from the grave laxity which had invaded the cloistered life. The term 'rigorist,' however, came to stand for a Jansenist. Jansenism (qv.) in its purity, which was of an ascetic rigour, stood in direct opposition to the worldly spirit of Molinism (qv.). The increasing hold of Jansenism, and the power of the Port Royal press, led to firm persecuting measures against the rigorists. Pascal, says Voltaire, 'was intimately connected with these illustrious and dangerous men.' Pascal (qv.) sought an ethical valuation of his ascetic rigour in the strength brought to man through mortification of his pride and desires, carrying his view, however, to an extreme. The Protestant view of mortifications was only that of their being an engine for warfare against flesh. But men in themselves meritorious. The rigorism of Christianity is dissolved in the love which is the fullment of the law.

3. The Kantian view.—In modern times rigorism is chiefly associated with Kant (qv.), who used it to denote an ascetic or anti-hedonist view of ethics.

The rigorism of Kant, however, was by no means without later adherents, in modernistic character in hedonistic and utilitarian directions. The happiness of others could be to him an end which was also a duty. But, speaking generally, the rigorism of Kant rejected from the outset every hedonistic reference as a motive to morality, which must be transcendental, and non-empirical content or trait (see artt. EUDEMONISM, HEDONISM, UTILITARIANISM).

This initial rigorism proved somewhat one-sided and extreme, since a certain happiness or satisfaction is the natural result of the fulfillment in morality of all the highest instincts of man. No one has, however, in the rigorism of Kant, in making the moral independent of empiric motives of utility and of all externalities, and in basing it on reason, whose demands are unconditionally obligatory and universally valid. But his conception of reason, however, just in this connexion, was too abstract and formal, too isolated from feeling and desire; hence it lacked the force which should have belonged to it. The basis of his rigorism was too narrow and subjective, and non-perception of the concrete character and relations of the moral order of life was transcendent, and lacking in vital elements. Its merit lay in its form; its defect was in its content, from which sensibility had been quite shut out. Hence the Kantian rigorism has had to be transformed by later idealists, as by Hegel, T. H. Green, E. Caird, and others, from the standpoint of organic connexion.

LITERATURE.—The Histories of Greek Philosophy of A. Stöckl (Mainz, 1835), A. H. Ritter (Hamburg, 1836–50); E. Zeller (Tübingen, 1853–68), W. Windelband (Münich, 1854), J. Burnet (London, 1850), A. W. Benn (d. 1862); E. Great. Less is known of the labors of N. F. Hase, Classical Philosophy in Germany and Britain, 1822–1846, 3 vols., (Eng. tr., London, 1847); C. H. Evans, Ethik des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1887), and History of the Modern Philosophy of Religion, 1846–1874, 3 vols., (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1874; London, 1875; translations by A. T. Swing in his Theology of Albrecht Ritschl), and Theologie und Metaphysik, Bonn, 1881 (a defence of his epistemology). Lectures and essays were collected in two volumes (Gesammelte Aufsätze, Freiburg, 1883–86), and also in his Life (Albrecht Ritschels Leben, 2 vols., d. 1892–90).

Only after thirty years' activity as a teacher did Ritschl begin to gather a school around him in 1875; and from 1881 onwards he was exposed to the cross-fire of criticism from orthodox and liberal theology on the one hand, and from socialism on the other. In his treatment of the problem of the Old Catholic Church he asserts in opposition to Baur the essential unity of the attitude of the apostles to Christ, the insignificance of Jewish Christianity for, and the dominant influence of Gentile Christianity on, the development of Old Catholicism. His attitude to piety is unsympathetic; yet he succeeds in showing its historical significance, while maintaining that its merits have been exaggerated, and that it did contain reactionary Catholic elements. Even his work has the characteristic excellence that he seeks to get to the root of doctrines and institutions in living piety. His influence as a theologian, however, does not rest on these works, but on his discussion of Justification and Reconciliation, which contains an expression of his development of his whole system.

II. THEOLOGY OF RITSCHL.—Ritschl's position may be fixed in relation to that of Kant, Hegel, and Schleiermacher on the one hand, and to physical science and literary and historical criticism on the other. While he shared Kant's tendency, as is shown in the prominence that he gives to the Kingdom of God as one of the foci of the ellipse to which he compares Christianity, he does not accept the subordination of religion to morality, but strives to assert its independence. His reaction against Hegelianism is seen in his rejection of the organic conception of the development of history, and the intrusion of philosophy into Christian theology in ecclesiastical dogma, and his antagonism to religious mysticism as a philosophically determined type of piety. The emotionalism of mysticism too is uncoiled and expelled with a feeling that in place of emotion in religion, he yet does not follow Schleiermacher in making feeling the distinctive feature of religion, or in emphasizing dependence as its characteristic relation, as he lays stress rather on the assertion of personality over against nature. By his theory of dogmatic judgments he seeks to ward off the intrusion of the principles or the methods of science into the realm of religion.
as well as the dominion of philosophy there. Although trained in the school of Baur and for a time an adherent, he does not fully recognize the transcendental influence of the historical method, and the results of which literary and historical criticism exercises and cannot but exercise. In throwing all the weight that he does on historical revelation, he fails to recognize how much its supports in the literary records have been exposed to attack by this method.

Ritschl's system may be described by four characteristics: (1) religious pragmatism, (2) philosophical agnosticism, (3) historical positivism, and (4) moral collectivism; and, even if we cannot present the whole content of his teaching in the discussion of these features, we shall emphasize what is distinctive of it.

1. Religious pragmatism.—(a) Definition of religion.—We must first of all examine his definition of religion. He refuses to make it dependent on morality or to mix it up with metaphysics, and claims for it a realm of its own. He wrote before the modern branches of knowledge—religions psychology and the comparative study of religions—had proved how universal and necessary a function of mankind-religion is; and doubtless, had he been influenced by these disciplines, his definition would have been more objective and less subjective. Unlike Kaftan, who attempts to define the common element, Ritschl, on the ground that such a definition would be too vague, seeks to determine the common tendency in religion, what in some religions may be so rudimentary as to be scarcely perceptible and can be detected only because it is seen more fully developed in other religions.

"In all religion," he says, "the endeavour is made with the help of the elemental spiritual power which man acquires, to trace the contradiction in which man finds himself as a part of the natural world, and as a spiritual personality, which makes the claim to freedom more.

He recognizes an intellectual factor in religion.

"The religious world-view in all its kinds has the aim, that man in some degree distinguishes himself in value from the appearances which surround him, and from the natural compulsions which press in on him. All religion is interpretation of the course of the world in whatever compass is recognized—in this sense that the existing spiritual power (or the spiritual power) which rules and or over it, maintain or confirm for the person independent of the inherent or inherited, or the current conditions by nature or the natural operations of human society."

As regards this world-view, he is altogether pragmatist.

"It can be shown regarding all other religions, that the knowledge, which makes use of人在 these, is constituted theoretically without interest, but according to practical objects."

This position the most recent thought supports; it is now generally admitted that religion does not primarily gratify intellectual curiosity, but satisfies practical necessity. In it man seeks some good for himself, however he conceives it (goods, goodness, God) by aid of the gods (or God). Ritschl's definition of the good is, however, too limited, and according to recent philosophy, it gives us a permanent feature of human thought and life.

(b) The ideal religion.—The tendency of all religion is completed in Christianity as the ideal religion.

"Cosmic Christianity is the monothestic, completely spiritual and ethical religion, which, on the basis of the life of its Founder as redeeming and as establishing the Kingdom of God, consists in the deeds of the Redeemer and God, including His passion, conduct from the motive of love, the intention of which is the moral organization of mankind, and in the filial relation to God as Father. The Kingdom of God lays the foundations of blessedness."

The ideal more than completes the tendency; the spiritual element of the filial relation to God and the ethical element of the motive of love go beyond the removal of the contradiction between man's knowledge of himself as a spiritual personality and his sense of his dependence on (aspect of) nature, and yet, in working out his system, Ritschl gives prominence to the consciousness of domination over the world as resulting from the confidence in God's universal providence which the assurance of God's forgiveness and its sins brings to the child of God.

(c) Doctrine of redemption.—While the doctrine of redemption and the Kingdom of God as the two foci of the ellipse of Christianity, in his conception of redemption an inadequate estimate of sin and its consequences results in an insufficient emphasis on the canceling of the guilt and the deliverance from the power of sin; and accordingly his representation of the Christian salvation does not correspond with what has been most distinctive of the evangelical type of Christian experience. He denies the doctrine of original sin, and regards sin as a personal fault because of ignorance; and he affirms the reality of guilt as disturbing the relation of man to God, and of the sense of guilt as the feeling which corresponds to this fact.

The standard for the judgment of sin is not a primitive perfection of man, or even an absolute law of God, but the historical process of God, the life of God, of which sin is the contradiction, and to which the totality of the sins of mankind may be regarded as a rival rule in history. There is no present wrath of God against sin; it is only a sense of guilt produced by the thought of the existence of those (if any) who finally oppose themselves to His Kingdom; there is, therefore, nothing in God corresponding to man's fear of His judgment or man's view of the evils of life as God's punishment of sin. God can and does pardon sin, rather long after the time, i.e., so long as God's purpose is not finally rejected.

(d) View of forgiveness.—As is the view of sin, so also is the view of forgiveness. While there is no hindrance either in God or in man to forgive, God is moved to forgive men—i.e. to restore to their filial relation with Himself—by His love to establish the ethical community of men, or the Kingdom of God on earth. This forgiveness (or justification, for Ritschl identifies the two) comes to men in the work of Christ as the Founder of the Kingdom of God. He reconciles God with His religious unity with God through all tests and trials, even unto death; and the relation to God, thus maintained, He reproduced in His community.

This common good the individual believer makes his own by faith, being dependent both logically and historically on the community (to this point we must return in dealing with Ritschl's moral collectivism). Reconciliation, as the removal of man's distrust and hatred of God, and not as any change in God, is consequent on forgiveness or justification. The believer has reached the certainty of salvation only when, conscious of his relation to God in Christ as justified and reconciled, he is also conscious that his relation to the world has changed; and dominion over has taken the place of dependence on the world. In his exposition of Christian experience, Ritschl thus returns to his starting-point in the tendency which he finds common to all religions.

Much had to be rejected which has hitherto been regarded as essentially Christian, in order that this conception of religion might be consistently maintained through its dependence on (aspect of) nature. One-sided as it is, it can be understood as a rejection of and opposition to naturalism, which reduces man to an insignificant result of the cosmic evolution, and even as a recoil towards the Kantian exaltation of moral personality from an absolute idealism, which makes the individual man but a
moment in the evolution of the Idea or Spirit. As the heart makes the theologian, so the theology of Ritschl reflects his independent, vigorous, even aggressive, personality.

2. Philosophical anti-theism. — This religious anti-theism — the opposition of cognition to sensation, of the interpretation of reality to the practical purposes of man, the maintenance of his own personality despite nature’s challenge — results in, and so explains, the second characteristic of his philosophy, viz. the rejection of God and Theism.

(a) Phenomenalism. — The speculative interest must be repressed, and the practical must dominate. Ritschl cares to know only what he needs to know. The attitude is similar to that of Confucius, who declined to discuss the subject of spirits or of the future life as not immediately useful. An individual peculiarity here betrays itself as well as a reaction from the extremes of Hegelian speculation. About Ritschl’s metaphysics (in fact only epistemology) we need not concern ourselves, as it is really an afterthought and not the basis of his system. His philosophical attitude may be very briefly indicated. It is at bottom a phenomenalism, which, while not denying the reality of the noumena, and even asserting that the noumena are apprehended in the phenomena, refuses, though not without reason, the basis of his system. He permits theology to discuss only the phenomenal, the work of Christ, and tries to stop its course before it reaches the noumena, the person of Christ, although, it must be added, not quite effectively.

(b) Independent theism rejected. — Unlike Schleiermacher, in whom mystical and metaphysical elements blended, Ritschl throws all the stress on the experience of the moral personality. He is not less opposed to pantheism than to naturalism or materialism. If the latter are both mistaken, there is a definite personal monothelism, which, however, he rests on an exclusively religious basis (with an inconsistent lapse to a moral argument), rejecting entirely speculative theism either as incompetent to deal with all the problem or as offering only a solution which is illogical on Christian faith. There is no doubt for his mind wavered between those opinions regarding the question whether philosophy could or could not reach any conception of God. In denying the competence of philosophy to reach a world-view, he not only had the whole history of philosophy against him, but he could not even maintain his own position consistently, for he did attempt philosophically to defend Christian monothelism against both pantheism and materialism; and he did seek to show the inadequacy of the theological argument. Independent theism was carried much farther than his purpose to defend the Christian idea of God against speculative modifications required, and than the truth in the matters in dispute justified. Further, he himself, in arguing against Strauss for personal God, asserted the rational principle in both the cosmological and the teleological arguments.


4 P. 197.
5 P. 214, Eng. tr., p. 224.
7 Ib. p. 194, Eng. tr., p. 203.

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‘the acceptance of the idea of God is not a practical belief, but an act of theoretical knowledge,’ in the third edition he concluded the same argument with the contradictory statement: ‘the acceptance of the idea of God is not a practical belief, but an act of theoretical knowledge.’

His inconsistency is due to conflicting aims. Disturbing philosophy, and desiring to assert the sole claims of faith, he yet wanted theology to be regarded as a science, and not to be ignored by philosophy. Refusing the alliance, he tried to ward off the antagonism of philosophy.

(c) Theory of value-judgments. — To the statement just quoted he adds: ‘If, accordingly, the correspondence of Christianity with reason is hereby proved, it is still true, with the reservation that the knowledge of God finds expression in another kind of judgment than that of the theoretical knowledge of the world.

Here he gives his alternative solution of the problem of the relation of philosophy and theology, as well as faith and religion. There need be neither alliance nor antagonism; there may be neutrality. Even if philosophy and theology be both competent to deal with the doctrine of God, their conclusions need not be put in rivalry or conflict, because due to the exercise of different mental functions upon different objects. There is the moral, the spiritual, but much misunderstood, theory of value-judgments.

To meet a common objection, it may be affirmed at the outset that the value-judgment is not less than God, and is better to act on than the theoretical judgment; it is just as much a judgment about reality, and not illusion, as is the other. The distinction between the two kinds of judgment Ritschl expresses as follows:

‘To seek to discern the difference in the sphere of the subject, I recall the double way in which the spirit further appropriates the sensations excited in it. These are determined in the feelings of pleasure and pain, according to their value for the ego. On the other hand, there is the representation judged in respect of its cause, of what kind it is, and what is its relation to other causes.’

The first way of regarding an object—its relation to, and value for, the self—yields the value-judgments; the second—its nature and relations—the theoretical judgments. As, however, even in knowledge there is, and cannot but be, interest, we must distinguish between accompanying and independent value-judgments. In the science we have the former, in religion the latter.

Independent value-judgments are all perceptions (Erscheinungen) of moral purposes, or hindrances to such purposes (Verweihung) in so far as they excite moral pleasure or pain, especially as they set the will in motion to appropriate good (Gut) or to protect itself against what is contrary. Not only are moral judgments value-judgments; so also are religious. Religious knowledge moves in Independent value-judgments, which refer to the position of man in regard to the world, and excite feelings of pleasure or pain, in which he either enjoys his dominion over the world accomplished by God’s help, or grievously feels the lack of the help of God for that end.

Religious value-judgments are concerned not with individual feelings, but with the universal relation of man to God as helped by God to gain dominion over the world; they are not merely subjective feelings, but objective—i.e. true for all who stand in this relation to God. What is true in the theory is that moral and religious judgments are conditioned by personal character and experience, unlike the theoretical judgments, in which methods of reasoning, common to all mankind, are applied. If a man is not apprehended by all sound senses. The pure in heart shall see God. If a man will to do the will, he shall know the doctrine. Although Ritschl’s ungrounded statements of the theory offer some
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justification for the charge, the theory does not necessarily involve an intellectual dualism—that, e.g., the philosophically true might be the theology false. The Ritschlian version of the unit of all truth must be maintained, and it must be our endeavor to unify our knowledge as to approach that unity as closely as we can; and Ritschel was wrong in attempting to arrest the process. But this does not exclude our recognizing the necessity of knowledge of the Ritschlian, necessary for different objects. The use that Ritschel made of the theory to prevent the thorough intellectual interpretation of the objects of Christian faith is to be condemned—not the theory itself. Religion by its very nature is concerned with ultimate reality. Its quest can end only when the eternal God is its refuge and underneath are the eternal arms; and therefore to use a theory of religious knowledge to shut up faith within the phenominal, and to shut it out of the noumenal, is to deny it its full and abiding satisfaction. In religion the value of the object for the subject may be the starting-point, but its goal can be the assurance of its reality, and its harmonious relation to the totality of reality; e.g., Christ loses His value for faith as God, if there lingers the doubt that there lacks the assurance, that He is God in reality.

(d) Ecclesiastical dogma.—Rejecting the aid of philosophy on the one hand, and limiting the scope of religious knowledge to value-judgments on the other, Ritschel is necessarily opposed to the method of dogma and does not in the first volume of his great work he gives an account of the history of the doctrine, and disserts not from results only, but also from methods; in the third volume he criticizes as he constructs. It is Harnack, however, who in his Diumagenscheschrift (5 vols., Tübingen, 1908, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1894—99) has most fully carried out the Ritschlian condemnation of ecclesiastical dogma. Into the details of this criticism it is not necessary for the present purpose to go.

3. The doctrine of Christ.—An instance, but a crucial one, of the application of the Ritschlian method is the doctrine of Christ. Here we can test most thoroughly its adequacy as an interpretation of Christian faith. The place that Ritschel assigns to Christ in the Christian religion puts it beyond doubt or question him, that he means to affirm the divinity of Christ in reality and truth, although as a value-judgment, i.e., on the basis of Christian experience. His criticism of ecclesiastical dogman is very severe; and he intends to affirm that Christ is divine even more adequately and correctly than it has done. Whatever we may think of his result, we must assume this intention, if we are to do him justice. He modifies the current teaching about the work of Christ, from which, he insists, we must start in dealing with the doctrine; (a) He re—affirms personal vocation for office; (b) He lays stress on the likeness of the Founder and the members of the Christian community on the ground that 'what Christ is for us must be verifie in the transfer of His worth to us'; (c) consistently with the peculiar position of the Ritschlian dogma in his conception of Christian life, he subordinates the priestly (or Godward) and the prophetic (or manward) function to the kingly; (d) instead of assigning the three functions to different periods, he gives them all in the same measure of unity in the exercise of all the three in the state of di-rect judgment and of exaltation. The perfect fulfillment, in doing as in suffering, of his vocation yields us the ethical estimate of his person. His vocation being what it is, the revelation of God to man and of man to God, i.e., wholly within the mutual relation of God and man, the religious valuation inevitably follows on the ethical in the predicate of His divinity. He who in all respects perfectly realizes the relation of God to man and of man to God. As He in His vocation identifies Himself with God, so God in His mind and will identifies Himself with Him.

The personal purpose of Christ for Himself has the same content as the relation of God to man as God, e.g., Christ knew and wills as much: and accordingly He as the center of the relation of God to man and of man to God. As He in His vocation identifies Himself with God, so God in His mind and will identifies Himself with Him. The personal purpose of Christ for Himself has the same content as the relation of God to man as God, e.g., Christ knew and wills as much: and accordingly He as the center of the relation of God to man and of man to God. As He in His vocation identifies Himself with God, so God in His mind and will identifies Himself with Him. The personal purpose of Christ for Himself has the same content as the relation of God to man as God, e.g., Christ knew and wills as much: and accordingly He as the center of the relation of God to man and of man to God. As He in His vocation identifies Himself with God, so God in His mind and will identifies Himself with Him.

Even although He brings men into the same relation to God as He holds Himself, He nevertheless in our religious estimate of Him as God is unique. As He as the Founder of the Kingdom of God, or as the bearer of the Kingdom of God over all, is the Unique One [Einzige] in comparison with all others who have received from Him the same final determination [Zweckbestim- mung] of His will, so He is also the only one in whose eternal self-end God makes His own eternal self-end in an original manner alone and manifest, whose whole action in His vocation accordingly forms the content of the complete revelation of God present in Him, or in whom the Word of God is a human person.

So far many theologians would heartily go with Ritschel, but he bids them stop here. Christ is given to men as the Revealer of God that they may believe in Him; and this faith in Him can be disturbed only by vain attempts to offer a scientifical explanation of the relation of God to man. That the theologian cannot arrest his inquiry at this point Ritschel himself shows by going beyond it at a later stage of his discussion. The reasons for which the predicate of divinity may be ascribed to Christ are: (a) His grace and truth, (b) His mission in the world, (c) His oneness in being as God and man alike in action and in passion, (d) His success in establishing on earth a community in which He reproduces His own relation to God, which, original in Him, is imparted to others by Him. At this point Ritschel makes his speculative attempt to get from the phenomenal to the noumenal, from the temporal to the eternal. His statement must be given in his own words, lest a paraphrase might put too much or too little into them:

'The unity and the similarity with God, which the Kingdom of God ultimately possesses in order to be understood as the objective of the love of God, belongs to the same only in so far as it is evoked by the Son of God, and subordinates itself to Him as the Son.

Accordingly the lovd of God must be directed first place to the Son of God, and only for His sake to the community of which He is the center. The tasks of the community, further, are eternally posted in the loving will of God, then it arises from this knowledge, that the specific significance of Christ for us is not already exhausted in this, that we value Him as a revelation temporarily limited. But it further belongs to this—

that He as the Founder and as the Lord over the Kingdom of God, is in the very object the eternal knowledge and volition of God as is the moral union of men, through which Him becomes possible, and which possesses in Him its type, or rather that it is the unity of the divine knowledge and volition also precedes His community.'

This statement might mean only an ideal pre-existence of the community as of the Founder. While Ritschel, on the one hand, re-asserts the conviction of the mystery of the relation of the Son to the Father—the eternal divinity of the Son of God is completely intelligible for God Himself alone—yet, on the other, he asserts the necessity for our thought of setting aside as regards God the differ- ence which is traceable in the fact that the oneness in the Father and the Son of God has in His conception of Christian life, he subordin-ates the priestly (or Godward) and the prophetic (or manward) function to the kingly; (d) instead of assigning the three functions to different periods, he gives them all in the same measure of unity in the exercise of all the three in the state of direct judgment and of exaltation. The perfect fulfilment, in doing as in suffering, of his vocation yields us the ethical estimate of his person. His vocation being what it is, the revelation of God to man and of man to

1 Rechtleitung und Vereinszweck, iii. 355, Eng. tr. p. 435.
5 ib.
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for God as they are recorded for us: for he does recognize that as pro-existing Christ is a mystery to us, and cannot, therefore, be in all particulars just as the Kingdom of God is known. His idea is that God recognizes Him as divine, that and that only we may suppose to exist eternally in God. This falls short but moves in the direction of the doctrine of the Trinity as speculatively construed, in which stress is laid on the necessity of a personal object of the love of God. It is more debatable whether and volition might be ideal; must not an external object of love be personal? And does not Ritschl in the statement quoted speak of God's love as first directed to the Son? The conclusion of the matter seems to be that he goes as far in affirming real pre-existence as his phenomenological allows.

3. Historical positivism.—Rejecting the aid of philosophy in giving objectivity to the judgments of value, Ritschl seeks to escape the subjectivism which his theory of knowledge in religion seems to involve by his historical positivism in criticism. This is often forgotten in the criticism of Ritschl is that the judgments of value do not give themselves their own content; in them through religious appreciation there is intellectual apprehension of an objective reality; and that reality is given in a historical rather than arbitrary way.

(a) Attitude to revelation.—In his attitude to historical revelation there are both attachment to, and detachment from, his intellectual environment. With Hegel he values history in relation to the moral and religious life of man, as the 18th cent. with its abstract rationalism had failed to do. To this his religious pragmatism also led him; the religion which achieves dominion over the world must have firm footing in the world. Nevertheless, though he was for a time an adherent of the school of Gaur, and preserved the methodical critical disposition which he had found in his teacher, he was not able to maintain that his treatment of the Scriptures is not always critical; his exegesis is sometimes dogmatic rather than historical. Further, he isolates the Christian religion and its forerunner, the Hebrew, from the general and universal history of human history; he is unaffected by the influence of religious psychology and the comparative study of religions, which dominate the religious-historical school.

(b) Use of the Scriptures.—Ritschl does not see the Bible, as the Protestant scholastics had done, as an inspired textbook of theology. His conception of religion limits his appreciation of revelation; the divine supply in revelation corresponds to the human demand in religion. His conception of the Kingdom of God, as we shall see, is not historical, but dogmatic, and may be taken as an instance of how he uses the Scriptures as the basis of his system. The person and work of Christ as the Revealer of God, and so the Founder of the Kingdom of God—that is his dominating interest. But he recognizes the value of the interpretation of Christ by the primitive community. As the Founder of the community, He can be understood only as we know what the community, in its historical beginnings, thought of Him; and the inquirer must even assume the same relation to Him when no act of man, Godward in human history; he is unaffected by the influence of religious psychology and the comparative study of religions, which dominate the religious-historical school.

The full compass of His historical reality one can reach only from the faith in Him of the Christian community; and even his intention to found the same cannot be understood historically. He does not perceive the historical significance of His Person as a member of that community. ... It would be a fatal error to regard the form of the Kingdom of God as the result of a development of forms of thought, but in maintaining them erect in theological use, because they serve the purpose of expressing most distinctively the character of Christianity and Judaism.

Thus the idea of the Kingdom of God is interpreted not at all eschatologically, and not only ethically, but soteriologically. The Pauline circle of ideas which already is known as apostolic. This does not involve, however, that Ritschl sets up Paul as an infallible theological authority. When he does not agree with Paul, he does not hesitate in setting aside his teaching; an apostolic idea is not necessarily a theological rule. There is evidence of a difficulty in his use of the Scriptures. A doctrine is true, not because it is in the Bible, but because it verifies itself experimentally and practically.

(c) Pragmatic view of the Bible.—Ritschl does not deal with the apologetic problem of proving the value and authorship of the Scriptures. He writes for and within the Christian community, for which the problem does not press for solution. With all that is included in Christian evidences he does not concern himself. Maintaining as he does the independence of religion, it is probable that the answer which he would have given to the question of the authority of the Scriptures would have been that they are the records of the historical revelation which meets the religious need of man. Here again is pragmatism; what works as religion is true as religion. His historical positivism explains his antagonism to the two types of religion which depreciate history—mysticism and philosophical theism. The problems that now press on us most are those for which he offers no solution directly.

4. Moral collectivism.—As a historical revelation gives the content to the value-judgments (the formal principle), so the Kingdom of God gives the regulative idea (the material principle, as the doctrine of justification had been at the Reformation).

(a) The primacy of the doctrine of the Kingdom. It is true that he speaks of the Kingdom of God and redemption as the two foci of Christianity; but there can be no doubt that in reality he subordinates the doctrine of redemption to the doctrine of the Kingdom as the means to the end on account of the recognized teleological character of Christianity. The account which he gives of the relation in the mind of Christ between the two ideas points to such a subordination:

'The purpose recognized by Christ of the universal moral Kingdom of God has to be realized by the Church in order to find a solution for the kind of redemption which He accomplished by maintaining His fidelity to His vocation and His blessed communion with God in suffering unto death.' So also does his speculative deduction of the Kingdom of God from the love of God as its necessary object. Further, in his treatment of sin and salvation the conception of the Kingdom of God dominates; he is concerned not with man's actual condition of sin, but with his possible destination as a citizen of the Kingdom of God. While Christian theology must be pietistic, resting on personal faith, bibliophile, getting its contents from the Scriptures, and Christocentric, having Christ as its standard, it is as the Founder of the Kingdom (the King) that He is God (the Prophet) and redeems man (the Priest).

(b) The Kingdom defined. It has already been pointed out that Ritschl's use of the idea of the Kingdom of God is quite unintentional, as the recent discussion of his understanding of the term has shown. So he regards the good, oneness as much as it is the same time it is reckoned as the moral ideal, for the realization of which the members of the community bind themselves to one another by a definite mode of reciprocal action. 1

1 See Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung, III. 341, Eng. tr., p. 7.
2 Ib. p. 9.
3 Ib. p. 10.
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While the religious good (justification and redemption) is put in the forefront, yet the second
clause shows that the religious good is subordinated
to the moral ideal. It is quite in accord with
Ritschl's religious pragmatism, with its emphasis on action rather than thought or feeling, with its
directness, free from philosophy and its attachment
to history, with the natural acceptance implicit in this
moral collectivism. His affinity is with Kant
rather than Hegel or Schleiermacher; but he ad-
bances beyond Kant's individualism to collectivism.
It is to the community that the religious good of
justification or redemption belongs, and the indivi-
dual appropriates the good for himself only as he
reckons himself a member of that community and
within it sets himself, by actions from the motive
of love, to the realization of its common ideal. If
redemption is a means towards the Kingdom of
God, Ritschl is quite consistent in maintaining
that the individual can make this good his own
only as he enters the community and accepts its
common tasks. While, of course, he is not think-
ing of an ecclesiastical organization exclusively,
he so far identifies Church and Kingdom that it is
true that he is interested in the question of who,
what or which are the persons who are saved by
God's grace, and what or which are the persons
who are saved by God's grace, and as the other acts,
in the relations of its members, from love, the
Church being as it were the Kingdom on its knees with hands folded
in prayer, and the Kingdom the Church on its feet
with hands outstretched towards its Divine
source. As identical with the Kingdom, Ritschl
would say of the Church: 'Extra ecclesiam nulla
salus.' The individual is not forgiven by God's
grace, immediate and direct, when he repents and
believes; but these isolated acts of justification
are (as we shall see presently) the temporal appear-
ance of the eternal resolve of justification for mankind for
Christ's sake; 1 for 'there is One Divine predestination according to which out
of the total possible mass (total mass, organic total) of the new creation
will be evoked.'
Ritschl does not in these words teach a restricted
election, as he admits that God's wrath conditions
God's love only as the resolve of God finally to extinguish the life of those who ultimately oppose
themselves to His purpose in the Kingdom; but
still it is the community rather than the individual
that is his interest as a theologian. Further, in
developing this argument he maintains that God's
purpose is realized in nations rather than in indivi-
duals, so that it is in his citizenship and conse-
quent participation in the national religion that
the individual becomes a member of the Christian
community; and that only the historical nations
of the West seem capable of realizing that purpose.
This is a trait characteristic of German theology,
which since the days of Luther has identified
nation and Church, patriotism and piety, in a way
which recalls the national religion of the OT
rather than the individualism so strongly praised
by Jeremiah and Ezekiel and, therefore, the univer-
salism (presented even in the Deutero-Isaiah)
of the NT.
(c) The savor of the Spirit.—We may briefly
recall the merit of Ritschl in emphasizing
Christian character and conduct against a mere
religious dogmatism or emotionalism (orthodoxy
or pietyism) and in giving prominence to the Christian
community. The NT demands the fruits of the
Spirit as the test and proof of faith; and the latter
Flower through the grace of the
Son has for Paul its issue in the savor of the Spirit
(not the individual possession of a common
Spirit, but the common participation in one Spirit).
Yet Ritschl is one-sided; Christian experience as
the realized relation of God and man has its own
intrinsic value, and not merely as the βωμος, of
1 Rechtsfertigung und Verwöhnung, ill. 123, Eng. tr., p. 128f.
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which character is the τελειος, even although
faith is energetic in love (Gal. 5:6). For
as Christ has taught us, cares for, seeks, and
saves each and all of His children. Ritschl's antag-
onism both to mysticism and to pietyism is due to this
moral collectivism.
III. The School of Ritschl.—Although
Ritschl had many influential scholars, it was not till
after thirty years' activity that his school began
to be formed. It was a letter of W. Herrmann
(Jan. 1875) that Ritschl himself regarded as the
beginning of a common theological movement.
Herrmann had been a disciple of Ritschl out of
Tholuck and Julius Müller (both mediatorial
theologians), and yet he confessed that Ritschl's
views had had a decisive influence on his theo-
logical development. 1 In 1876 Harnack extended
his influence to Leipzig. Schüler as editor of the
Theologische Literaturzeitung in 1878 also made
it the chief organ of the school, until it came to be
represented also by the Christliche Welt in 1887,
and the Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche in 1891.
From 1876 appeared the Zeitschrift für die
Kirchengeschichte, of which Ritschl himself was an
active contributor. By the influence of Stade,
there was formed in Giessen, in 1878, a theological
faculty largely inspired by Ritschl, and including,
besides Stade, F. Kattenbusch, E. Schüler, A.
Harnack, and J. Gottschick. In Göttlingen itself
Ritschl did not enjoy any general popularity; but
many of the best students came to him. Although
his personality impressed those who came into
contact with him, his influence was exercised
mainly by his writings, and continued as great
after his death as during his life. His theology
was mainly dominated by the doctrines of
Bonn, Jena, and (for a short time) Leipzig.
Herrmann Schultz and J. F. T. Brieger, though
not his students, associated themselves with
Ritschl. To the first generation of his students,
besides those that are mentioned above, belong J.
Kaufman, T. Häring, P. Lobsiein, and H. W. Wendt;
and to the second circle of those who had either
heard Ritschl himself or been influenced by some of his
followers belong S. Eek, O. Kirn, F. W. B.
Bornemann, F. A. Loofs, M. W. T. Reischel, F. M.
Rade, Otto Ritschl, P. Traub, J. Weiss, and even
G. Troeltsch, who was however later the leader of
other paths. By the end of the 19th cent., however,
divergences of interest and conviction showed
themselves, and the unity of the school was broken.
Some of the older Ritschians, whose interests
were critical, have gone over to the religious
historical school; others, whose interests were in
dogmatics, have attached themselves to the modern
positive school, which seeks, on the one hand, to
retain the orthodox inheritance, and yet, on the
other hand, by restatement to meet the demands of
literary and historical criticism. It must be
admitted then that, while Ritschl has permanently
enriched theology in his writings, the school which
was formed by his influence has run but a short
course.
1. Features common to all disciples.—Although
ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to
Ritschl, yet his disciples are also so given to asserting
their independence even by criticism of the
master that Pfeiderer has asked the question:
'1 Do not their opinions now already differ in so many ways
that it appears perilous to bring them together under a common
label? 2
Nevertheless there are several common features:
[1] The exegesis of the NT as a rejection consequent of speculative theism;
[2] The condemnation of ecclesiastical dogma as an illegitimate mixture of theology
and metaphysics; [3] the agitation shown to religious mysticism as a metaphysical
type of pietism; [4] the practical

conception of religion; [6] the consequent contrast between religion and the ethical theory of life; [7] the emphasis laid on the historical revelation of God in Christ as opposed to any natural revelation; [8] the explicit denial of the regulative principle of Christian dogmatics; [9] the tendency to limit theological investigation to the contents of religious consciousness, and to ignore all contact with the natural science.

Not all the adherents of the school have concerned themselves with all these features; some were attracted to Ritschl in one way, others in another; and yet there is such organic unity in Ritschli's system that we may claim in these respects agreement.

2. Hermann.—Herrmann has in his Metaphysik in der Theologie (Halle, 1878) and in his Die Religion im Verhältniss zum Welterkennen und zur Sittlichkeit (do. 1879) treated with vigour and rigour the relation of metaphysics to theology. His book, Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott (Stuttgart, 1886, 1892, Eng. tr., The Communion of the Christian with God, London, 1906), which may be described as a religious classic, expresses unrestrainedly, in its critical discussion, the antagonism to religious mysticism, and yet in its positive treatment of the relation of the Christian to God through Christ it is marked by what many would call mysticism; for it very closely resembles what has been called Paul's faith-mysticism. It is true that it confines 'the inner life' of Jesus, in which the Christian is found of God, to the historical Jesus of Nazareth, and omits the spiritual book of meaning to suppose that Herrmann confines communion with God to the recalls, however, vivid, of the earthly Jesus, and excludes experience of the heavenly Christ as a present reality, and confines the kingdom of the heavenly Jesus. It is against a metaphysical and a non-historical mysticism that Ritschlianism sets itself; but it goes beyond the NT when, as in Ritschl and Hermann (not Kaftan), it excludes the Risen and Exalted Lord as the object of knowledge. In the same way it goes beyond the NT when it confines the definition of the kingdom of Christ to the NT revelation, and, without excluding, and ultimately admitting, the Scriptures generally as the channel of revelation, it holds that it is in the fact of the 'inner life' of Jesus that God primarily reveals Himself to us. His moral and spiritual influence, and, in the hands of the Church, the sins of his followers, the other, give us certainly of, and confidence towards, God as love. He so lays stress on the personal experience of inward transformation by this 'inner life' of Jesus as God's act of revelation that he obscure the truth that there is preserved and diffused in the Holy Scriptures the permanent and universal historical revelation, as the ever available source of this personal experience (see Der Bergfrih der Offenlauung, Giessen, 1885, Warum bedarf unser Glaube geschichtoll, Thatsachen?, Halle, 1884). While Ritschl offers no proof of the truth of the Christian revelation, Herrmann answers the question as follows:

'There are two objective bases on which the Christian conceptions of communion with God rests. First, the historical fact of revelation; and secondly, the fact of our own reality. . . Secondly, the fact that the moral demand lays claim to our actions. Christians who have experience of this need cannot take it as a grievous problem for us, and begins to be the element in which we live. . . Other objective bases there are not for the truth of this doctrine.'

There is a warm glow of personal devotion to Christ in Herrmann which is somewhat lacking in Ritschl himself. He has latterly given more attention to the subject of the Christian ethics (Könischkattol. und evangl. Sittlichkeit, Marburg, 1900 [Eng. tr., Religious and Moral Morals, London, 1904]), Ethik, Tübingen, 1901, Die sittlichen Weisungena. Jésus, Göttlingen, 1904).”

3. Kaftan.—Kaftan, to whom Ritschl was indebted for the term 'value-judgment,' often takes quite an independent course. He admits a mystical element in Christian faith, and objects to the narrowing of the term by Ritschl and Herrmann. But he insists that 'the highest good of Christianity is the kingdom of God above the world,' and that consequently 'to this religion as a way is absolutely impossible to move away from the world, and an ethically side towards the world.'

Kaftan also differs from Ritschl in his definition of religion. Instead of describing this common tendency, he claims to be able to determine the common element—man's feeling of dissatisfaction with this world, and the search for a satisfying good, either natural or moral, in or beyond the world. On the postulate by the practical reason he cannot go, he restates the proof of the true faith of Christianity. In Das Wesen der christl. Religion (of which the first edition appeared in 1881) he deals with the nature of the Christian religion; in the companion volume, Die Wahrheit der christl. Religion (Basel, 1888, Eng. tr., The Truth of the Christian Religion, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1894), he offers the proof of its truth: (a) first of all he gives a criticism of ecclesiastical dogma in order to expose its failure as an apologetic; (b) next, insisting on the primacy of the practical reason, he rejects the traditional speculative method; (c) lastly he puts his own postulate, the 'Only the Christian idea of the kingdom of God as the chief good of humanity, answers to the requirements which can be made of the true, moral, historical and religious chief good.' (d) There has been a 'special revelation of that kingdom of God in history.' (e) As these two postulates of the critical reason have been failed in the case of the Christian religion, the reasonableness and the absoluteness of the faith reposed in it have been proved.

As the second stage of the above argument shows, Kaftan also attaches importance to the historical character of revelation. He has turned his attention to the restatement of the Christian faith in the new intellectual situation (Glaube und Dogma, Bielefeld, 1889, Branchen wir ein neues Dogma?, do. 1890, Zur Dogmatik, Tübingen, 1904; especially noteworthy is his Dogmatik, do. 1897). As these titles show, he does not accept Harnack's restriction of the term 'dogma.' What he means by it is the intellectual expression of the contents in faith.

4. Other writers.—Kaftan and Herrmann represent the more positive tendency in the Ritschlian school, and on many points of doctrine desire to come to an understanding with the evangelical theology; still more so Haring. Harnack, whose manifold interests and activities have led him to some critical studies, and, by the side of the school, to a more positive standpoint. His Christliche Glaubenslehre (Halle, 1892) is a brief summary of Christian doctrine of a constructive tendency. He, as it were, stretched one hand backward in his helpful exposition of the theoretical history of religion in Werturteile und Glaubensurteile (Halle, 1900), and one forward in his critical discussion of the methods of the now dominant religious-historical school in his Theologie und Religionsgeschichte (Tübingen, 1904). Rateb reckons Otto Rahn's and the
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theory of value-judgments in his pamphlet Uber Werththeilthe (Freiburg, 1893). Both lie and Reisch have done much to remove misconceptions and to introduce modifications so as to get rid of objections to this characteristic feature of the Ritschlian theology.

IV. THE INFLUENCE OF RITSCHL. — What gave Ritschl his influence over so many notable scholars is, I think, the personal quality and his wide learning would not have been noticed, were not the theological situation given him his opportunity. The service which he rendered, according to Rade, 1 was fivefold: he broke the Hegelian yoke; he ended the confusion and compromise of the mediating theology; he was more fully the exponent of Luther than the Neo-Lutherans; he was truly a Biblical theologian; and he had regard both to the interests of the Church and to the claims of practical life.

1. The new theological position. — Since his influence in his school was dependent to some extent on these temporary conditions, the changed intellectual situation has necessarily lessened that influence, as the differences within the school itself show. Three changes may be specially mentioned. The first has been a philosophical revival—a neo-idealism which Ritschls discilples have adopted, but which, as has already been indicated, has affected members of his school; so that those who have not identified themselves with the tendency have been compelled to offer a defence of their faith against it. Probably the greatest contrast between the theological position of Ritschls school and that of the church is the extent of knowledge. The literary criticism, of which Ritschl did not take full account as it existed in his own day, has developed into a historical criticalism, against the negative conclusions of which Ritschls thought was destined to be reasserted. The second change is the recognition of the Church's right and power to concern itself with the religious and the political and the practical problems of the world. The third change is the awareness of the extent of religious knowledge, and the necessity to ascertain its influence on the religious life of his time. Ritschls work is part of this scientific movement of the Church, the expression of which is the study of modern religions, and the attempt to know and understand them as religious phenomena.

2. Weaknesses in the Ritschlian teaching. — Weaknesses in his theology, apart from its irrelevance to the problems and needs of the hour, have been more clearly recognized with the lapse of time. The epistemological foundation is not solid, but shifting sand. His conception of religious knowledge is far too cerebral to be of any practical use. It is a personal conception, and the Church is not a personal concretion. It is a concept of a religious life, and the Church is not a personal life. It is the Church that has a religious life, and the Church is not a personal life. It is the Church that has a religious life, and the Church is not a personal life.

3. Ritschl's merit. — Has his theology then only been of historical interest, and no present value? So vigorous a personality in a masterly way shaping a system which, apart from some inconsistencies, has an organic unity so lacking in much of the theological thought of to-day commands respect. In time the whole system required many cross-currents in religious thought and life in order to be learned from the independence and solidity of his religious attitude; and against the many challenges of religion his assertion of its place and power as giving sure footing to the soul is reassuring. This appeal to the Christian in every age will never lose its force. That he rescued theology from its precarious support in philosophy and discovered for it the foundations in history remains his merit, even if historical criticism makes the defence of his position more difficult than it ever appeared to be to him. From him too theologians may learn to construct as they criticize—to advance to new positions not by disregarding the thought of the past, but by rethinking and, when needful, reshaping that thought. A theology will bear richest fruit for the future which strikes deepest into the spirit and the heart in the working of human insight. Ritschls stress on the Christian community is not only in harmony with the modern conception of society as organic, but is a necessary corrective of an individualism within the Christian church which has not yet recognized the significance of that conception. While his representation of Christianity as an ellipse with two foci may well be forgotten, his inability to maintain it is a convincing proof of the need of some one regulative principle in theology. If modern scholarship has forbidden the Church to regard it as 'Kingdom of God,' some other conception more central still must be sought for. Can it not be found in the Christian doctrine of God as expressed in the apostolic benediction — the love of the Father through the grace of the Son in the community of the Holy Ghost? 2

4. British appreciation. — In Britain Ritschlianism at first had a very hostile reception; but soon the tide turned, and, although the movement never gained any popularity, and no prominent British theologian has avowed himself a disciple of Ritschl, the interest he has inspired and the good will has been considerable. The first generation of Ritschlians reached their maturity, and their influence increased; it is probable, however, that, as in the land of its birth, so here, the influence of the school is at an end; but in the matters mentioned above it has made a permanently valuable contribution to Christian thought.


1 Bocc. iv. 2266.

2 Are many practical problems of to-day which he betrays no knowledge whatever.
It will be convenient at once to indicate the periods into which, by the common consent of inquirers, the history of the Roman religion falls. They are four: viz. (I.) from the earliest times (no more definite limit can be assigned at the end of the regal period—an age lasting, we may presume, for several centuries, in which the religion was in the main that of the city-State proper, answering to the jus civile in the sphere of law, and in fact constituting a part of it; (II.) from the time of Rome's recognition by the Greek world; (III.) from the war with Hannibal—a period of nearly three centuries (507–218 B.C.), in which the increasing commercial and political intercourse with foreign peoples and the spread of the Roman dominion in Italy brought in new worships and began to cause the neglect of the old ones; (IV.) from the Hannibalic war to the age of Augustus, in which the same process was continued with ever increasing strength, while the intellectual awakening under the influence of Greek philosophy sapped the faith of almost all educated men in the efficacy of their cults, and in the very existence of their deities; (IV.) from the age of Augustus to that of the Antonines—a period which is marked, on the one hand, by a partially successful attempt to revive the old cults and, on the other, by the introduction of new ones, with a change in meaning, viz. the worship of the Emperors. The characteristics of these four periods will be traced in detail in the course of this article; but it will be necessary first to give some account (a) of the sources of information on which we depend for our knowledge of the Roman religion, and (b) of the principal modern works in which those sources have been utilized with good results.

(a) Ancient authorities.—The most important evidence that we have of the original character of the religion of the Roman State is contained in the surviving religious calendars, or Fasti, of which we have fragments of about thirty, and one almost complete. These exist chiefly on stone, but for four of them we have to depend on written copies of lost originals; they were edited together by Mommsen, in vol. 1. of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, and we have the benefit of a revision of this edition by the same hand, published in 1893, with one or two newly found fragments. They all date from between 31 B.C. and A.D. 51, and thus represent the calendar as revised by Julius Caesar; indeed, it is fortunate that the year of the original Republican calendar, first published, according to Roman tradition, in 304 B.C., is fully preserved in them, as Mommsen conclusively showed. This skeleton is easily distinguished from later additions by the large capital letters in which it is inscribed or written in all the fragments that we possess; it gives the days of the month with their religious characteristics as affecting State business (e.g., V. = fastus, a day on which legal business may lawfully be transacted, and N. = nefastus, on which it is unlawful and ill-omened) and the names of the great religious festivals which concern the whole State, including the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, or days of the new moon, the first quarter, and the full moon. Excluding the latter, we have the festivals, in order, of the Equus, the Equilia, the festivals, from the Equirria on March 14 to the festival of the same name on Feb. 27, the last day of the old Roman year; and, though it is not in every case by any means possible to recover the meaning of the name, yet it is obvious that these festivals, which have left such a distinct and clear record in their right place both in each month and in the year, must be the foundation of all scientific study of the religious practices of the Roman State, taken together with the additions in
smaller capitals, which date from the Republican period. (For fuller information about the Fasti see How Different It Was and Why, which is now published by Munster in 2838; also condensed in Fowler’s Roman Festivals, p. 11 af.)

This invaluable record would, however, be of little use to us, were it not for other evidence of a varied character supplied by Roman literature and by Greek writers on Roman subjects, to which must be added the commentary in Fasti, the Fasti of Preller, and Chiefly in those found at Praeneste and in the groves of the Fratres Arvalae.

Two men of real learning, who lived and wrote at the end of the Republican period and at the beginning of the Empire, would, if we only had their works complete, furnish us with an immense amount of detail, both on the public religious calendar and on the religious life of the family and gens at Rome: these are Varro and Verrius Placeus, who, though deeply affected by ideas in reality quite foreign to the Roman religion proper, took great pains to investigate the facts and the meaning of the ancient rites. Earlier writers are of comparatively little use to us, for Roman literature began in an age when men were far more interested in politics or in Greek philosophy than in the religious condition of their people. We proceed therefore to Fasti, and it was only with the revival of that religion under Augustus that scholars, poets, historians, and writers on law began to interest themselves in it once more.

The works of Varro and Verrius have come down to us in a fragmentary condition or embedded in the works of others, such as Servius, Nonius, Gellius, Macrobius, Plutarch, and some of the Christian Fathers, especially Tertullian and Augustine. Three other writers of the Augustan age, whose works are partly incomplete, need special mention: Livy, who in religious matters, like Varro and Verrius, made some use of the books of the Pontifices, the sacred archives of the old religion; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was for some time in Rome, and occasionally records what he saw as well as what he had learnt of Roman rites; and Ovid, whose six books of poetical commentary on the Fasti contain a great deal that is curious and interesting about the festivals from January to June, mixed up with stories of late Greek origin and fanciful explanations which call for correction as well as appreciation. No, however, of the works of art we have very few until the Empire, and the few we have are difficult of interpretation; nor is it likely that modern excavation will produce anything that will throw much light, except indirectly, on the problems with which we have to deal. Thus it may fairly be said that at every point in the detail of this religion we are met by very serious difficulties, owing not only to the fragmentary condition of our authorities, but to the difficulty of explaining and piecing together what survives of them (Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, ch. 1.).

(b) Modern research.—Until the 19th cent. very little progress had been made in this work of reconstruction and interpretation; but the new impulse given by Niebuhr to the study of early Roman religion, the general interest in searching, and the names of Hartung, Ambrosch, Schwiegker, Preller, Marquardt, Jordan, Wissowa, and Aust are now familiar to all students of the subject. Of these the most important are Marquardt, who in his commentaries in Fasti, the facts of the worship of the Romans as the only legitimate basis for arriving at any conclusions as to their religious ideas (Römische Staatsverwaltung, ill., ed. Wissowa, Leipzig, 1855; Preller, whose Römische Mythologie (ed. Jordan, Berlin, 1881-83) is indispensable, and Vandendriessche, inasmuch as it is based on a conception of the Roman deities as impersonations of natural forces which is now generally acknowledged, is in great part misleading; and Wissowa, whose Religion und Kultus der Römer (Munich, 1902 [2nd ed., much improved, 1912], vol. v. pt. 4 of Iwan Müller’s Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft) is at present the most complete, and at the same time the most cautious, account of the subject that we possess, its only considerable defect being the author’s unwillingness to recognize the value of the tentative efforts of folklorists and anthropologists to explain Roman ritual by the comparative method.

To these works must be added the edition of the Fasti by Pauly and Wissowa, already mentioned, and many other valuable contributions by the same great scholar made in the course of his indefatigable researches into Roman history; and, lastly, the Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, ed. Roscher, in which the Roman articles, though of varying value, taken as a whole, indicate an important advance in our knowledge. The new ed. of Pauly’s Real-Encyclopädie, by Wissowa, has already rehearsed some of the articles in Roscher’s work.

Wissowa in his chapter on the four periods into which, as has been explained, the State religion may be historically divided. In dealing with these, and especially with the first, the characteristics of the Roman attitude towards the supernatural should be made tolerably plain.

I. First Period

(From the earliest times to the end of the regal period).

It has already been said that the Fasti, i.e. the skeleton of the oldest religious calendar, must be the basis of our inquiry, and that this was first published, according to tradition, in the year 304 b.c. But, just as Domesday Book is a record which carries us back for centuries before it was drawn up, so with the Fasti which the Romans themselves attributed to their priest-king Numa, and which bear unmistakable internal evidence of a very high antiquity. Though no actual date can be assigned, it is important to notice two facts which indicate the age in which it must have been drawn up. (1) The terminus a quo is the date of the building of the Capitoline temple, universally attributed to Tarquinus Superbus, since there is no festival in the calendar which has any relation to the trias of deities (Jupiter, Juno, Minerva) which was worshipped there. (2) The terminus a quo is the absorption of the Quirinal hill in the limits of the city, for the Quirinal and the cult of Quirinus on that hill are included in the Fasti (see Wissowa, p. 31). Thus, abandoning the doubtful names of legendary kings, we may say with confidence that the Fasti came into existence, in the form in which we have them, in the period of the city which included the Palatine and Quirinal hills, with the Subura, the Esquiline, and part of the Caelian hill. That is, when the city-State had grown to the form in which we begin to see the work of religious as well as political organization (and the two were at no period wholly distinct) had begun with a definite catalogue, for the use of the religious-political rulers of the people, of the religious ceremonies which concerned the welfare of the State as a whole.

We have thus gained a firm footing in a definite period of the development of the Roman city-State; but the Fasti then drawn up do actually carry us back still further; as we might naturally expect, we find ourselves already, as organized

1 Hereafter cited as ‘Fowler.’
2 Hereafter cited as ‘Wissowa.’
parts of the worship of the city, cults and rites which beyond all question arose in an age when there was no city-State as yet, and which belong to the life of the shepherd and the agriculturist. It is not, indeed, too much to say that the native Roman religion had its roots in the mental attitude of the men of that early age towards the powers to whom they believed themselves indebted for the prosperous issue of their labour spent in procuring subsistence from crops, flocks, and herds, or to whom they fancied that they owed its failure. Almost all genuine Roman ideas of the supernatural can be referred to this principle of origin, and it must be carefully borne in mind throughout the following pages. In order to make this clear, a list of the festivals (i.e. holy days of special religious importance) is here given, in the order in which they stood in the oldest calendar, beginning with March, which was the first month of the old Roman year (see Fowler, p. 5, and ref. there given):

17, Agonia, Liberalia. 25, Opferstichtis.
20, Quirinalia. 29, Quirinalia.
19, Cerialia. 13, Fonsalia.
21, Pansa. 19, Armilustrum.
23, Vestalia. Nov. 1, Nona.
25, Robigalia. Dec. 11, Agonia.
May 9, 20, Lemuria. 15, Consalia.
11, Vestalia. 19, Opalia.
23, Tribulum. 21, Divalia.
June 5, Vestalia. 23, Larentalia.
11, Matralia. 15, Lepidalia.
July 19, Toscalia. 22, Lepidalia.
21, Lucaria. Feb. 15, Lupercalia.
23, Neptunalia. 17, Quirinalia.
25, Furinalia. 21, Feralia.
Aug. 17, Portunalia. 23, Terminalia.
19, Vinalia. 24, Rosicervum.
21, Consualia. 27, Equitaria.

Now, though there are in this long list many festivals of which the origin and meaning are obscure, yet we can distinctly trace in it the course of the operations of agriculture, and may conclude that these festivals in which this feature appears were taken into the State religion from a purely agricultural population. Thus all the April festivals have to do with the safety of the corn and herds; at the Forcidae pregnant cows were slaughtered, and the unborn calves torn from the womb and burnt by the Virgo Vestalis. A similar origin is witnessed by the passage in which Servius suggests that the first of Vestalia became identified in later times with Greek gods of a polytheistic system; Quirinalia seems to be a form of Mars, either an independent deity identified with him or an adjectival name of Mars which took shape eventually as a separate deity. Thus it became as obvious to the Romans that we seem to have no doubt as to her existence as a definite deity; yet the Romans themselves were not agreed as to her real nature, and we cannot safely distinguish her as a deity from the sacred fire itself which was the chief object of her cult. Again, it is easy to say that the Cerialia in April were in honour of Ceres; but a very little investigation will dispel all possibility of discovering under this name any clearly conceived goddess of the type to which we are accustomed; she is, we must remember, a vestal whose origin, as we shall see, is to be found in the daughters of the agricultural household, cleansed the pennis Vestae, the representative of the store-house of the State, and made it ready for the reception of the grain about to be reaped; this work was done on the 24th of April which is marked in the ancient calendar by the letters Q. St. D. F., i.e. 'Quando sterces delatam fas' (Varro, de Ling. Lat. vi. 32); when the re Suef had been cleared away, public business, which had been forbidden since the 7th of the month, might be resumed. In August we meet with the true believers of Ceres, i.e. who cleaned their corn, a festival called the titrians, a name which is derived from the fact that the corn which was the chief object of her cult was sown and harvested in the same time (see art. 'Ceres,' in Roscher; Wissoon, pp. 192 ff., 207 ff.). The Robigalia of April 25 was supposed to be the festival of a god Robigus, and a note in the Præneste fragment of calendar, almost certainly from the hand of Verrius Flaccus (cf. CIL 7, 1505), we do not distinguish this deity from the one mentioned above, he is described as a patron of corn (verbo frumenti). It is impossible to be sure that, when the calendar was first drawn up, many centuries before Verrius' note was written, Robigus as a god was clearly distinguished from robigo, the term now on the corn. So with the Terminalia of February, teryna, which was a boundary-stone between two properties, and we have explicit accounts of the ritual used in fixing the stone, which bears the mark of a high
antiquity, yet does not indicate any clear conception of such a deity as became associated with Jupiter in the legend of the Capitoline festival (Fowler, p. 324 ff.). Once more, the Lupercalia, which became famous owing to a well-known event in the life of Julius Caesar, is generally believed to have been in honour of Faunus; but the Romans themselves were not agreed on the point; and it is possible that together with others, we need to associate the rites with the name of any deity at all. Lastly, it will be noticed that the names of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, the great triad of the Capitoline worship of later times, as also those of Mars and Janus, are not indicated in the names of the festivals; and it is only from the additions made to the calendar under the Republic, and from Roman literature, that we learn that the Kalends of each month were sacred to Juno and the Ides to Jupiter, that the rites of March and of the October-horse had some special connexion with Mars, and that at the Agonía (which is probably an ancient name for sacrifice) of Jan. 9 a ram was offered to Janus.

These examples will be enough to show that we should not be justified in supposing that the most ancient Roman religion was very clear and explicit about the supernatural beings whom they invoked, and that it is better to rid our minds at once of the impression conveyed by both Greek and Roman literature, that each deity was a clearly realized personality with distinct attributes. It seems certain that the cults and religious ceremonies were not the practical means of obtaining their desires, of warding off evil influences from all that they most valued, while the unseen powers with whom they dealt in this cult were beyond their ken, often unnamed, or named only by an adjective signifying some quality, and visible only in the sense of being seated in, or in some sense symbolized by, a tree, stone, animal, or other object, such as the midlew, the fire, a spring, etc. Had they been as personally conceived as we are apt to suppose, we may be sure that they would not have been so easily superseded and absorbed by Greek and other deities as we shall see that they were. They are often multiplex, as the Faunus (on this point Wissowa1, p. 298 ff., holds a different opinion), Silvan, Lars, Penates, Semones, Carmentas, Mars, etc., as events conjoined, as the Dea Dia of the Arval Brotherhood (G. Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium, Berlin, 1874, p. 48). In fact, we have beyond doubt in this oldest stratum of Roman religion thought a daemonistic and not a polytheistic type of religion, such a type as has been shown by J. E. Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1903) and others to have existed in Greece before the great deities of Olympus occupied the attention of the Greek mind, and such as is known to have existed not only among savage peoples but also in Europe (e.g., Lithuania) and in China (see Usener, Gutternamen, p. 801, and P. D. Chantepe de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, Freiburg, 1887-89, i. 240 ff.). The Roman objects of worship were powers which they thought they would find material for myth; and they being whose undefined nature made them very hard to invoke with certainty or security—a fact which in the history of this religion gave rise to an elaborate priestly system of invocation (see below).

Fowler, with an insight into which a theory there could have been little chance for even a people more naturally imaginative than the Romans were to find material for myth; and we may fairly conclude with Aust (Religion der Römer, p. 19) that, though there were Roman deities and Roman worship, there was no Roman mythology.

'The deities of Rome,' he goes on, in a very instructive passage, 'were for the most part cults of sacred virtue. They had not, in the form, they had not the human heart with its virtues and vices which is the common or commonest source of deity; they enjoyed no nectar or ambrosia, . . . they had no children, no parental relation. They were, indeed, both made and forgotten, and the name and form of any deity are often in close relation to each other; but this is not a relation of marriage, and rests only on a similarity in the idea of the deities such as we have seen. The Fides, Fortuna, Roma, Ceres, Juno, Libera Libera, Consus Ops, Luna Satural, Salacia Neptuni, Hora Quirini, Maia Valesuni, Nerio Maris, the expression pater and mater that appears in the cult (Janus pater, Jupiter, Mars pater, Mater Matuta, etc.) point to a creative or generative power only in the relation of nature. These deities were of a type that became independent existences: they remain colourless cold conceptions, nuncius as the Romans called them, that is, supernatural powers when existence only betrays itself in the exercise of certain powers. The Roman did not trust himself to mark clearly the sex or name of his deities, as we see in the custom of invoking all deities confus or generation after prayer to a particular one, in order not to pass over any from ignorance or to give him a wrong name. In the formulas of prayer we meet with expressions such as 'sive deus sive dea est,' 'sive mas sive femina,' 'quiquis est,' 'sive alio quo nomine te appellari volueris.'

Again, after what has been said, it will easily be understood that such sacrifices did not have to be offered in temples made with hands, or have been represented in iconic form; what Tacitus says of the German Suevi may be taken as adequately describing the ideas of the early Romans themselves: 'nee cothibere partietibus deos, neque in ullam regionem orizentibus adhibere deos.' These deities of a cult, which became independent existences: they remain colourless cold conceptions, nuncius as the Romans called them, that is, supernatural powers when existence only betrays itself in the exercise of certain powers. The Roman did not trust himself to mark clearly the sex or name of his deities, as we see in the custom of invoking all deities confuse or generation after prayer to a particular one, in order not to pass over any from ignorance or to give him a wrong name. In the formulas of prayer we meet with expressions such as 'sive deus sive dea est,' 'sive mas sive femina,' 'qui quis est,' 'sive alio quo nomine te appellari volueris.'
Here it must be obvious that the fixing of Roman religious Ideas, and of the great festivals, together with the distinction of the days as proper (F. or C.) for State business, or improper (N. or Ν.), or proper only after certain sacrificial rites were over (EN, Q. R.C.F., and Q. St. D.F.), proves that the State whose religious life is regulated had already gone through a long general development, and was in the hands of capable and clear-headed religious rulers. We have to see, now that we have reached this stage, who these rulers were; what deities they admitted as specially concerned with the welfare of the Roman State; what holy places they reckoned as proper for their religious functions; and what sacrihculus they performed there, and in what insignia of office.

i. THE PRIESTHOODS.—At the head of the whole religious system was the King (Rex). This is made certain by what may be called the school of sacred symbols, by which alone we can conjecture safely the details of administration in the regal period. When that period came to an end, the sacrificial functions of the Rex passed to a Rex sacrorum or sacrificius (cf. the ἔργων βασιλείας at Athens), who continued to hold the first rank in the Fasti until 336 B.C. (p. 198 [ed. Lindsay]). We may be almost as sure that other functions exercised in Republican times by the Pontifex maximus also belonged originally to the Rex, viz. the selection of the Vestal virgins and the Flamines, and the superintendence of his potes familiares (Munatius, p. 240). The Vestals had the care of the sacred fire, the symbol of the unity of the State, while the Flamines were sacrificing priests attached to particular worship; thus it is now generally admitted that the State in this early form represented the discipline of the earliest Roman household, the Rex taking the place of the paterfamilias, the Vestals of the daughters of the family, and the Flamines of the sons. Further, in accordance with a Roman practice which also had its origin in the school of the Rex, it is to be remembered, in all matters relating to religious law or custom: one collegium, the Pontifices (five in number, according to tradition), was specially concerned with the administrative details of the jux sacrum, and another, the Augures, with the interpretation of the oracles. It is certain that the whole system was originally one kindly united to the king, but is not certain that the Vestals. Now we find that the Rex sacrificed to Janus on Jan. 9; he was also, no doubt, concerned in other rites—e.g., at the Regifimgnum on Feb. 24 (see Fowler, p. 327) and in those of the Vestals which afterwards fell to the Pontifices; but this is the only one of which we have certain evidence. The Flamen Pacis was the special priest of Jupiter, and sacrificed the avis idialis on ali Ides to the god; on many other occasions—e.g., at the Vinalia both in April and in August, and at the Lupercaalia—he was present; in the latter case he may, however, have been the first priest of the Rex after the abolition of the kingship. The Flamen Martialis and the Quirinalis were obviously connected specially with the cults of Mars and Quirinus, though we are in need of more explicit evidence; it is probable that on the other occasions (e.g., on the 'October-horse' (Oct. 15) and in the Ambarvalia in May, and of the Quirinalis we know that he officiated at the Robigalia and the Consualia (for details see Marquardt, p. 332 ff.).

The Vestals were, of course, chiefly occupied with the cult of Vesta, though in Republican times they seem to have taken part in many other ceremonies (cf. Marquardt, p. 336 ff.).
The most prominent deities, then, were Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and Vesta. These form the core, so to speak, of the Roman ideas of the supernatural in relation to the State; others which we find in Wissowa’s table will grow faint and lose vitality—e.g., those to which the Flamines minores were attached—or will take a different shape under foreign influences; but these live, or four, if we take Mars and Quirinus as two separate entities in the same one of the calendar gods, to the Palatine, the other to the Quirinal city, remained at all times leading Roman religios conceptions, and must now be briefly considered as the characteristic deities of this period.

1. Janus and Vesta.—These two may be taken together, for in Roman ritual they were the first and the last deities in all invocations, public and private (Marquardt, p. 25 and notes). There is no congruence formal between them (that, as we have seen, is foreign to Roman ideas), but they had beyond doubt a common origin, and left its traces on their cult to the last. Originally they were the numina residing in the doorway and the hearth of the house, i.e., they symbolize (if the word can be safely used) the sacred entrance to the house and its sacred innermost recess, where the sacrificer stands as the center of the domestic world of the foundation of Roman civilization, so were Janus and Vesta the foundation of Roman worship. The temple of Janus, famous in later times, was in reality no temple at all: it was a gateway, with dazzling procession of priests and deities; it was under the special care of the king, as the doorway of the house had been in the care of the paterfamilias, so that no evil thing, natural or supernatural, might pass through it into the house. This position of Janus in the house and in the State may safely be taken as the origin of all the practices in which he appears as a god of beginnings: he was the oldest god, deorum deus, the beginner of all things and of all acts; he is an object of worship at the beginning of the year, the month, and the day; but all this arc connected with the Janus of (Venus) pater, from root divi), the god of a numen with the doorway of the house and the gate of the city (see Wissowa, p. 103 ff.; art. ‘Janus,’ in Roscher; Fowler, p. 282 ff.).

2. Jupiter.—In contrast with Janus and Vesta, who represented the sacred character of the house, Jupiter (Divus pater, from root divi) was the great numen of the open heaven under which the Italian, then as now, spent the greater part of his time. He was the numen of that heaven at all times and under all aspects, whether by night or by day, in clear weather or in storm and rain. In the Salian hymn, one of the two oldest fragments of Roman invocation that we possess (Macrob., Sat. 1. xvi. 14), he is addressed as Lucetius, the deity of light; theIdeas, when the moon was full, were sacred to him; when rain was sorely needed, his aid was sought under the name Elicius, by a peculiar ritual (Fowler, p. 252); as Jupiter Fulgur or Sumnemus he was the power who sent the lightning by day or night, and all places struck by lightning were sacred to him; the festivals of the Meditations, which specially needed the aid of the sun, and the light, were dedicated to him, and his Flamen was on all such occasions the priest employed. This conception of the deity was not only Roman, but common to all the Italian peoples who were of the same stock. It may be that the greatest of the Roman deities was worshipped on the summits of hills, where nothing intervened between the heaven and the earth, and where all the phenomena of the heavens could be conveniently observed.

In Rome the oldest cult of Jupiter was on the Capitoline hill, and on the southern summit, where it became overshadowed in the next period by the great temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This was the cult of Jupiter Feretrius, which sustained itself and also the temples of them on their official journeys; and the oath by which treaties, etc., were ratified by them was said to be ‘per Iovem (lapidem).’ Here we get an early glimpse of that moral aspect of Jupiter which was retained in one way or another throughout Roman history; as Deus fides Fowler, p. 158, and perhaps also under the clearly Greek name Hercules, he was the deity in whose name oaths were taken (‘medius fidius,’ ‘mehereule’); his Flamen presided at the old Roman marriage ceremony of the confarreatio, where he seems to have been regarded as a kind of witness of the solemn contract entered into (Wissowa, p. 118); and on the Alban hill his cult, though overshadowed like that of the Capitol by the later innovations of the Tarquinian dynasty, was doubtless from the beginning of Rome characteristic of the comunidad aspect of the Latin league. (For the many forms of the Jupiter-cult, of which only the prominent features in the earliest period can be here described, see the exhaustive article by Aust in Roscher, condensed in Wissowa, p. 126.)

A word must here be said about Juno, who does not seem at all times to have been closely associated with Jupiter, certainly not as his wife, until Greek anthropomorphistic conceptions gained ground at Rome. That she, too, represented the light and the protection of the hearth and the stock, may have been regarded as a kind of witness of the solemn contract entered into (Wissowa, p. 118); and on the Alban hill his cult, though overshadowed like that of the Capitol by the later innovations of the Tarquinian dynasty, was doubtless from the beginning of Rome characteristic of the comunidad aspect of the Latin league. (For the many forms of the Jupiter-cult, of which only the prominent features in the earliest period can be here described, see the exhaustive article by Aust in Roscher, condensed in Wissowa, p. 126.)

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name of Mars, that the cult of this deity was most prominent.

In March the dancing warrior-cerists of Mars, the Salii, whose antiquity and tradition are largely preserved by the fact that they must be of patrician descent, dressed in the costume of the old Italian warrior, performed a series of processional dances, clashing their shields and spears as if to avert some evil influence, and singing the songs of which a fragment has been preserved, and slaves, and prayer for watering the sacred corn... (cf. Wissowa's Specimens of Early Latin, Oxford, 1874, p. 567). The table given above shows that the 1st, the 14th (originally probably the 15th, as no other festival was on a day of even number), and the 17th were also great days in his cult, though we are more or less in the dark as to the rites performed; but on the 23rd, the Tubilustrum, the tubae used in war seem to have been made ready for the war season by the religious process of Iustratio; and it may be that the horses of the cavalry were treated in the same way at the Equitaria on the 14th. At the Ambarvalia in May, where Mars was eventually ousted by Ceres or Dea Dia, the Fratres Arvales went in procession for the lustration of the aeger Romanus, and the hymn they sang, so far as we can judge from what we possess of it (Marquardt, p. 457; Henzen, p. 20), but to make them invincible to man, and render them capable of averting noxious influences. This is confirmed by the prayer of the Roman farmer preserved in Cato (de Agricultura, 141), which begins, 'Father Mars, I pray thee to be willing and propitious to me, to bestow my good fortune on me... for my protection and... to avert all evil from crops and herds, and to bring the farmer's labour to a successful issue. From May to October we lose sight of Mars; but at the end of the agricultural and military season we find him again prominent. On October 15, which presumably is the birthday of Mars, we find a festival... March 14 (or 15), a horse was sacrificed with very curious ritual in the Campus Martius; in this rite we may perhaps see a survival of an old harvest custom, which took a new shape and meaning as the State grew accustomed to war, just as Mars himself, originally peripheral to the protector of man, herds, and crops alike, became the deity of war-horses and war. (Fowler, p. 249). The Mars-season was completed on Oct. 19 by the festival called Aramilustrum, at which the Salii again appeared with their arma and ancilia (sacred shields), which were then subjected to Iustratio and put away until the ensuing March. This short sketch of the ritual connected with Mars will suffice to show that the leading ideas in it are, as we said, agriculture and warfare; it is needless to distinguish the two more precisely, for we cannot separate the Roman warrior from the Roman husbandman, or the warlike aspect of his deity from his universal care for his people. (For more detail see Roscher's art. in his Lexikon; art. 'Salli,' in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities; Fowler, pp. 245 and 241 ff. with ref. there given.) Of Quirinus all that need be said here is that it is probable that this very obscure deity was a form of Mars belonging to the community settled on the hill that still bears his name; he seems to have had the same two characteristics as the Palatine deity, that is to say, the role of protector to the family and certainty (see Wissowa, p. 153). The most convincing evidence for the essential identity of the two lies in the fact that there were twelve Salii Collini, i.e. of the Quirinal hill, concerned in the worship of the deity now attributed to the twelve Salii Polatini of the Mars-cult (Liv. v. 52).

iii. CULT OF THE DEAD.—The Romans do not seem to have had, in early times at least, any idea of an under world tenanted by deities; Orcus and Dis Pater are not conceptions of home growth, and Vojovis, in spite of Wissowa's reasoning (p. 237), is far too obscure to be reckoned in such a category. Nor is this surprising: the deities of the Romans were always something of a mystery. How else could they have been able to control the dead and live. They were at once the instrument of punishment and reward, there was no call upon the imagination of the Romans (which was never strong or inventive) to create an under world like that of the Greeks, and the splendid picture of such a world which we find in the sixth Ecumen is wholly the result of Hellenic fancy.

But the Fasti supply us with certain evidence that the dead, when duly buried with the proper rites, were the object of an organized cult. In February, the last month of the year, and one specially appropriated to what we may call, for want of a better word, purification, nine days were set apart for this cult (dies parentales), of which the last, the 21st, appears as a State festival, the Feralia. Whether the dead were cremated or buried (both customs existed in this period, as we learn from the Fasti), the Salii, who were the custodians of the cult, in either case the dead man was believed in some sense to live on, to have entered into that world of spirits which contained all the Roman deities, and thus the dead came to be di parentes or di numines, the latter word being explained by the Romans themselves, as meaning 'the dead.' On these days in February the rites of burial were, as it were, renewed, to make sure that the relation between the living and the dead should be a happy and wholesome one. The dead had long been buried in the family tomb in the city of the dead, the site of the burial having been well cared for since their departure, and were still members of the family. They had their jura (jus manuum) under the supervision of the Rex and later of the Pontifices; experience has taught the citizen that the State must regulate his conduct towards the soul of his ancestor, with whom he might have to do in his lifetime. Another month of purification and apparently of ill omen, we find three days, the 9th, 11th, and 13th, styled Lemuria, i.e. 'festivals' (if the word may be here used) of the Lemures or Larve, the ghosts of ancestors who had died away from home, war or otherwise, and had not been buried with due rites; these were probably supposed to be apt to return to the house which they once tenanted, and had to be got rid of again by special ceremonies, of which Ovid has given us a specimen in his Fasti (v. 432). These days of the Lemuria are marked 'nefasti' in the calendar, while the dies parentales of February are—some of them at least—'C.' (comitiales), and the Feralia is 'F.P.'; hence it has been inferred with justice that the Lemuria was the older festival, representing a conception of the dead as distinctly of the living, had been well cared for at home. In this view (Fowler, pp. 107, 308) may account for the fact that of the Lemures we hear hardly anything but what the Lemurian cult reports that belongs rather to the private life of the household than to the jus sacrum of the city. It would seem that the cheerful and service of the dead which we find in February had entirely taken the place of the older and ruder rites. (For other indications in the calendar of the cult of the dead see Wissowa, p. 236; and, for the whole subject, Marquardt, p. 310 ff.; Aust, p. 225 ff.; and De Marchi, II Culto privato, p. 190 ff.; cf. art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Roman].)
iv. Holy places.—All places in the city and its ager which, for want of a more exact word, we should term ‘holy’ were of two kinds, according as they were or were not authorized by the State; if they were so authorized, they were the objects of public worship, and if not so authorized, they were places of private worship. The distinction was made by the Senate, and it was the process of aedilitia and conscrip.tio, i.e. devotion to a deity by the Pontifices, which were loca sacra. If, on the other hand, they were objects of fear or reverence from their own nature only, and as a consequence of the previous reception of the deity by the people, on any part of it, they were loca religiosa. The best authority for this distinction is Allius Gallus, ap. Festus, p. 424 (ed. Lindsay): ‘Gallus Allius ait sacrum esse quaedumque more et instituto civitatis conscriptum sit, sive religioso, sive nec non loco esse,’ quid quid aliud, quid deditum atque conscriptum sit; quod autem privati sue religionis causa aliquid earum rerum denuntiarum docend is, id Pontifices Romanos non existimant sacrum. We may thus infer that before the completion of the city-State and its organization, and probably for some time afterwards, the spots supposed to be inhabited by numina were loca religiosa, and this is borne out by the fact that places such as those which had been struck by lightning, the Lacus Curtius in the Forum, and others to which the people had given no name, but which had, however, been consecrated by the willed or surmised ill omen, were loca religiosa. The term, therefore, though often applied to objects simply because they had not undergone the rites necessary to make them sacra (e.g., tombs, sacrates, etc.), seems to take us back to a time when the civilization and religion of the city-State had not yet done its work in bringing the divine inhabitants of the city into happier relations with the human population. But, when once a deity had been successfully settled in a particular spot, with cere-monia about the efficacy of whose possession was indubitable, and they had authorized and carried out by the State authorities, there was no further cause for any vague apprehensions about his attitude to the people; if duly propitiated, and especially on the anniversary of the dedication of the spot, he would be retained as the patron of the community, unless, indeed, some enemy could persuade him to desert it (evocare); and his attitude should be beneficent. All places in which deities were thus settled were designated by the word sacrum.

Strictly speaking, it was the ground they occupied that was thus styled; and it was matter of no moment what might be erected on it. When a temple or altar had been destroyed, the ground still remained sacrum. The general word for such a place, without any special reference to what was erected there, was fastus; the simplest kind of erection was a sacellum, i.e., as Trebatius defined it (Gell. vii. xii. 5), ‘locus parvus deo sacratus cum ara,’ and without a roof (Festus, p. 422); there were many of these in the city, even in the time of Augustus. Later on, some of them were covered by a roof, or an opening within it (locus), a cave like the Lupercal, a heath like that of Vesta, or an archway, as that of Janus. All these were loca sacra if they had been duly dedicated and consecrated.

The oldest example, so far as we know, of a house erected for the dwelling of a deity is the shrine of Vesta, which was round, like the earliest form of Italian house (A Companion to Latin Studies, ed. J. E. Sandys, Cambridge, 1913, p. 217); this was dedicated to the deity and consecrated, but wanting the usual marks of the augurs, which was necessary for a templum. This word was applied to a building erected on a locus sacrum, which had been not only dedicated and consecrated, but also inaugurated according to the technical system of which the augurs held the secrets, and of which we have but little definite knowledge. When a building with its site had been dedicated by the State, consecrated by the Pontifices, and inaugurated by the augurs, it was not only the dwelling of the deity, but was in all respects of the same nature as the temple of the city-State, in the sense in which we should call secular purposes—e.g., for the assembly of the Senate. A document, in later times at least, in the form of an inscription, was drawn up by the Pontifices, recording the dedication, the amount of consecrated land, the rites to be performed, etc., at fixed points; this was the use of the lex dedicatio or lex templi. (See Marquardt, p. 270 ff.; and, for the whole subject of loca sacra, ib. p. 145 ff.; Wissova, p. 467 ff.; Aus., p. 290 ff.)

As the collegium of augurs was certainly in existence in this first period of the Roman religion, it is possible that a few temples, in the proper sense of that word, may have come into being before the end of it. But, if we once more interrogate the Fasti, we shall find that the oldest festivals (see above, p. 822), with hardly an exception, are connected with sites that had not been subjected to inauguratio, though they were loca sacra.

The Robigalia, for example, was held at a grove, the Vestalia at the Alae Vestae, the Lataria at a grove, the Consualia at an underground ara, the Opuncisini in the Regia, as also the Agonia of Jan. 9, the Opalia. The spirit of the augurs was that of the oldest, buried places, the Lupercalia at the Lupercal, and the Regifugium in the Comitium (see Fowler under head of these festivals). The evidence seems convincing that, when the Fasti were drawn up, there were no templi technically so called. Where, as at the Quirinalia, we hear of a sacrificium at a spot where a templum is known to have existed in later times (Fowler, p. 322), we are not justified in inferring that it took place originally in such a building; there, as in other cases (Aust. de edibus sacrarum populor Romanorum, Marburg, 1889, p. 33), the temple was without doubt preceded by a sacellum.

v. Ritual of worship.—The basis of the Roman’s ritualistic dealing with his deities consisted in sacrificial and prayer, the two being, so far as we know, invariably combined. On important occasions, and for particular reasons, these were performed in the course of a procession or circuit round some object—land, city, army, or instruments, such as arms and trumpets—or, again, the whole Roman people, if supposed to be in need of ‘purification’ from some evil influence; in the extended form the ritual was called lavatio; and this ceremonial was perhaps the most characteristic, not only of the Roman, but of all ancient Italian forms of worship.

Sacrifice (sacriecess), as the word itself implies, was an act of making over to the deity some property more or less valuable, the meaning of sacer, as has already been explained, being ‘that which belongs to a deity.’ The nature of the sacrificium, as Marquardt puts it (p. 109), depended on the nature of the cult of the deity; it was only the last stage in the purpose of making sacred cakes, and the Flamen Diaulis did the same with the grape-crop in August, with prayer for the safety of the whole vintage (Fowler, p. 294). Unbloody sacrifices of a similar kind also occurred, and were performed by the private worship of the family and at the resting-places of the dead, but in the ritual of the sacrifices which descended directly from an earlier pastoral and agricultural life; e.g., at the Parilia in April we hear of baskets of millet, cakes of the same,
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Roman Religion

pails of milk, etc. (Ovid, Fasti, iv. 743 ff.); and at the Vestalia in June the Vestals offered sacred cakes made, in antique fashion, of the ears which they had plucked in May (mola salsae). But the evidence of the Fasti itself suggests that we cannot back to a time when animal-sacrifices were not also in use; and this is in entire accordance with the nature of Italian husbandry, which was always more occupied with the rearing of cattle than with the raising of crops. We may suppose that animal-sacrifices were chiefly of cattle, and in State festivals we are not surprised to find that animal-sacrifices formed the staple of the worship. The animals most commonly sacrificed were oxen, sheep, and pigs; but the pig, as the cheaper and less honourable of animal, was rarely used except in conjunction with the other two, or as a piacular sacrifice—a term to be explained below. The technical word for the slain animal, if ox, bull, or cow, was victima; if any kind of sheep, hostia. Male victims were employed in the worship of male deities and female victims in the worship of female deities, in later times at least; but, in view of the uncertainty of sex in the most ancient deities, it may be doubted whether this held good in our first period. But, so far as our information about the ritual of the earliest festival is any guide, we may conclude that what was sacrificed to Janus, a heifer to Jupiter (this was Jupiter Feretrius [Festus, p. 204]), and at the Fordicidia, presumably to Tellus, a pregnant cow; to Mars in the lustratio agrī, presently to be described, ox, sheep, and pig accordingly. Of ancient usage also was the sacrifice of a dog at the Robigalia in April, and of a horse to Mars, as has already been mentioned, on Oct. 15. Of human sacrifice in the usual sense of the term there is no trace; but it might happen that in a season of great peril or pestilence the children be sacrificed. Of such cases, however, we have no record. The victims were made over to the god (per sacrificum), and, when they had grown up, were driven out of the Roman territory (Festus, p. 619; Liv. xxi. 10, xxxiii. 44).

The sacrificial ritual of the altar was extremely elaborate in later times, and it is impossible to say how much of it was in use at the time when we are now treating; it may best be studied in Mar-

quardt, p. 180 ff. All that need be said here is that the victim, which must be unblemished, was slain by the assistants of the priest, after its head had been sprinkled with fragments of the mola salsae, or at any rate in milk, and with wine that, in all ordinary sacrifices its internal organs were carefully examined, and, if of good omen, were placed upon the altar, while the rest of the animal was eaten. We can have little doubt that the examination of the liver, etc., formed a part of the ceremonial in the earliest period, since the object was to determine whether the deity would be satisfied with the condition of the animal offered him, and especially with those vital parts which were to be his share; but the extraordinary development of this examination must be left long to a later time. At what precise point in the ceremony the prayer was said does not seem to be known; but it was probably during the laying of the exta on the altar. The priest or other person who uttered it had his head covered, to show his subjection, and he said, either orally, while a tibicen played the tibia in order to secure the same result for the ears; all bystanders maintained a strict silence (Marquardt, p. 175 ff.). As is seen below, the prayer was the expression of a desire, if not a claim, on the part of the sacrificers, that the god should do them good, and it was part of the great pietas of which the wishes and interests of theirs as were within the range of his activity, either by averting evil or by doing positive benefit. To obtain the desired result, every detail, both of sacrifice and of prayer, had to be gone through correctly; and a slip in either or any accidental hindrance, such as the stopping of the music of the flute-player, made it necessary to begin the whole ritual over again, and to offer a new sacrifice to the god. But, on special occasions for all to.expire any omission that might happen; but it is possible that this was one of the later developments of the jus divinum (the victim in this case was a porcus procediunus [Gell. iv. vi. 7]). Undoubtedly, however, it was in the first period of religious organization within the State that this extraordinary precision in ceremonial detail had its beginning. It was itself the result of that peculiarly Roman conception of the supernatural which has already been touched upon.

It was the outward expression of that vague fear of the unknown which, in most highly developed the early Roman: he did not know his deities intimately, did not of himself know how to approach them with confidence, and might at any moment, for all he knew, be doing or saying things which would put them in evil mood towards him. It was the beginning of the State attitude towards the unbouded confidence of the early Roman in his State authorities, both civil and religious, his habit of unquestioning obedience to them, and his sense of obligation or duty, in both private and public life, are largely, perhaps mainly, due to his feeling of helplessness as an individual in his relation with the unseen world. We shall have to trace later the decay of this confidence and sense of duty (pietas), as the Roman mind became subjected to new influences, and as the extreme form of the old cults, sacrificial to the destruction all their life and meaning. But in these early stages of the Roman State the religious discipline of minute ritual unquestionably had certain good and useful results (see Fowler, p. 344 ff.).

Before we leave the subject of ritual, it may be well to indicate in it, in the most highly developed form which it took in this period, from the ceremony of lustratio, in which sacrifice, prayer, and procession were combined. The most remarkable record which we have of such a ceremony is not indeed Roman, but belongs to the Umbrian town of Iguvium. It is an instance of the growth of ritual containing a mass of detail for the instruction of the priests taking part in the lustratio of a sacred hill (orix fīsis); it is in the Umbrian dialect, and difficult of interpretation, but it entirely confirms all we know of this religious process from Roman sources (Bücheler, Unbriait, 1888). The object of this process of lustratio, as explained by Wisossa (p. 290), was twofold: (1) to purify the object round which the procession went from all evil that might be lurking there, and so to obtain the goodwill (pae) of the deity, and the blessing (of the sacred sacerdotium); (2) to protect it, by the aid of the god thus obtained, from all hostile influences, the circuit taken being a boundary within which no evil could come if the victims before their slaughter were driven round it according to the plan described, and the circuit was the symbol of the home (literally of the house). In the account of 15, 15, presents very peculiar features, which cannot altogether be explained in this way (see Fowler, p. 310 ff.), and also that the boundary line of city or ager, being carefully followed each year on
these occasions, was thus kept accurately in remembrance.

But the typical illustration of which we know the details is that of the Ambvarvilia in May, itself developed beyond doubt from the illustration of the feast by the Roman husbandman, of which the detail has been preserved to us in Cato's treatise on agriculture. We have to follow Cato, applying his account to the developed festival of the city; but we have sufficient evidence that the later Ambvarvilia, though it preserved the same lines (Cato, de Agricultura, 141). The procession of victims, bull, sheep, and pig—the most valuable property of the Roman— passed all round the fields just as the crops were ripening, and therefore most liable to injury from storm or disease. Three times they went round the land; at the end of the third round they were sacrificed, and a solemn prayer was recited, which, according to Cato's formula, ran thus (we must suppose that the Fratres Arvales, who were the priests presiding at the Ambvarvilia, used a similar formula, on an extended scale, for the land itself):

"Father Mars, I pray and beseech thee to be willing and propitious to me, my household, and my slaves; for the object I have caused thee to be driven round my farm and my lands. I pray thee to bless the plants, and all the disease, seen or unseen, all desolation, ruin, damage, and unreasonable influence; I pray thee, give increase to the fruits, the corn, the vines, and the plums, and bring them on to a prosperous issue. Keep also in safety the sheepfolds and their flocks and vines, and the barns and the household. To this end it is, as I have said—namely, for the purification and making due restitution of my farm, my land cultivated and uncultivated—that I pray thee to bless this threefold sacrifice."

At all these religious ceremonies the sacrificing priest, and all magistrates who had the right of sacrificing (in this period the Rex only), wore a peculiar dress. The most regular and characteristic one was the "parcilia," or what we may call the "cape," or "pretecta," which was also worn by children, both boys and girls, up to the age of puberty, probably because they had originally taken part as acolytes (camilli, camillus) in the sacrifices of the family (see Fowler, in Æn. i. 317 f.). But the most ancient priests, who were attached to particular cults, and whose sacrificial functions were continuous throughout the year, had special insignia of their own, which they wore at all times to distinguish them, and so to avoid the many causes of pollution with which they might accidentally meet. The Flamen Dialis, an "apex" or a leather trumpet in which was fixed an olive twig with a wisp of white wool (Serv. ad Æn. ii. 683), and their wives (flammaria) a "tutulus," or raised head-dress, bound with a purple fillet. The Vestals wore a white robe, and, when sacrificing, a thick white veil with purple stripe (see, for this explanation, J. H. Middleton, Ancient Rome in 885, London, 1885, p. 190). The Sali, when performing their dances, etc., wore a primitive military dress, the "trabea" and "tunicia pieta"; the Luperci ran round the Palatine hill at the Lupercalia, girt with skins, probably those of the victims (Marcellus, p. 444, note 3); the Fratres Arvales were conspicuous by a crown of corn-ears made fast with white fillets (Gell. vii. viii. 3).

From what has been said in this sketch of the Roman religion in its earliest form as a concern of the State, the following characteristic points should have become conspicuous.

1. The Roman believed himself to live in the midst of a population of spiritual beings (numina), whose attitude towards him and his actions the gods continually influenced by what he did or said.

2. As a consequence, it was necessary for him to be on good terms with them, and this could be securely accomplished only by the constituted authorities of a State who by experience and tradition had learnt how to deal with them.

3. This being not only an essential, but the most essential, part of the duties of the State, there was a real distinction between the "jus sacrarum" and the "jus civile;" the former was a part of the latter, and always continued so (cf. Cic. de Legibus, bks. ii. and iii.).

4. So, too, there is no original distinction between priest and magistrate; they were both alike concerned in controlling the divine inhabitants of the city. 'It was not a poet or prophet, but a King, and a priest-king, to whom the Romans attributed the origin of their religious organization' (Aust.).

5. This inseparable union of State and religion had important and valuable effects on the Roman character; the State was more to the individual than perhaps in any community ancient or modern. But the religion, as a religion, had an insufficient vitality.

6. This was chiefly because it was originally based on a feeling of fear, which was never wholly shaken off. It was mainly negative in character; i.e., the range of its prohibitions was far larger than that of its precepts. It can hardly be said that the moral law was enforced by it; and there was no distinction between it as it was to one's fellow-men (jus) and what was due to the gods (fides).

7. The one feature of this religion which had a moral value was the constant and inseparable attention to the details of duty; if these were not observed to a deity who was righteous, and who was in possession of all righteousness, yet they were duties that must be fulfilled; and they constituted a righteous dealing towards the divine beings, which created a claim upon them to deal righteously towards the Roman, and to hinder and destroy his enemies, whom he had not been able to destroy himself. Beyond this we cannot go; the pietas of the old Roman was a valuable quality in itself, but it never led him to base his daily conduct upon higher motives than obedience to the State and its authorities as mediators between himself and a dangerous spiritual world. It would always have been difficult for a Roman to appreciate the story of Antigone.

II. SECOND PERIOD

(From the Etruscan kings to the war with Hannibal.)

The religious system which has been described belonged exclusively to the State proper, i.e. to the patricians, or members of the old patrician gens; no plebeian or 'outsider' had any part in it whatever, either as priest or as worshipper. This will be easily understood after what has already been explained as to the relation of the divine and the human members of the State; the former had no existence apart from the latter, and, as the State consisted of the patrician gens, the deities who had taken their origin from a State had, of course, no dealings with any others, and could be approached only by those who had entered into relations with them. But by the 7th cent. B.C. a considerable population was growing up in the city, and its territory which did not belong to the old gentes, and whose cults and deities were altogether outside of the religion of the State proper. With the origin of this population we are not here concerned; what is of importance for our present purpose is to note that along with the Etruscan evidence that the Etruscan kings of Rome were not Romans but Etruscans, and that the patrician State succumbed for a time to an invasion of that great Etruscan power which at this time spread itself over central Italy, entering into relations
not only with the Latins of the Campagna, but with the Greeks of Cumae and the western coast. The consequence was a great and permanent revolution, not only in the political institutions, but in the religious system of the State. The second king, Servius Tullius, admitted the plebeians to the army, and divided the city and its territory into four tribes, comprising all free men, whether patricians or plebeians, who occupied a certain amount of land. The last king, Tarquinius Superbus, has all the characteristics of the tyrant. While he was extending the aristocracy of the patrician gentes was oppressed, while the unprivileged classes were brought forward and utilized. A great religious development accompanied the political one, of which we can distinctly trace two features: (1) the admission of the plebeians to a share in the worship of the State; (2) the introduction of new deities and worship, of one new and important priesthood, and of new methods of approaching the divine protectors of the State, both old and new. In the period we have now before us the old worship continued to exist as before, for the Romans held tenaciously to every custom and cult which they had at any time recognized; but the Rome that in the three following centuries extended her dominion over Italy, Sicily, and the western end of Spain, in every way surpassed the range of the old deities and their worship. Conquest, commerce, alliance, and, we may add, even peril and pestilence brought new additions to her divine population. If a community was conquered by her, its deities and their cult came into her hands, and she must combine their worship within the conquered city or invite them to take up their abode at Rome (Marcqardt, p. 35 ff.). Again, if the State was in peril, either from enemies or from pestilence, it might be necessary to call in the aid of new deities where the old seemed to be of no avail; for, as the dominion and intercourse of the State were extended, it came into contact with deities of whom the Roman authorities knew nothing, and who needed special invocation by experts in the right methods. This was the case with Sibyls, which are mentioned for the first time among those of the di novensides, the new-comers, was continually being increased; new and startling forms of worship were seen in the city, and temples were frequently being vowed and dedicated both to old deities and to new ones—to old deities under new names and forms, and to new ones who consented to take up their abode in or just outside the city. It is a period of religious activity as constant and vigorous as the political; but it can be sketched in this article only in outline.

1. The first and perhaps one of the best authenticated examples of the introduction of new cults at Rome is the foundation of the Aventine, outside the pomerium, of a temple of Diana. This was universally attributed to Servius Tullius, and is described by Varro, Latin. L. x. 99: 'communi Latinorum Diana templum.' Now, the famous cult of Diana at Ariesia, which has become familiar to us since the publication of Frazer's Golden Bough, was undoubtedly the centre-point of a Latin league which succeeded that of Alba Longa, and from which we may infer that league was later transferred from Ariesia to Rome, and with it the cult of Diana, who will not be found (see above) in our list of the di indigetes. This was a temple in the full sense of the word, and its legal dedications, or lex templi, became the basis of the laws for all towns (Cic. De Or. iii. 4333). Later on, it contained, after the fashion which began in this period, a statue of the goddess modelled on the type of the Ephesian Artemis, and borrowed from her cult at Massilia (Strabo, iv. 180). For further details and references in connexion with this important event in the history of the Roman religion see Wissowa's exhaustive art. Diana, in his ed. of Pauly's Real-Encyclopedia.

2. To the same period of Etruscan influence, and traditionally ascribed to Tarquinius Superbus, belongs a far more famous sanctuary, and one destined to be for ever the central religious point of the Roman dominion; this is the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Juno, and Minerva at the north end of the Capitoline hill, where its foundations, showing unmistakable signs of Etruscan design, may still be seen (Middleton, p. 232). The combination of three deities in a single cult and a single temple was foreign to Rome, though not uncommon in Greece and, though we do not know why Juno and Minerva shared this great temple with Jupiter (who was at all times the great object of worship there), we infer that the triad came with Italian names from Tuscany, where it represented an original triad (Tinia, Thalna, Minerva) introduced under Greek influence. The temple was on a scale of magnitude utterly unknown to the primitive Roman builders; it was divided into three parts by two lines of pillars, and three cells at the north-western end, and with Jupiter in the middle holding his thunderbolt. Such a foundation indicates a very great change in the religious ideas of the Romans, and the researches of recent times have placed it beyond all reasonable doubt that it was meant to overshadow all the old cults of the patrician gods by exhibiting in the utmost splendour one which should be common ground for the plebeian and patrician alike, and which should symbolize the unity of the Roman State in its new form—the Roman State in its new form and dominion till it overshadowed all the States of the civilized world (see J. A. Ambrosch, Studien und Anderungen, Breslau, 1839, p. 205 ff.). At the same time, in all probability, was also built the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Hill, where it represented an original triad (Diana, Laius, the Thunder) in the temple of Diana in uniting the members of the Latin league in a religious worship (Fowler, p. 95 ff.).

In close connexion with this great temple there came in new usages of the utmost importance in the history of the Romans, which have the Divine, dedication, or dedication, day of the temple, was Sept. 13, and on this day took place the epulum Jovis, when the images of the three deities were decked out as for a feast, and the face of Jupiter was painted red with minium; the magistrates and Senate partook of a meal in which the deities were supposed also to share. We do not know for certain at what date this practice began, but it is by no means impossible that in one form or another, though hardly perhaps as a completely anthropomorphic conception of the deities concerned, it may be attributed to the same origin as the temple (Marcqardt, p. 345; cf. Fowler, p. 218). This temple also was the goal of the triumphal procession of the victorious king or consul, who was then dressed and painted like the statue of Jupiter himself; and there were sacrifices after the letter with Jupiter on the Capitol, which he had vowed to make in honour of the god if victorious, were originally celebrated on the same day.

3. The most important of all the innovations of this age was the introduction into the temple of the so-called tria recta, of which an entirely new system of ritual was brought into vogue. This must now be explained in some detail. (For the Capitoline temple and
Jupiter see esp. Aust's art. 'Jupiter,' in Roscher, iii. 705 ff.) According to the familiar Roman story, these 'oracles' were pressed on the last king of Rome by the Sibyl of Cumae herself, and he finally took from her three books of them, which were preserved in the Capitoline temple. It may be that the Romans first made acquaintance with the Cumean Sibyl at this time; appearing to partake, and was invented to give credit to the verses which from time to time were invented by the Roman priests themselves to suit particular exigencies of the State (II. Diels, Sibyllinische Blätter, Berlin, 1890). What is certain is that these verses contained not prophecies of future events, but religious 'prescriptions' as remedies for alarming prodigies, pestilences, etc., and that these had nothing to do with the old Roman worship of the di indigetes, but involved the introduction of new deities, or of old ones in a new form, and of new ceremonies of a kind much more sensational, if the word may be used, than any yet seen in the city. The intercourse with Cumae and the Greek cities thus led directly to great changes; and, though it was the immediate result of the Etruscan dynasty, there can also be no doubt that it was the Bjork that the Roman aristocracy which succeeded that dynasty, and that they manipulated the new 'oracles' with far-reaching effects. The verses were committed to the care of a new priestly priesthood, consisting of two hundred men, who, on the authorization of magistrates and Senate they were from time to time consulted by these priests, who then announced (without divulging the verses themselves) the result of their inquiries, and recommended certain ceremonies or sacrifices for the prevention of evils to be averted. Thus it is at once clear that the governing class acquired in this way the legal means of metamorphosing the whole Roman religious system; and it is hardly too much to say that they succeeded in doing it.

The abolition of the kingship, according to the Roman chronicles, that the new priesthood first introduced a new worship; in 493 B.C. was built the temple of the Greek trias Demeter, Dionysus, Persephone, under the Roman names Ceres, Liber, Libera. Apollo, with whom the Sibyl was identified, or at any rate, of Pulcinella, as soon, in 483 B.C. Among other Greek deities introduced in the same way were Artemis as Diana, Aphrodite as Venus (the latter an old Italian deity of the garden), and Aesculapius. All these were worshiped with the ritus Graecus, which henceforward was recognized as equally legitimate with the ritus Romanes; e.g., the head of the sacrificing priest, which in Roman usage was always covered, as has been described above, was in the ritus Graecus uncovered (Marquardt, p. 186). This is the only detail of the new ritualistic form of which we have certain knowledge; but there were other ceremonies introduced by the same agency which had a more important bearing both on the Roman religion and on its character. In the year 280 B.C. we learn from Livy (v. 15), which is peculiarly. It was for the first time ordered by the Duoviri 'ex Sibyllinis libris,' in consequence of an alarming pestilence. For eight days Apollo and Latona, Hercules and Diana, Mercurius and Neptunus, were seen reclining on couches in Greek fashion, and appearing to partake of a meal laid out on a table in front of each of them; the figures were wooden puppets richly robed, and rested with their left arms on cushions (pulvinaria). Here there seem to be at least one or two of the old Roman deities; but we soon discover that Diana is really Artemis; Latona, Leto; Mercurius, Hermes; Neptunus, Poseidon; and we can guess that, though the experts may have believed that the foresign of a new religion or efficacities for the purpose in hand, it was desirable to propagate the people by introducing some of them at least under familiar names. These lector sternaria were frequently repeated, and came to form the essential part of the supplications, or during the festivals of a new pestilence, or in instances also ordered by the Duoviri 'ex Sibyllinis libris,' though sometimes also by the Pontifices and Senate (Marquardt, p. 48), and consisted of processions and worship at each place where the gods were exposed to view, as described above. It is noticeable that, while on the old Roman system the priest alone took part in religious rites and was alone admitted to a temple, here the whole populace was expected to view the processions; men, women, and children prostrated themselves in prayer before the images of the gods, or crowded into the new temples (Liv. iii. 7, 7).

These rites mark the first appearance of a tendency, constantly recurring in later Roman history, to seek for a more emotional expression of religious feeling than was afforded by the old forms of sacrifice and procession. It is evident that religious fever in Rome, as if the simple ancient methods of dealing with the divine inhabitants who had been induced to settle on the site were felt to be no longer adequate to the needs of a State which was steering its way to empire among so many difficulties and dangers. It is evident, too, that if, or some of them, may not have had their prototypes in old Italian usage (see Marquardt, p. 46; Fowler, p. 218); but what we can be sure of, so far as our evidence can carry us, is that the emotional element was wholly new. In Livy's account we seem to see a kind of sin, or at any rate of pollution—a something wrong in the relation of the State to the supernatural, which did at times show itself in the ancient world, as, e.g., at Athens in the 6th century B.C. No doubt it indicates, both at Rome and at Athens, the progress of one outside of political privilege, which cannot rely upon the efficacy of methods in which it has no share and of which it knows nothing—a population left out of account to a great extent in the dealings of the State with the gods, and, therefore the more liable to anxiety and emotion. If we can judge of this period of Roman religious history by the general tendency of the policy of the Roman Government, we may see here a deliberate attempt to include the new population in worship of a kind that would calm its fears and satisfy its emotion, while leaving uncontaminated the old ritual which had served the State so long.

But there are not wanting signs in this period that the old religious forms were being cared for and developed in a new way; and this is more so, the last century before the war with Hannibal. This brings us to a consideration of the part played after the expulsion of the last king by the two great colleges of Pontifices and augurs, who, as we have seen, were during the period only the consulting staff of the Rex in religious matters. The patrician aristocracy used them with consummate skill in establishing their control over all religious aspects of the State's business, and it was not till the year 300 B.C. that plebeians were admitted to them, though long before that date (in 367, Liv.
vi. 37) the Duoviri had been increased to ten, half of whom must be plebeians.

5. The Pontifices.—This collegium was originally an offshoot of the municipal power (see above, 2.41), was increased to nine in this period as the business of the office grew, and later rose to fifteen. Of these members the Pontefex maximus was at all times both nominally and really the head, while the others formed his consilia, according to Roman notions of office. When he devolved, when the kingship was abolished, the whole of the functions of the Rex in relation to the ius divinum; i.e. the sacra of the State, in the widest sense of the word, were in his care. The Vestals, the Rex sacrorum, and the three great Flamines were selected by him under a process which placed them in his potestas as they had been in that of the Rex (see above); and he succeeded to the Regia, which had been the king's dwelling, and which was close to the temple of Vesta, the heart of the State, on the Via Sacra. As he held his office for life, and as under his presidency the collegium co-opted its own members when vacancies occurred, it may fairly be said that he was the most important and influential personage in the State during this period; and this will be still more obvious if we add that he was both a civil and a military magistrate. These were chiefly administrative, and may be explained under two heads, as they affected (1) the State in general, and (2) the life and interests of families and individuals.

(1) State authority. The special sacrificial functions of the Rex, which were traditionally associated with his title, passed to the Rex sacrorum; but much ritualistic work remained for the Pontefex maximus and his colleagues. For example, all sacrificial acts, except those which were undertaken after inspection of the Sibyl line books by the Pontefices, were ordered and carried out under the supervision of the, Pontifices; the books of Livy abound with examples of this practice. Events were constantly happening which required such expiation, and it was only in extreme cases that the Pontifices gave way to the Duoviri. All pontifical acts, and especially the stripping of any spot or building by lightning, called for their action (procuratio fulguris), and such places were under their directions walled in and remained sacred. Again, all vows (vota) made by magistrates—e.g., in undertaking to build a temple, or to hold ludi, in a religious capacity, by public or private enterprise—were subject to the approval of the Pontifices, who dictated the exact wording of the votum, and superintended its fulfilment. No temple could be made over to a deity without their sanction, and the terms of dedication as well as the whole ritual to be followed were laid down by them in the lex dedicationum. The reception or admission of new deities lay within their sphere of action; and, though we do not hear of collisions between them and the Duoviri sacris faciundis, we may see in their control over the matters of any spot or building by lightning, the exaction of a tribute. As the pontifices had the ear of the magistrates, the latter could hardly resist objections on the part of the higher collegium to any new cults brought in under their auspices. But, as we examine the list of temple foundations of this period (see Aus, de Editio), we seem to see that those which were due to the Duoviri, and especially the stripping of any spot or building by lightning, are largely absent in the first two centuries after the expulsion of the last king, while a new period of pontifical activity in this department seems to begin after the opening of the collegium to the plebs in the year 300 B.C. Between 273 and 294 B.C. we find foundations of Italian origin: to Consus, Pales, Tellus, and Vertumnus; and during the first Punic war to the Tempeastes, to Janus, to Juturna, and to Fons, all deities connected with water, who were perhaps utilized, in the absence of any distinctly Italian gods, in the war. As the pontifices were in continual peril. The Pontifices seem, too, at this time to have been very active in inventing new deities on Roman lines and in harmony with Roman ways of thinking of the divine; thus abstractions, such as Salus, Fides, Spes, Pulcilita, are provided withRocketettes, and a deity Avellius, according to a highly probable conjecture of Mommsen, was introduced when silver coins were first struck in 208 B.C. In fact, the Pontifices, under the headship for many years in this 3rd cent. B.C. of plebeians (T. Cornelinius [Liv. Epit. xvi], Cæcilius Metellus, from 248, to 224), were so extremely active in this way that it is not unreasonable to ascribe to them that strange catalogue of deities called the Indigitamenta, which is usually referred to a much earlier time, and which is constantly quoted to prove that the Romans of the earliest age invented and named deities who presided over every action of their lives. Varro copied this list from the libri pontificum, and St. Augustine (de Civ. Dei, iv. 8 ff.) copied them from Varro to show the absurdities of the Idols. Here, it seems, among their deities, the priest who attended the school to children, Sterculia, the dunghill spirit, and the rest, a pontifical classification which probably had no other effect than to assist in taking the life out of the old Roman's feeling towards the xanthis which surrounded him; an example of the process by which a religious system was gradually killed by the exaggeration of its own methods (see art. Indigitamenta.; and, for the view given above, Fowler, p. 341, and Religious Experience of the Roman People, p. 159 ff.).

Two other acts, the retaining to public administration remain to be mentioned. First, they had the entire charge of the calendar with its course of religious festivals. It is not necessary here to go into the history of the Roman measurement of time or the nature of their astronomical year; but all such matters, as well as the adjustment of religious rites within the year, were absolutely in the hands of this college, and the frequent necessity for intercalary put a power into their hands which, in later times at least, was often used for political purposes. Secondly, they possessed the power of keeping, and of records drawn up by themselves, both of religious and of political events.

(2) Authority over private life. Every Roman family had, like the State, its own sacra, which it had been bound by law to observe, and which ceased to exist when it came to an end; we have already noticed the worship of the door and the hearth, and that of the dead ancestors, and to these we need add doubt that in some families special cults of particular deities, as, e.g., that of Jovevicus. Thus every marriage, every death of a poterfamilia, and every testament made by persons sui juris was of importance not only in the way in which we regard them at the present day, but as affecting the maintenance of...
these sacra, which became eventually so often a burden upon the family that a hereditas sine sacris was a proverbial instance of good luck. The supervision of all these matters, originally so immensely important for the integrity and perpetuity of the Roman family, was the work of the Pontifices, the pontifical guild. An older title to this confraternity, a rite of distinctly religious character (De Marchi, p. 147 ff.), could be completed only by the consent and in the presence of the Pontifex maximus; for by this process a new family was created, of which the new sacra had to be organized. The performance of a will was a process of a sacred character, to which the consent of the collegium was necessary. In the days of the kings the Rex had presided on these occasions twice in the year; on March 23 and May 24 (Mommsen, Romisches Staatsrecht, iii. 375) at the Comitia Curtiata (called on these days Calata), no doubt with the Pontifices as assessors; and to the Rex succeeded the Pontifex maximus, as we may infer, though we have no direct evidence (cf. Marquardt, p. 397). Once more, the wills, by necessity the residue of the rites of burial were conducted, and the yearly renewal of these at the Parentalia, the choice of the last resting-place, and all questions as to the right of a dead person to burial—these matters were also wholly under the jurisdiction of the collegium. As already stated, the apices of such things were infinitely more important in the eyes of the early Roman population than they are for us—that the least flaw in carrying them out might lead to very unpleasant consequences for the family—we shall begin to understand how great and far-reaching were the powers of the collegia over the conscience of the privatus homo: it can be compared only to the power of the medieval priest, and might have become a yoke on the popular mind as heavy and as continuous, if the Romans had been sensitive to threatened terrors in another life, or if they had not come into contact with the unbelieving Greek even before this second period came to a close. (For further details see art. PRIEST, PONTIFRHOOD [Romans]; A. Bouhé-Ledero, Les Pontifes de l'ancienne Rome, Paris, 1877 [Marquardt, p. 237-290]).

6. The Augures.—The collegium of Augures, originally, like that of the Pontifices, three in number with the Rex at the head, was also increased to nine, and opened to the plebs in the eventful year 300 B.C. by the Lex Ongulina. It stands apart from the other priesthoods, inasmuch as it had nothing to do with the actual worship of the gods; its activity was entirely concerned with the interpretation of omens, which were supposed to affect all State business, including the appointment of priests, the consecration of temples, the reaping of the crops, and the meetings of assemblies for the election of magistrates and the passing of laws. Doubtless the Italian husbandman, before he had become the citizen of a State, had been wont to observe carefully all signs of weather, among which were included particularly the omens of birds and other animals; in part such omens would be based on experience and of some practical value, in part also on fancy and superstition. The work of the augurs in the city-State was to reduce such signs to a system; the Pontifices reduced to a system the details of coronation, marriage, and adoration of the gods. Conflicting interpretations would lead to delays and quarrels; and it is most characteristic of the Roman ideas of government that the whole authority in such vital matters should be placed in the hands of a collegium, in whose decisions the State and all its members should have absolute confidence as the interpretes Jovis, who could construct a system of their own, hold their meetings in strict privacy (on the Nones of each month), and so relieve the minds of the people from constant scruple and doubt.

Every Roman magistrate of the highest rank had the right of auspicio, i.e. of taking the auspices; but the college of augurs was the referee in all doubtful cases, and in the city the magistrate was accompanied with a magistral auger. If on the evening of a festival the augur took a rest into the night, he took his position at the proper place in order to observe the heavens (Marquardt, p. 401 and ref.'). The details of augural lore which were strictly followed on these occasions are very complicated, and imperfectly known; but they have in reality little to do with the religious beliefs of the people. As an example we may cite the fact that, apart from the observation of the flight of birds and of lightning, which was the chief subject of the elaborate systematization of this collegium, that of the manner of feeding of the sacred chickens was also developed under their superintendence: if the chickens refused to feed, the omen was bad; if they so greedily devoured that they dropped grains out of their bills, the omen was good (Cic. de Divinat. i. 15). It is impossible to say that such ordinances led to a disbelief in the whole system among educated men, though it was kept up for the benefit of the ignorant and superstitious multitude; and before the close of our period we have a Consul in command of a fleet throwing the sacred chickens (which every fleet and army carried with it) into the sea because they would not feed (in 249 B.C. [Liv. Epit. xix.]).

Before we leave these two great collegia of the Pontifices and Augures, it is necessary to point out that these ‘priests’ were in no sense what we should now call religious persons, but the representatives of that world of laymen to live a holy life, to teach, and to preach; they might be magistrates as well as priests, they taught no doctrine, they practised no asceticism. The religion which they represented was one of works and not of faith; so long as the cults were properly carried out and the omens duly observed, all was done that need be done for the safety and prosperity of the State and its members. As the jus divinum was part of the jus civile, so were the priests to be reckoned among the officials of the State. Only the most ancient ones, the Vestals and the Flamines, were kept apart from the rest of the population as being engaged in daily sacrificial operations which would be indirect in their faith if they were liable to contamination, and of these the Vestals alone maintained their exclusive priestly character to the last.

To sum up the characteristics of this period, we notice:

1. The introduction of numerous new deities and their cults, both of Italian and of Greek origin, and of a more showy and emotional ritual, the latter more especially under the direction of the Sibylline books and their keepers, the duoviri sacris faciundis.

2. The systematization of the jus divinum as an essential part of the jus civile, or law of the State, to such a degree that all the important acts of a Roman citizen, both public and private, were regulated in their relation to the divine inhabitants of the city.

3. The rise to paramount power in the State of the two great collegia by whom this regulation was effected, and especially of the Pontifices.

III. Third Period

(From the war with Hannibal to the Empire, 218-31 B.C.).

The religions system which we have been so far examining may be described as the sum-total of
all those cults which were recognized and maintained by the State; this maintenance by the State was the unifying principle in the period now to be dealt with we shall find the care of the State for the old cults becoming rapidly relaxed, while at the same time new and foreign ones are introduced of a kind much more incompatible with the old Roman ideas than any that had been adopted in principle in the earlier period. The old ideas themselves being used more and more for political purposes only, as the governing class discovered that under the influence of Greek philosophy it ceased to share them, while the lower population remained at least as superstitious as ever. Here, then, the Roman State-religion might be said to come to an end, so far as it was an honest supervision of the relations between the human and the divine population for the mutual benefit of both—a performance of duty from genuine motives, with the object of safeguarding the best interests of the community. As Ausl has well said (p. 57), the subject now branches in three directions, if we are to follow the history at Rome of those ideas which may broadly be termed religious, though they no longer bound the thought of people in any definite form of religion. We should have to trace the decay of the old cults; the growth of new beliefs or speculations about the nature of the gods, Fate, divination, and duty; and, thirdly, the superstitious manifestations of these—ill-omened and superstitious as ever. The influence of exciting foreign worship. But to work all this out in detail would be quite beyond the scope of this article. It will be better (1) to give a brief account of the immediate effects of the war with Hannibal, both during and soon after it, in order to show the religious feelings and ideas of the people and on the policy of the governing class; (2) to sketch briefly the influence of Greek literature and philosophy in disintegrating the old religious ideas; (3) to summarize the actual results of these causes on the religious policy of the State, and to point out the number of certain vows if the State should be in existence ten years later. 'Hec procura pro vita libris Sibyllinis,' adds Livy (xxi, 62), 'magnae ex parte levantvar animis religiosis; i.e., these measures served for the time to quiet popular scruple and anxiety. But almost directly a new trouble seized men's minds; for the Consul Flaminius, the victim of two of the Sibyls, was said to have committed suicide through supernatural agencies. The Decemviri, led the city to assume his command without taking the auspices or making the usual vows in the Capitol, fearing that for political reasons the Senate might detain him by falsifying the auspices. He also went to the Temple of Aesculapius, and his subsequent defeat and death thus served only to increase the general panic. In the first chapter of bk. xxii, Livy records a new series of prodigia of all kinds, and recourse was again had to the Sibylline books, and fresh directions were given for expiation, among which we notice the growing Greek influence in the prominence of Juno, the legendary enemy of the Trojans, from whom the Romans were now beginning to believe themselves descended. After the disaster at Trasimeene the record becomes still more astonishing. Besides lectisternium and supplicationes, the Sibylline books directed the general vow of a ver sacrum to be made (Liv. xxii. 9); i.e., if five years later the State still existed in integrity, all sheep, oxen, pigs, goats, etc., were to be dedicated at the greatest places and the Senate and Roman magistrates were to take part in the ceremony. The auspices were generally vouched for, and the people were also vouched for; cost 333,333 Attic asses, the number three having a special religious significance. Lastly, the Decemviri ordered a lectisternium of three days, in which there were as many Greek gods and goddesses represented as Roman names; Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Athene, Ares and Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis, Hephestus and Hestia, Hermes and Deumter (Liv. xxii. 10). After the crushing defeat at Cannae envoy's were sent to Delphi to inquire whether there was to be any end of these disasters; and during their absence the Decemviri ordered
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'sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria' (Liv. xxii. 57), among which Livy mentions that of a Gallic man and woman and a Greek man and woman, who were buried alive in the Forum Boarium—a horrible rite which is said to have survived even into the Empire (Wissowa, p. 421).

These examples will have made it clear that the strong faith of Oriental people was giving way under constant peril and anxiety; their belief in supernatural agency was profound, but they knew not what deity was persecuting them, or where to turn for help, and were in danger of complete demoralization. All the Oriental religious experiences which Livy has recorded are the attempts of the governing classes to quiet the minds of the people by convincing them that no effort was being spared to set right their relations with the unseen world, to vindicate themselves as mediators with the hostile deities; but so far all had been in vain, and the devices of the great colleges must have been put to a very severe test. Fortunately the worst was over, and only once during the course of the war was the danger again so imminent. When Hasdrubal was nearing Italy in 207 B.C., a fresh outbreak of the Bacchus-cult, and with it the predominance of Greek features in the steps taken to appease her. Two years later (205 B.C.), the Punic force was again growing, and the house of persuading the people to hold out a while longer until Hannibal should have evacuated Italy; twelve years had passed and he was still there, and both Rome and Italy were exhausted. They said that they found in their books an ancient prophecy that, if the sacred stone of the Magna Mater Idea, the great goddess of Pessinus in Phrygia, were brought to Rome, the king of Pergamus, to whom the place and stone belonged, gave his consent, and the sacred symbol would be transported to Rome, and rejoicing by an excited and now hopeful people. 'Scipio was about to leave with his army for Africa; a fine harvest followed; Hannibal was forced to evacuate Italy the next year; and the goddess did everything that was expected of her (Ptolemy, Frigia, i. 5). An annual festival was made a festival (April 4), called by the Greek name Megalesia. No Roman was allowed to take part in the service of the goddess, for such Oriental worship were of a dangerously orgiastic character; it might, in the wrong hands, be used as a testy, though a popular one. Nevertheless, the Government was willing within a few years to admit this stone into the very heart of the ancient city; it had been placed at first in the temple of Victoria, but in 191 B.C. was transferred to a temple of the Magna Mater herself on the Palatine hill, dedicated in that year (Aust. de Edibus sacris, p. 29). With the introduction of this cult, which was freely taken up by all classes, we may connect the fashion of consulting Oriental astrologers, called by the Romans Chaldaei or mathematici, which continued far into the imperial age. Of frequent attempts to restrain it, as in 130 B.C., when they were expelled from Rome and Italy (Val. Max. i. iii. 3; and see the new Epitomes of Livy's sixth decade brought from Egypt by Gren. ian. i. iii. 14). The worship of Ma or Bellona from Cappadocia, and those of Isis and Mithras, were to follow in due course.

There can, indeed, be no doubt that both Romans and Italians found their own narrow system of religion quite inadequate to express what we may call their religious experience of the last twenty years; they had longed for aid and protection, and for knowledge of the right way to address themselves to the supernatural powers in whose existence the great mass of them still profoundly believed; and they had invited in vain, on the old rigid methods, their own local and native deities. Undoubtedly the times had aroused deep emotions of a religious kind, and this had found no legitimate outlet. A still more striking proof of this than even the introduction of the Magna Mater is the extraordinary rapidity with which the rites of Dionysus-worship, surreptitiously introduced at this time, seized upon the minds of men and women of all classes in the year 186 B.C., spread over a great part of Italy, and drove the Government to interfere forcibly to save the State from the moral disintegration which accompanied it. The story is told in full by Livy (xxxix. 8 ff.), and we still have a part of the decree by which the Senate commissioned Consuls to investigate and check the mischief (CIL i. 43). This object was achieved; yet the Bacchus-cult was allowed to remain, under strict supervision—the best of proofs, as Aust observes (p. 78), that the State religion no longer possessed the power to satisfy the impulses of men. It seems as if Rome had remembered that the population of the city was by this time of a very mixed character; the true Roman people had suffered severely in the wars and by pestilence, and their place was largely taken by new arrivals, who, without knowledge of any religion of their own. To such, and to their descendants, even Jupiter Optimus Maximus himself could hardly appeal, for he was, in fact, a political rather than a religious conception. We may take it as a fact that this population of Rome, lacking the old cults and the old ideas, and little or no aid towards right conduct. All that could be done was to keep it amused with constant games and shows, which had been originally of a religious character and limited to single days, but now were secularized and freely extended in length, and to keep it provided with the means of existence. To provide it with a common religious belief or worship was utterly beyond the power of the Government. The old dying religion could indeed be used, so far as its forms went, for patriotic purposes, to control the naturally superstitious masses; but it had lost its unifying and comforting power.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.—The Hannibalic war affected the beliefs and the morale of all classes alike; the critical spirit of Greek thought was to affect chiefly and directly that upper stratum which was more or less capable of comprehending it. This critical spirit had long been acting as a solvent in Greece, not only on the ideas of the gods derived from the old mythology, but on the local cults of the Greek who and the belief in their efficacy; and in this process it had been greatly assisted by the conquests of Alexander and the wars of his successors. With the break-up of the keen individual life of the Greek city disappeared the genuine relation of the polytheistic Greek religion to the life of the citizen; though the old city-cults lingered on in outward form, they lost their real meaning under the overshadowing power of deified kings and the attempts of philosophers to provide a rational basis for the daily conduct of the individual. This means the Romanization of the old religious ideas very rapidly under the influence of Greek thought in the period with which we are now dealing, when it began to develop a literature and to think, found nothing to learn from the Greeks which could act otherwise than as a solvent of its old religious ideas, expecting.

The very first example that we meet of this destructive process is too striking to be omitted
here, though it is no doubt possible to exaggerate its importance. Ennius, the first man of real genius who wrote in Latin, among his many works translated the range of Hellenic philosophy, in which he attempted to explain the Greek gods as merely ancient kings who had been deified—an idea quite in harmony with the prevailing practice of the post-Alexandrian period; and this translation does not seem to have been received with any disapproval at Rome. It is characteristic of the age that the man who did more than any one before Virgil to glorify the Roman character and dominion should have struck the first direct blow at the popular belief in the gods; but Ennius was no Roman sailor, and he was perhaps only expressing his personal views (Kranmer, p. 44). It is doubtful whether the book became popular; it is mentioned only once in Roman literature (Cic. de Nat. Doctr., i. 42, 119), and the methods of publication were then but little understood; but in other works Ennius shows the same tendency (cf. the famous lines in his Telamón, based on the teaching of Epicurus: 'Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dieam cellitum, Sed eos non curare opinor quasi agat humanum genus,' etc. [O. Ribbeck, Troy, Rom. Frag., Leipzig, 1857, p. 166]).

As his class to himself and his people, the Stoics was coined by the Romans in a naturalistic spirit. In the first two centuries of the Republic had a far more profound and lasting effect on Roman religious ideas. (The third, the New Academy, being neither positive nor constructive, but critical only, need not be considered here.)

Epicureanism was first in the field, but was slow in gaining ground, and Rome produced no great Epicurean but Lucretius the poet; nor did even he become popular, for his direct and enthusiastic denial of the value of religio, and his appeal to the intellectual faculty of man to rid himself of the degrading bondage of that religio, were not in harmony with the Roman genius. Epicureanism was to some extent popular on its practical side (Cic. Tus. iv. 3, de Div. ii. 59), with bad moral effects; but, as taking no account of gods or cult, except as a matter of utility, it could not gain, neither the class that was responsible for the surviving forms of the State religion nor the lower orders still steeped in superstition. See art. Ep-

cureans.

Stoicism, on the other hand, laid a strong grasp on the best Roman minds; its ideal man was in many ways in keeping with the ideal Roman character, and its cosmopolitanism suited the wide range and the varied populations of the Roman Empire. It did not deny the existence of the divine or even, as did the Epicureans, the interest of divine beings in the affairs of the world; it postulated a Supreme Deity, identical with Reason, Law, or Destiny, and left place for the existence of subordinate deities by making them functional emanations from the Supreme Deity. As his duty he aimed to rid himself of the degrading bondage of that religio, and with some of the ablest Romans the teaching of an earnest and learned Stoic like Panetius, the intimate friend of Scipio the younger, and founder of what may be called Roman Stoicism. This is almost a substitute for religio. While Stoicism did not strive to save the old cults from neglect or extinction, it did much to save the educated Roman from the contempt of all religion which Lucretius had expressed so vehemently, and even did something to save him from moral disintegration. And at the very end of this period we meet with a very curious attempt, on Stoical principles, to harmonize the old religious beliefs with philosophic theories of the universe. See Cic. Acad. vii. 16, with De legibus, 1; Tertullian, De spir., 20; and G. F. Kranmer, The Roman Em-pire, the part of the Christian writer Eutocius, who noted on all religions as mere folly.

Varro assumed the Stoic doctrine of the animus mundi, the divine principle permeating all material things, which, in combination with those material things, constitutes the Universe, Nature, God, Destiny, or whatever other name the Stoics used to express it. The mundus is made up of the four elements, and these partes mundi are also divine, as are the various phenomena which they underlie. In the 16th book of his work Varro co-ordinated this Stoic theory with the Greco-

Roman State-religion of his age. The chief gods, according to varro, were parecclesiastical deities, the deus mundi in various ways; and even the difference of sex among the deities was explained by regarding all male gods as emanating from the heaven, and all female ones from the earth, according to a familiar ancient idea of the active and passive factors of generation (Augustine, de Civ. Dei, vii. 23).

The Stoic theory of deusos was utilized in the same way to find an explanation for semi-deities, heroes, Lares, Genii, etc., and thus another feature of the old Italian religious mind was to be saved from contempt and neglect. At the head of the whole system was Jupiter, who seems to have been recognized by the Stoics of the Roman school as representing not only the heaven but even the animus mundi itself (Cic. de Nat. Doctr. i. 1, 4); and the various functional activities of this supreme god multiplied his almost incalculable titles (Tertullian, Apol. 14). So, too, with the other chief deities; and thus another tendency of the old Roman religion was skillfully worked into the new system, viz. that tendency to see the supernatural manifesting itself in innumerable ways expressed instead of being repudiated. The idea that the human action and suffering, of which the Pontifices had taken advantage to construct their so-called Indigentmenta. But the deities of the Roman cults had become so worn and indistinct with age that in many or most cases their functions were no longer clearly to be discerned, even by a learned antiquarian like Varro; and he was compelled to include in a large class of di incerti those of whose functional activity he could not be sure (Wissowa, p. 75).

Thus the one system of philosophy which could really appeal with effect to the best type of Roman mind was harmonized with the leading features of the old beliefs in a way which was neither unreasonable nor Indicous. The people, Varro seems to say, have neither time nor ability to reason on religious things, but can only take things on blind faith in indistinct beliefs, and may be led to take up from that of the Epicureans and Lucretius, who looked on all religions as mere folly.
and mental bondage; and, to judge from the attacks made on it by St. Augustine and the Fathers and from the temporary revival of the old cults which Augustus succeeded in achieving shortly after Varro's death, it was probably not without some substantial practical result. But it could have affected only the higher and educated classes; and it is an interesting fact in dealing with such questions. Varro himself, a Sabine of the sturdy old-Italian type, with an extraordinary interest in matters of religious antiquity as well as religious philosophy, was probably more in earnest than any other man of that age; but the ordinary attitude of the cultivated Roman to such speculations may be well seen in Cicero's three books, de Natura Deorum, which followed the work of Varro, and were to some extent influenced by it. Cicero's attitude to religion was simply sceptical and eclectic; he inclined to the Stoic view, but treats the whole subject as a matter for pleasant discussion, without showing any conviction of its importance to Rome or mankind. In all his voluminous writings, including his correspondence, there is no sign that his life was in any way disturbed by religious questions, or interested him in any way in which religion interests him as its use for political purposes. And Cicero is a type of the educated Roman of his day (see some good remarks in Boissier, Religion romaine, i. 56).

iii. THE ACTUAL RESULTS OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION.—We have now to illustrate the actual results for the old religion of these two main causes of disintegration—the Hannibalic war and the influence of Greek philosophy.

(a) The cults.—The most striking evidence of the decay of the worship in the Roman period is suggested by our present ignorance of the meaning and the details of so many of them (see above, p. 820). Had they been maintained or fully credited with efficacy, the literature of the last century B.C. would assuredly have contained allusions to them sufficient to give us some idea of the nature of the deities and the details of their worship. But neither Cicero nor any of his contemporaries but Varro has anything important to tell us of them. Varro was the only Roman really interested in them. A little later, Greeks like Diodorus of Halicarnassus, or foreigners like the Manetianus Julia, took some trouble to understand them, also from antiquarian or philosophical motives. But by the time of Varro and these antiquarians the decay had already gone so far that many of the old cults were quite neglected and forgotten. A few examples will suffice.

The name Agonia, which stands for a festival four times in the ancient calendar, was so much a mystery even in Varro's day that we do not know for certain the meaning of the word, or what the rites were performed on those days. The Furrinalia, Lucaria, Divalia, are almost entirely lost to us, as they were to Varro (so far as we can guess from what we know of his writings). The Regulium in February and the Popiligia in July were even then little noticed and frequently neglected and the local oblations just before Caesar's death. It can hardly have been one of the wholly neglected festivals, yet the fact that no writer mentions it before that date shows conclusively how little interest such old customs excited. With the cults the old deities, of course, vanished in many cases, though this is less astonishing, since the Romans, as we have seen, at all the early stages of their religious life paid far more attention to worship than to the objects of it. No one knew the true nature of Jeovis, nor do we know ourselves; so, too, with Summanus, of whom Augustine says, no doubt following Varro, that he was at one time a greater deity than Jupiter himself (De Civ. Dei, iv. 23); (quibus est est," writes Ovid in speaking of Minerva (Fasti, vi. 100), how little, then, we know of Varro was equally in the dark. Consus survived only because he had become oddly identified with Poseidon Hippo, and we are left to conjecture from stray facts of the cult that he was originally a harvest-god. Even augurs were too dangerous whose so-called temple by the Forum was matter of public interest owing to the practice of keeping it open whenever Rome was engaged in war, became the subject of vain philosophical speculation, no one suspecting that his origin was really as simple and humble as we now believe it to have been (see above, p. 826); and Ovid fancifully 'interviews' the old god in the vain hope of discovering his nature (Pasti, i. 89 ff.). Vesta survived at all times, with her cult and her virgin priestesses; the latter could not become secularized, and the character of shrines which the cult maintained was too well recognized as a symbol of the State's vitality to be subject to neglect like other less significant cults. Yet, if we turn to the list of deities represented in the rites of the Numan calendar (see above, p. 824), we shall find among the goddesses of Etruria, whose domain was the only one of them who has not been either forgotten or metamorphosed in one way or another under the influence of Greek literature and mythology.

Further, it is a well-attested fact that in the general Indulgence of the last century B.C., the day of orderly and detailed administration, the temple-buildings of the city were fast going to ruin in the last age of the Republic. Augustus has told us himself that he restored no fewer than eighty-two (Monumentum Annonarium, iv. 17); and the ode of Horace (iii. 6) which begins, 'Deliciae maenianae inermius Iues, Romane, donec templum refeceris,' etc., is familiar to everyone; and Propertius and Ovid tell the same tale (Marquardt, p. 67 and reft.). The greed of capitalists and the want of space for building had long before this begun to override the sacred character of shrines in the city; thus in 178 B.C. the censors had to rescue a number of sacrilegium from private occupation (Liv. xi. 51. 8; cf. Cie. Harusp. Resp. xv. 32); and in his dialogue de Natura Deorum, supposed to have taken place in the year 75 B.C., Cicero writes of theft of statues and other property from temples (L. 20, 82)—sacrileges which we may probably attribute to the demoralization caused by the social and civil wars. A number of new temples were founded in this period, but they seem to mark the fancy of those who vowed them rather than any fixed religious policy such as was traced in the previous age; and, before the end of the period with which we are now dealing, we find a temple which ominously forecasts the future, that of dieus Julius, begun the year after his death. (For these foundations see Aust, de Edi-

(b) Priesthoods.—The oldest of these, the Rex sacrorum and the Flamines, which were attached to particular worship, fell into partial or complete neglect during this period. From the nature of their duties, the sacred fire which they had to keep was of no use in any office which might take the holder away from Rome; according to the old ideas of the relation of the State to its deities, their absence would have been detrimental to public interests. But from the Hannibalic war onwards every ambitious member of the governing class looked to office and military command to procure him both wealth and influence; and as a consequence he avoided all
employment which would keep him at home. Attempts were made to break the rule, but for a long time the Pontifex maximus forbade such elections; and, with the priest in question out of his position, disobedience was practically impossible. In 190 B.C. a Flamen Quirinalis was Praetor peregrinus, but was not allowed to hold a foreign command (Liv. xxxviii. 47). In 180 a Rex sacrorum tried to hold his priesthood together with a high Roman office (duumvir, duovir), but was compelled to resign it (Liv. xl. 42). In 131 a Flamen Martialis was Consul, and wished to have a command in Sardinia, but again the Pontifex maximus interfered (Cic. Phil. xi. 8); yet this same Pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Crassus, later in the same year went to Asia with an army, 'quod nondum Antea factum erat,' says Livy's epitomist (Epp. 59).

Perhaps the most remarkable instance of the degradation of the old sacrificial priesthoods is one which has been worked out by the present writer in CIR vi. (1898) 193 ff. from records in Livy; a youth of bad character belonging to the great family of the Valerii Flacci was made Flamen Dialius by the Pontifex maximus at the urgent request of his family in order to place him under the innumerable restrictions to which that important priesthood was subjected. He even was compelled to say, in the presence of augurs, he had the effect of reforming his character, and he became Curule solile and Praetor later on, his brother being allowed to take the oath of office for him, as the Flamen was not allowed to swear.

The general tendency was undoubtedly to shirk these priestly offices with their awkward restrictions, and it is almost certain that the Flaminium Dialis (from 77 to 11 B.C. [Williams, p. 71, note]) and the Flamines minores are not heard of in the last century of the Republic, and, as Marquardt justly argues (p. 67, note 1), if they had survived, Varro would hardly have been at a loss for information about the cult and nature of those priesthoods. If no great thing happened to such a priest, he seems to have had no chance to save himself; if he had adjoining priesthoods, of course, those posts had become completely secularized, and were filled by popular election like the magistrates. The Pontifex maximus seems to have been elected in Comitia as early as the Second Punic War (197-205 B.C.; Sestio, viii. 37, 39). In the case of the pontificals, priesthoods, of those Pontifices, Augures, and Decemviri (Quindecemviri in the last century B.C.), were thrown open to election by a Lex Domitia in 104 B.C., though by a method peculiar to themselves (Cic. de Lege Agraria, ii. 18). The last thing that a Roman thought of at this time, when he gave his vote for a Pontifex or an augur, was the qualification of the candidate to perform the traditional duties of his office; the Pontifices let the calendar be taken over into a state of chaos, and failed to keep up the sacrificial priesthoods which were under their control, while the augurs, as Cicero expressly tells us (de Divinatione, i. 15, 25, de Nat. Deor. ii. 3, 9), had become entirely ignorant of the ancient science, and were not allowed to be consulted about it, if we consider how severely the art of divination was criticized by the philosophers, and, on the other hand, how simple was the process by which it might be turned to account for political purposes.

If a Consul, even without calling in an augur, announced that he was going to 'observe an omens,' i.e. for lightning, that alone was sufficient in the eyes of constitutionalists like Cicero to put a legal stop to all business for that day; this was the consequence of the Lex Flia Fufia of 153 B.C., passed in order to give extra legal strength to a ministerial Government which was beginning to lose its moral weight. Cicero, though himself sceptical about the whole business of divination, repeatedly speaks of this law as a great bulwark of the constitution, and of its abolition in 58 B.C. as a fatal blow to the cause of Republicanism (Cic. pro Sestio, xv. 31 in Vatinius).

Of the collegium in charge of the Sibylline books we do not hear so frequently in this period; but, whenever the books are consulted, it is in the interest or against the interest of some party or family. To give a couple of examples: in 189 B.C. recourse was had to this device to prevent the great family of the Marcii from having the honour of bringing a new water supply into Rome, without effect in this case (Frontinus, de Ag. i. 7; cf. the new Epp. of Livy, Grenfell and Hunt, line 183); on the other hand, in 71 B.C. it was brought into play that forbade the invasion of Egypt by a Roman armed force, at a time when such an expedition was obnoxious to more than one party in the State; in this case the object was successfully achieved by this intrigue. The destruction of the old Sibylline books in the Governing of the Capitoline temple in 81 B.C. had compelled the Government to acquire a new collection by diligent search in Greece and the East (Marquardt, p. 352, note 7), and this had naturally given opportunities for much forgery and double-dealing (Suet. Aug. 31, Tac. Ann. vi. 12). The last thing that a Roman thought of was simple alleviation of wealth; Cicero was the last man to attempt to suppress the superstition, for he feared little or nothing; the conscience of the people was blunted and callous; if the State was in danger, as in the Cimbrian war, the people hardly realized it. But in 113 B.C. a temple to Venus Verticordia was ordered 'ex Sibyllinis libris,' 'ob incesa Virginitum Vestalium'—a significant fact (Aust, de Edibus, p. 28).

Thus, when the Republic came to an end, all real life, all incentive to dutiful conduct, all unifying influence, had departed from the religion of the Romans, and all honesty of purpose, all genuine belief in its efficacy, had vanished from the minds of those who were entrusted with the supervision of it. It must, however, be confessed that, historically speaking, little damage was done by this decay of the old cults and priesthoods, which had no pernicious influence upon the religious structure of the population like that of Rome, no saving health. But, like all the striking phenomena of this period of transition from city-State to Empire, the decay set in too rapidly, as the result of the unique struggle with Carthage, in which the Roman municipalities and in the lower classes had had time to learn to think, much less to think with due reverence for the past. It came so quickly that no efficient substitute had time to grow up among its ruins as a sanction for morality. If Stoicism could save some men, or a natural sense of duty to the State, as with Cicero, or even only
the love of hard work, as with Caesar, the ordinary individual, if ritual were neglected, and all trust in a spiritual world failed him, had no moral ballast, no bond of conduct to keep him from evil doing. Hence, in spite of noble exceptions, there was a real lowering of the level of morality in this age; that there was wickedness in higher circles we know; and we have every reason to believe that all classes were equally selfish and equally callous.

IV. FOURTH PERIOD

(From the accession of Augustus.)

It will be our object, in dealing with the last period of the life of the religion of the Roman State, to examine (1) its resuscitation by Augustus, and (2) the traces of its survival in Rome and the provinces during the next three centuries. We shall leave out of account the foreign religions which became fashionable in this period, as being fully dealt with in other articles; and also the worship of the Cæsars, the most remarkable feature of the religious practice of the early Empire, except so far as it was superimposed upon the older cults already discussed. There was a. separate and distinct worship of the imperial divinities. The worship of Cæsar as the divine Saviour, the Messiah, who would revive and extend the Roman Empire, was in some respects in its spirit quite similar to the worship of the State, as has been shown throughout this article, was quite consistent with that of the Romans and not a mere addition to it. It is possible, officially, no doubt for this reason, only dead emperors were allowed to be worshipped by the State, as dead ancestors had been by the family, the actual practice went far beyond this, and the ideas connected with the practice do not really belong to our subject. See Boissier, Deification (Greek and Roman), vol. iv. p. 529 ff.

i. THE REVIVAL OF THE STATE RELIGION BY AUGUSTUS.—This is not only the most remarkable event in the history of the Roman religion, but one that is almost unique in religious history. We have seen how completely the belief in the efficacy of the old cults had vanished among the educated classes, and how the outward practice of religion had been allowed to decay; and to us it may seem almost impossible that the practice, and to some extent also the belief, should be restored at the hands of a single individual, who, though that individual represented the best interests and the collective wisdom of the State. The explanation lies in the fact that, though it was too late to revive the old religion in its primitive form, the temper of the age was such as to revive the idea, common to all ancient States, that the morality, the political tranquillity, and the physical efficiency of the State were intimately bound up with the attention paid by the State to the divine beings who were interested in it. Right conduct, public concord, and the fertility of men, animals, and crops could not be secured to that State, it used to be firmly believed, unless its divine inhabitants were properly and continually propitiated. Thus the religious revival of Augustus is a part, and a necessary part, of his whole political scheme. He had learned from the experience of his predecessors in political power that reform on political lines only was quite insufficient and without any element of stability, because it did not appeal to any deeply rooted feeling in the popular mind. The Roman people were tired of political quarrels, of constitutional changes, of endless party legislation, of civil wars; Augustus gradually came to understand that the only healing medicine he could prescribe for the State was not so much of a political as of a moral and religious nature. Real political convulsions had long been evanescent; but there still remained the inherited conviction, especially among the masses, of the power of the gods to give or withhold prosperity, and it was this conviction that Augustus determined to use as his chief political lever. This will be appreciated by any one who will take the trouble to read and meditate upon the famous hymn which Horace wrote, at the request and doubtless almost against the dictation, of Augustus, in 17 B.C., for the Secular Games; there the ideas of religion, morality, and fertility are deftly woven together, and seem to express exactly this remedial policy of the Princes. Whether Augustus himself shared those convictions on which he determined to work it is impossible to say, but he did not fail to emphasize their importance for our present object. But, inasmuch as a man's religious beliefs are largely the result of his own experience and that of the society in which he lives, it would not be unreasonable to guess that in his religious revival he was expressing naturally a popular conviction in which he shared, rather than standing entirely apart and administering a remedy which he thought of as mechanical and not organic in its operation. And this view is confirmed by the tone and spirit of the great literary works which he stimulated or inspired. There is another reason why the Augustan revival should be of importance to our subject. See above, p. 846, note 4. We are dealing with the poets and historians of the time—e.g., in the preface to Livy's history, in the fourth Eclogue of Virgil and the conclusion of his second Georgic, and in some of the earlier poems of Horace, notably in the 16th Epodes and Odes, i. 6; and it was accompanied, as so often happened in the ancient world, by a tendency to superstitious beliefs and practices unauthorized by the State—astrology, magic, etc. (Boissier, i. 76). This consciousness of neglected duty—duity both to gods and to men, such as alone could make the State efficacious—had to carry out the will of Jupiter and the Fate—is, in fact, the raison d'être and the moral of the great representative poem of the time, the Aeneid of Virgil, without a careful study of which it is impossible to understand either the work of Augustus or the spirit of his age. It is an emphatic appeal to the Roman to put away from him individual passion and selfishness, and to respond to the call of Fate—of those moral forces which had wrought through the Roman dominion such mighty changes in the world. In the very years when Augustus was endeavoring to restore the old sense of ratio and pietas by rebuilding temples and resuscitating cults Virgil was leading his hero towards the accomplishment of his mission in Italy, developing in him the true quality of pietas, i.e. not only the due performance of service to gods and the community, but the sacrifice of self to the interests of the community, submission to the divine will in full confidence of ultimate success. The real meaning of Roman pietas is as clearly expressed in the poems of Virgil as in the best spirit of Puritanism is expressed in those of Milton. If it is not true that the spirit of the Augustan revival was embodied in the narrow bounds in which we have so far been tracing it, in accordance with the expansion of the State from a city into an Empire, and it is accompanied by the idea that a great future is yet in store for the State, of which the initial moments are close at hand. Whoever contemplates closely the work of Augustus in combination with Virgil's poem will find the same essential elements in each
of them: an appeal to the past as the only safe basis of reconstruction, and a confident hope for the future in a new life that he was declaring war against. In the poem, too, is to be found the conviction that the man who was thus reviving the past and at the same time securing the future was not only divi filius, but in fact himself divine.

Much more might be said about this subject, but the attempt to explain the ideas underlying what has often been wrongly described as a gigantic piece of deception. It is now, however, generally acknowledged that, even if Augustus was himself an unbeliever, he was reflecting and expressing a strong popular feeling (see Bössler, vol. i. chs. i. and iv.; Wissowa, p. 78 ff.; cf. his paper on the ‘Ludi Seculares’ in his Gesammelte Abhandlungen, p. 192 ff.; and Aust, p. 90 ff.). The one point steadily to keep in mind is that this strange movement was not merely a revival of religious rites, but an appeal through those rites to the conscience of the people. A revival of religious life it certainly was not, for what we understand by that term had never existed at Rome; but it was an attempt to give expression, in a religious form and under State authorization, to certain fundamental ideas not far removed from those which we in these days describe as our religious experience.

We may now proceed to a brief account of the revival of the old cults and priesthoods, noting the changes introduced to suit new circumstances, such as the expansion of the Empire into a cosmopolitan State, and the elevation of a single Roman family to the first place in outward dignity as well as in actual influence.

Augustus did not become Pontifex maximus till the year 12 B.C., i.e. nineteen years after the battle of Actium; he waited with scrupulous patience until the great priesthood became vacant by the death of Lepidus. This, however, did not prevent him from pursing his religious policy with great earnestness before that date, for he had long been a member of the college of Pontifices, as well as of the Augures and Quindecemviri. The year 12 B.C. may, however, conveniently serve as a landmark, dividing the consummation of his religious authority from a comparatively limited form of it. A good example of his earlier reversion to religious medicine, as it was called in the days of Antony, or more strictly against Cleopatra, he had revived the old college of the Fetiales (see above, p. 824), with its curious ceremony. On his return to Rome two years after the victory he began his great work of temple restoration, which he has himself put on record (Monumentum Ancyranum, iv. 17): ‘duo et octoginta tempora deum in urbe consul sextum (28 B.C.) ex decreto senatus refeci, multo praetermissae quod eo tempore refici debetat.’ The great importance which he attached to this work is thus made abundantly clear; and it is confirmed by the prominence given to the subject in the poems and histories of the period (e.g., Liv. iv. 29; Hor. Odes, iii. 6; Ovid, Fasti, ii. 59), and by the energy with which it was followed up by his successors (see below). Nothing could so well anoint and reassure the new life that was rising in the very eyes and minds of the Roman people; the employment of workmen, the adornment of the city, the solemn processes of dedication and consecration—all served the same general end in different ways, and must have done much to relive the old feeling that there were divinities as well as human inhabitants of the city, and the sense of duty in regard to them. But even from the outset it is most interesting to notice how this austere reformer contrived to combine the ideas of the Empire and of his own supremacy with the purely civil virtues; his family, i.e. the Julia, had always had a special connexion, not only with Venus but with Apollo, the Greek substitute, as it would seem, for the mysterious Roman Vejovis (CIL i. 807, xiv. 2387; Wissowa, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, 1908); and it was well known whom he had assisted him in that decisive moment of his fortunes. It was Apollo, too, who had become the authorized Roman deity of prophecy, and with his cult were connected the Sibyline books and the idea of a new and better age (Virg. Aen. iv. 7); Augustus therefore, in the year 28 B.C., dedicated to Apollo Palatinus a splendid temple on a site which belonged to himself and not to the State (Velleius, ii. 81), thus founding a cult which, though beginning as a private concern of his own family, was destined (as he doubtless well knew) to become one of the most important in Rome.

Another great temple which he built, also ‘in solo privato’ (Mon. Anc. iv. 21) in his own Forum Augusti, S.E. of the Forum Romanum, was that of Mars in the capacity of Ultron, i.e. as the avenger of the murder of Julius. The lex templi of this foundation was preserved in a paper (CIL iv. 10), and shows that its founder intended that even the great Jupiter of the Capitol himself was to epee some of his honours to this old deity of a new dynasty; here the members of the Imperial family were to sacrifice after assuming their tropa simulacra; here, too, the Emperor used his insignia after the triumph which had been decreed him by the Senate in the same building; here, too, after each Fasti, the Censors were to drive a nail into the wall (Wissowa, p. 126). This temple also stood in the close’s rehoused, a circular temple, for it contained not only a statue of Mars, but one of Venus (a Greek combination long familiar to the Roman mind, as we have already seen), thus bringing together the characteristic foundation—deity of the city with the reputed ancestress of the Julian family (Wissowa, p. 260). It is interesting to notice that this temple was not dedicated until some years after Augustus had become Pontifex maximus (Aug. 1, 2 B.C.); he had meanwhile been content with a small round temple to the same deity in the Capitol (Mommsen, Ges. Ost. Diss. Aug. 1898). The Pontificate, in this case, was a patronising step he also waited, and took it within a few weeks of his election to the great priesthood—viz. the dedication of a new temple of Vesta on the Palatine hill, immediately connected with the house of the Imperial family (CIL ii. 517; Wissowa, p. 79). This did not supersede the old temple below, with its ancient associations, but it signified none the less that the heart and life of the State, in one sense at least, was bound up with the hearth and home of the reigning Princeps.

It was going only one step farther when Augustus a few years later took the opportunity of his reorganisation of the city, and its division into fourteen regions, to introduce the figure of the Genius Augusti between those of the two Lares Compitales at each comitum, or meeting of two streets, to represent his family, and his new historic relations of the city with the incensation of the idea that the Princeps stood to the public religion as the paterfamilias stood to that of the household (G. M. Rushforth, Latin Hist. Inscriptions of the Early Empire, Oxford, 1893, p. 38 f.); Wissowa, p. 171 f.).

We do not know how far Augustus went in restoring the old temple cults; we can only suppose, on the evidence chiefly of Ovid’s Fasti, that with the restoration of the temples the old forms of worship were as far as possible rescued from oblivion. But we do know that he contrived
to revive the old sacrificial priesthoods, as distin-
guished from the flourishing semi-political col-
leges of Pontifices, Augures, and Quincte
cnervi. In spite of all its disabling restrictions, it was possible
once more to fill the post of Flamen Dialis; of Rex
sacerorum and the other Flamines we also hear in the early
Empires. This priesthood, which as these were in the potestas of the Pontifex
maximus, i.e. of the Princeps himself, it was not likely
that they would be allowed to neglect their duties.
Other ancient colleges were also revived, or con-
firmed by the inclusion of the Emperor himself
among them, as the Confessoria and the rele-
ables, the Sodales Titienses, the Salii, the Luperci,
and above all the Fratres Arvalis, the brotherhood
whose duty it had once been to lead a human pro-
cession round the crops in May, and so to ensure
the blessing of the gods on the most important
material of human subsistence (see above, p. 824).
A priesthood of this kind was after Augustus' own
heart, for it combined in its operations the ideas of
agriculture and religion, prosperity and moral-
ity, which, as we have said, are so prominent in the
Cornicen and Flamines of Horace; and the
people, tiring of the large number of sacrifices, records,
dating from shortly after the battle of Actium,
shows that it continued to work and to flourish
down to the reign of Gordian (A.D. 241), and from
other sources we know that it was still in exist-
ence in the times of Tacitus and Suetonius.

This record, which belongs to the year 69 or the accession
of Vespasian, shows that the sacred college of the
defied Emperors Augustus and Claudius, together
with the defied Divus, associated with the trias
of the Capitoline temple and the Salus publius
in the sacrificial rites, Otho himself being the
magister of the college, but represented by his
brother (as we have already said, see pp. 282, 283).

Under the Flavian dynasty which followed, this
association was, however, judiciously dropped.

No account of Augustus' work in the sphere
of religion would be adequate without some allusion
to the Secular Games (ludi seculares) of 17 B.C.,
the full account of which beyond the limits of this
book. In outward show, in the space of three days, all
his views and hopes for the political, moral, and
religious future of the Roman world. That year,
in which his faithful colleague Agrippa was still
spoken of him, and no serious misfortune had as yet
fallen upon the State or the Cesarian house,
yet be taken as the zenith of his career, and is aptly
marked by this singular celebration, of which the
details have come down to us almost complete.
To the Sibyline oracle which indicated the rites
and sacrifices of the Secular Games (ludi seculares)
for the year 18 B.C. by Augustus, the Moscoviensis
(Christian) Ussow has reproduced the contents of
this document with much skill and sympathy. The
most important part of it is now easily accessible
to students in H. Dessau, Syzygies Inscr. Lot.,
vol. ii. p. 282 ff.; but in view of the
information we add the hymn which Horace wrote
for the occasion in accordance with the views of
Augustus, and which is mentioned as his composition
in the inscription, it must be acknowledged that
there is hardly another vital moment of ancient
which can be so clearly reproduced in imagination,
and with all its meaning as well as its minutiae of detail.

According to certain old Roman ideas, of which
it is hardly possible to trace the origin, a new
season would be a period stretching from any moment to the
death of the oldest person born at that moment, and a hundred years was the average period so
conceived. A new season might thus begin at
any time, and might be endowed with special religious significance by certain ceremonies. The idea seems to have been that a new leaf, so to speak, might in this way be turned over in the history of a people, all past evil, material or moral, put away and buried (so the expression 'seculum conditum' is now explained), and a new period of peace and goodwill began anew. This idea has manifestly something in common with that underlying the many curious rites first collected by Mannhardt in his Baumkultus, and familiarized to English readers by Frazer in his Golden Bough, in which objects are thrown into the fire as symbols of the sorrows and sorrows to represent the cessation of one period of vegetation and the beginning of another. It is easy to see how exactly it would suit Augustus' policy, and how it might be manipulated to further his aims. Ever since his active life had begun, the idea had been in the air, and had won general recognition through the 4th Eclogue of Virgil and the fashionable mysticism of the age, while at the same time, as we have already seen, the popular feeling of depression and the desire to make a new start is not by any means uncommon in times of revolution and force. But Augustus did not work it out merely on old lines; he did indeed retain for the rites to be performed by night the underground altar of Dis and Proserpina in the Campus, which had been the scene of the Indl since their initiation by Mithras as a preparation in the winter months for the spring (249 B.C., a period of great depression and danger), but the place of these sombre deities was taken by such as would more exactly suit the lessons that he wished to inscribe: the Greek Moroe, the Greek birth-deity of the Hyades, and the popular deity of the Earth, the deity of all fertility. Thus the fortunes and destinies of the Empire and the fertility of man and of crop were brought in combination to the notice of the people. It was in keeping with this that the date selected for the celebration was the end of May and the beginning of June, when the crops were just ripening, a time when the Amburvalia used to be held, and the preliminary harvest festival of the Vestalia was about to begin; and it was also arranged that the people should make offerings of ears of corn to the Dis and Proserpina at those three days at the end of May (May 29–31), before the harvest months followed on June 1–3.

But the bright prospects and hopes of the coming seculum were represented, not by night or at an underground altar where the old seculum might still be kept, but in a more public manner on the Capitol and Palatine hills. On the first and second days the Emperor, with his colleague Agrippa, sacrificed on the Capitol to Jupiter and Juno (Minerva is not mentioned), and prayed for the preservation of the State; on the third day, after the sacrifice to Apollo and Minerva on the Palatine, i.e., to the protecting deities of the Imperial house in their private dwelling, Horace's hymn was sung by choruses of twenty-seven boys and as many girls, on the Palatine, and on the Capitol, in the temple of Apollo and Minerva (see Fowler, Religion of the Romans, i. 162). The spectacle must have been extremely beautiful; and so anxious was Augustus to make it universally popular that he even allowed the unmarried, who were excluded as a rule from Indl, to take part in it. It was approved by the Senate (votum) from the inscription, line 54. The Principate was to initiate a new era of peace and goodwill, of prosperity and populousness, of agriculture and plenty — and all of these were to be acquired and secured by faithful performance of service to the gods. This was the idea that lies at the root of this famous celebration, as it lies also at the root of the Aenid, whose author had died but two years earlier. Many details might be added to this account of Augustus' revival; but what has been here said will be enough to indicate the general outline and meaning of it. It remains to sketch the survival of the old Roman State religion in the Imperial period; but the material for this is as yet imperfectly gathered together from the volumes of the CIL.

ii. Traces of survival of the Old Roman State Religion in the Imperial Period. — The State religion was now beset, as we have seen, by three formidable enemies which tended to destroy it even while they fed upon it, like parasites in the animal or vegetable world which eat up their host, viz. the rationalizing philosophy of scepticism, the worship of the Caesars, and the new Oriental cults, yet, strange to say, it continued to survive in outward form, and to some extent, no doubt, in popular belief, for more than three centuries. This is the result partly of the tenacious conservatism of the Roman mind in regard to ancient forms and ceremonies, partly of the generous spirit, which had been given it by Augustus and his men of letters, and the conscientious care with which the successors of Augustus carried out his policy in this department. Tibertus himself had a curious interest in matters of religion, and seems to have made a study of them, and we find, for instance, in his work, the Baumkultus expounded and given a rational explanation by C. Mannhardt (Doctrina Baumkultus, 1856, p. 191), and a fresh idea of the plastin and the progress of the Flamen Dialis, or (ib. vi. 12) where he expounds the proper method of consulting the Sibylline books. Claudius added to the same tendency a pedantic anti-quarianism which made him also a faithful follower of Augustus' policy. With the Flavian dynasty, which was well disposed to the religious prestige of the Julian house, the tendency is rather to revert to those cults which were not specially connected with the Imperial house. The great trias of the Capitol—Jupiter, Juno, Minerva—seems to overshadow the Apollo of the Palatine hill and the Mars of the Capitoline, as it seems absolutely not, indeed, that the trias had ever lost its place as the foremost protecting power of the State (Wissowa, p. 128), but there is no doubt that the advent of a new family to power tended to diminish the prestige of those worships which were associated in the popular minds with the Caesars, and that the Caesars made a special point of the worship of Jupiter; he built temples on the Capitol to Jupiter Conservator and Jupiter Custos, and added to the prestige of the cult of the trias by the institution of a festival, the Agon Capitolinus (Tac.Hist. iii. 74; Ausp. in Roscher, a. 'Jupiter,' p. 749; for his fanciful devotion to Minerva see Wissowa, p. 255). The Antonines, even Marcus Aurelius himself, in spite of a grandeur of religions and moral belief which has rarely been equalled, were most careful in keeping up the tradition of the old Roman religion, and did not hesitate in times of public distress to put in action the whole apparatus of the old religion (Jul. Capit. 13). During all this early period of the Empire the temples were kept in repair assiduously, as is proved by the numerous inscriptions (vot. 962, etc.); Antoninus Pius is thus honoured 'ob insignem erga cerimonias publicas curam ac religiones,' CIL vi. 1001; and that there was no falling off in this respect seems to be shown by the well-known story of Constantius in A.D. 329, leaving shown round the temples 60 ludi of Minerva for the first time, and the curious interest which he took
in them in spite of his Christianity (Symmachus, Rel. iii.). And there can hardly be a doubt that this spirit of conservatism was not merely an affair of the Government, but that the Government was acting in harmony with popular feeling. In the Theodosian Code (xvi. 10. 2) we find that the worship of the family, i.e. of Lares, Penates and the Genii, had to be forbidden. But, in order to appreciate this tenacity, the student will do best to become acquainted with CIL vi. i., so far as it preserves the votive inscriptions of that age; for the number is enormous especially in Italy and Sicily, which recall in the greatest deities of the old time, and especially (apart from the Capitoline trias) in Mars, Minerva, Mercureius, Venus, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, Liber, Fortuna, Hercules, and others. A more concise survey of these inscriptions will be found in the selection by H. Desse, Sylloge Insaur. Lat., vol. ii. Again, the student of the Christian Fathers will not fail to note that their tendency is to accent the absurd minutiae of the old Roman religion rather than the philosophy or the Oriental worship of their time; and this is more especially the case with the use of the name for the deities of which we have already been mentioned, we thus incidentally learn so much that is of value for our subject (see esp. bk. iv. and vii.). The very necessity under which the leaders of Christianity found themselves of suitting their own religious calendar, and in some instances even their ceremonies, to the habits and prejudices of the pagans tells the same story; the Christian calendar of feasts is obviously based upon that of the Romans, and to this day there are many practices of the Roman Church of Rome in Italy and Sicily, which remind the student of the Roman religion of both the forms and the ideas that are familiar to him. (This very interesting subject, which lies outside the sphere of this article, is handled with great learning by H. Usener in his Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, etc., cf. his Sittengesch. p. 116, for the way in which the Christian doctrine of saints and angels fastened itself upon the gods of the Indigetomenta, aided perhaps by the philosophic doctrine that had explained these same gods as demons [Aust, p. 109].) To this process the Roman idea of the genius of an individual contributed not a little. But we need not here pursue the stages of the death of Roman paganism; nothing is to be learnt from them as to the nature of the old religion, except its extraordinary tenacity of life and its tenacity of life which has persisted for many years. (See especially chapters in Dill’s Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire, London, 1899, bk. i., and to Boissier’s La Fin du paganisme, Paris, 1891.)

(b) In the provinces. The volumes of the Corpus inscriptionum, especially those which collect the inscriptions of the northern and western provinces, show us the names of Roman deities with which we have become familiar in the course of this article, continually recurring in large numbers, and serve to remind us that the Roman soldier and the Roman soldier were the former parts of the Empire still worshipping the ancestral deities of the State. But here a great difficulty meets us, which it is not possible entirely to overcome. It was the Roman practice to note the points of interest in the story of the Province in the provinces they acquired and those of their own religion, i.e. points both in the cult and in the conception; thus both Cesar and Tacitus use this ‘interpretatio Romana’ instead of giving us the local names of the strangers (Ces. de Bilt. Gall. vii. 17; Tac. Germaniae 19). As Romans became more permanently settled in distant parts, and as the army came to be recruited almost entirely from provincials, the distinction between the deities of the Roman pantheon and those of the native provincials was gradually lost sight of, and even for the period of the early Empire it is extremely difficult to be sure to which category a name should be referred. Often, indeed, a cult-title added to the name of the deity enables us to be sure that the conception underlying the name is foreign and not Roman; and in the articles ‘Mars’ and ‘Mercurius’ in Roscher (ii. 2366 ff., 2828 f.) will be found a list of all such titles applied to these deities (which chiefly repre- sent the gods of the Roman arms and Roman commerce respectively in the provinces), which may mark them as foreigners under Roman names. But it would be rash to assume that where such titles are not found the deities are always genuinely Roman; and, in fact, we know from other sources that Roman names became permanently attached to local deities, and were so used even by the provincials themselves. Thus in CIL vii., which contains the British inscriptions, we find the goddess of the hot springs of Bath addressed as Minerva (no. 43), ‘Liber’ is the name for the god of the harvest, and in CIL viii. 792, s96, etc.; cf. von Domaszewski, Die Religion des römischen Heeres, p. 54; ‘Hercules’ represents the German ‘Donar’; and ‘Silvanus’, whose cult is widely spread over the Empire as a cult of gardens and woodlands (cf. also Olymp. iv. 282), is generally identified on inscriptions (cf. Wissowa, p. 215), and belongs especially to the life of the Roman settler and farmer, was in Dalmatia undoubtedly the representative of a native deity. The legions, however, retained in the provinces the genuine worship (combined with that of the Emperor) of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of whom the aquila was the symbol (von Domaszewski, p. 12), of Mars, and of Victoria (ib. p. 4 ff.); the auxiliary corps, who were not necessarily Roman citizens, continued to worship their own gods, whether under Roman names or not; but the leginary was a citizen, and the very nature of his oath and his service compelled him to the cult of the deities who protected the Roman State by its armies, though in the great majority of cases he was neither a Roman nor an Italian by birth. It is curious to find that in the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D., clear instances of the Orientalizing tendency of recent Emperors, a new military Mars-religion appears, the work of the legions themselves (cf. von Domaszewski, p. 34: ‘No god is so often found on the coins of the Em- perors of the eutoces as Mars, as the two emperors of the Senate have developed the cult of the god out of the worship of the family, and in certain of its most primitive and characteristic features, such as the cult of Vesta, always retained the marks of its ancestry. Other festivals, such as the Pagan- tinae and Corpus Hispania, and probably even the worship of a union of families before the era of the State was reached; these were taken up into the religious life of the State, and became sacra publica, according to the definition of that term in Festus, p. 245. But the religion of the family is included in the term sacra privata, and, in fact, forms the greater part of such sacra (At privata [sacra] qua pro singulis hominibus, familias, gentibus, funct., Fest. ad loc.); nor need we here go into
the question how far the individual was or could be the subject of religious rites, nor into the obscurer one of the cults which had become the hereditary property of particular gentes or clans.

Of the religion of the family we have considerable details surviving, and these have of late been well put together and more or less wholly based in his book on La Religion gentilicia et collegiata, appeared in 1905. Other modern authorities are De Marchi, iii., ii., Praeclarissimi divinarum religio... thürner, vol. i., where the private life of the Roman may be studied; and of epigraphical works, Inscriptionum Romanarum, edited by C. and E. Buck (1903), has interesting discussions of certain practices from the point of view of comparative religious practice; and a short article in Fowle's Festschrift in E. and S. London, 1914, p. 14 ff. It hardly needs to be said that the material from which our information is drawn on this subject is scattered over the whole range of Roman literature from Plautus and Cato to the Christian Fathers, and that the Corpus Inscriptionum and archæological researches have of late years added very important matter, which is still increasing, and still imperfectly sifted and absorbed.

Two preliminary remarks seem necessary. (1) There is no question here of periods of development, as in the religion of the State; development, or the evolution, is present and can be seen, but in the worship of the family and but little within it. True, the wealthy Roman families towards the end of the Republic period doubtless felt the influence of the general carelessness, but the sacra privata was not set in great legal relations with the continuity of the family and its property that the natural conservatism of the Roman was here strongly and for the most part successfully appealed to. On this point, and on the duty of the Pontifices to see that the sacra privata were duly maintained, see Serv. de Leg. ii. 46 ff. So far as we know, the only important change in the character of domestic worship was the iconic representation of the 'household gods,' which came in at the end of the Republican period: e.g., the Penates came to be represented by images of the Dioscuri (Wissowa, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, p. 95 ff.); otherwise in the country and in families of ordinary means the religious forms remained always much the same. (2) It is not to be supposed that the religion of the family was entirely independent of the State authorities. In the older forms, it is true, but so it seems to have been understood in the later times, if Servius is right in stating that the focus was the altar of the di Penates (ad Æn. xi. 211). The Lar was also included in historical times (Ov. Fasti, ii. 633), and the deities of the household were reckoned all together in the offering (so the vulgar dei is perhaps servilely put). Not that the practice of casting it into the fire points to a primitive usage in which Vesta alone was concerned, and supports the view taken above that she was the centre-point of the whole group, and the most essential representative of the life of the household. A very late development (De Marchi, p. 67, tab. iii.) shows Vesta sitting between two Lares, with the ass, her favourite animal, behind her; but this only serves to illustrate the anthropomorphic influence of Greek art on Roman religious life. Cf. also art. Health, Heath-Gods (Roman).

2. Penates are the spirits of the household store (penus, which word Cicero explains as 'omne quo vestiventur homines' (de Nat. Doctr. ii. 28; cf. Gell. Noct. Att. iv. 1. 17)). The religious nature of this store is very plain; in various houses of those of advanced city life and luxurious country villas, the deities of the household had its abode. As the atrium was the centre of the house, so was the hearth (focus) the centre of the atrium—the heath, the natural altar of the dwelling room of man (Aust. p. 214). This was the seat of Vesta, and behind it was the penus, or store-closet, the seat of the Penates. Thus Vesta and the Penates are in the most genuine sense the protecting and nourishing deities of the household. Here, too, in the atrium was the Lararium, or altar of the Lar familiaris, the deity of the land which the family tilled as well as of the house in which they dwelt; and here were instanced the Genius of the Matria, the Genii intercommunitatis, on whom the family depended for its fertility and continuance. A few words about each of these deities or spirits will help to make clear the character of this simple and beautiful religious life. They were all quite distinct conceptions, each in its way helping to uphold the later Greek and Roman syncretism, yet we can feel fairly sure about the essential meaning of each one of them.

i. Vesta was beyond doubt (see above, p. 825) the spirit of the fire on the hearth; she thus represented the most essential part of the domestic economy, the power to keep the body warm and to cook the food—the maintenance of the physical vitality of the family. It has been said, not without reason, that Vesta represents this vitality rather in the abstract, while the other deities are concerned with the actual practice of the cultus. (De Marchi, p. 67, following Hersog, in Rhein. Mus. xiv. 6). Perhaps it would be more exact to describe her as the centre-point round which the others are set; for she was at least as concrete a conception as any of the others, and more so than any of the Penates. Genii intercollegii, such as Vesta and the Lervestans, were of course supposed to be friendly, and allid Vestam quum vivam intellige flammam,' says Ovid, Fasti, vi. 291; cf. J. G. Frazer, O.G.P, pt. 1, The Magic Art, London, 1911, ii. 200 ff. In front of her dwelling—the hearth—was the table at which the family took their meals, with the salt-cellar (saltsalvum), sacred salt cake, baked according to primitive fashion (mola salata; Fowler, p. 110) by the daughters of the family, as for the State worship by the Vestals, and the little sacrificial dish (patella). After the first and chief course of the midday meal silence was enjoined, and an offering of a part of the meal was thrown on to the fire (Serv. Æn. i. 790; Marquardt, iii. 126 note). Thus it is certain that this offering was made to the spirit of the fire (Vesta); whether also originally to the Penates may be doubtful, but so it seems to have been understood in the later times, if Servius is right in stating that the focus was the altar of the di Penates (ad Æn. xi. 211). The Lar was also included in historical times (Ov. Fasti, ii. 633), and the deities of the household were reckoned all together in the offering (so the vulgar dei is perhaps servilely put). Not that the practice of casting it into the fire points to a primitive usage in which Vesta alone was concerned, and supports the view taken above that she was the centre-point of the whole group, and the most essential representative of the life of the family. A very late development (De Marchi, p. 67, tab. iii.) shows Vesta sitting between two Lares, with the ass, her favourite animal, behind her; but this only serves to illustrate the anthropomorphic influence of Greek art on Roman religious life. Cf. also art. Health, Heath-Gods (Roman).
invocation at the lustration of the ashes of the deceased (see §§ 91-111). Nor is it difficult to understand how the Lar of the holding found his way into the house: he became the object of the worship of the whole familia, i.e., the workers on the land, both bond and free, and passed (perhaps as the bond-workers grew more numerous and independent) into the holding of the Penates-Genus, with which, strictly speaking, slaves had nothing to do. It is true that we cannot trace this passage historically, and we know that the Lares of the comitum retained their seat there and remained as Lores capitolares even in the growing city; but we may be sure that the Lares were attached to the land and not, like the Genius, to the person of any man, and, as so attached, their presence in the house can easily be explained in any other way. The arguments for this theory will be found in full in Wissowa's art. 'Lares' in Roscher, in his Rel. und Kulth., p. 167 ff., and in a reply to Samter in A.W. vii. [1904].

4. Genius.—The last of the deities of the household was the Genius of the poster familias, not to be identified with the ancient house deity, the Lar, nor with the Lar familiaris (Censorinus, de Die Natuali, ii. 2); even so late as the Theodosian Code the two are distinguished in the practice of the cult (see Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 2). The Genius was in primitive conception the generative power of the household—of the man—though it was often represented as an ancient household or family, who (as has been assumed) was originally buried in the house, and continued to reside there. This was the view of F. de Coninques in his remarkable book La Cité antique, and it has of late been maintained by both De Marchi and Coulanges in their works. But archaeological research in Italy has failed to discover any trace of burial in the house, or even within the walls of a settlement (see Fowler, Cir. xi. [1897] 34). At all times the dead had a settlement of their own outside the development of the city, and we think that the Romans ever thought of their duly buried ancestors as having any place in the dwelling of the living. As among other peoples, they may have conceived as having a desire to return to their abode, especially if deprived by some accident of burial rites, but in the trace the great part of the living was to expel them (Fowler, p. 107 ff.). A convincing argument is that the Lares, as has already been mentioned, were never addressed as dii, as the Menes invariably were; i.e., they cannot have been human beings who became divine at death. Of late Wissowa has claimed for the Lare a different origin, and his view, in spite of criticism (e.g. Samter, p. 165 ff.), may be said to hold the field at present. The Lares, he argues, were not originally household gods at all, but deities presiding over the cross-roads, where several such holdings met; there stood the shrine, with as many altars as there were Lares and holdings over which they presided (see Wissowa, p. 167 ff.; art. Cross-Roads [Roman]). Thus they fill a place in the pristine worship which would otherwise be vacant—that of the holding, and its productive power—while the buried ancestors are quite sufficiently represented by di menes, di parentes, etc. Thus, too, it is easy to account for their occurrence in the Arval hymn, one of the oldest. Latin traces we possess (Henzen, p. 26), for they would naturally be objects of invocation at the lustration of the ashes of the deceased (see §§ 91-111). Nor is it difficult to understand how the Lar of the holding found his way into the house: he became the object of the worship of the whole familia, i.e., the workers on the land, both bond and free, and passed (perhaps as the bond-workers grew more numerous and independent) into the holding of the Penates-Genus, with which, strictly speaking, slaves had nothing to do. It is true that we cannot trace this passage historically, and we know that the Lares of the comitum retained their seat there and remained as Lores capitolares even in the growing city; but we may be sure that the Lares were attached to the land and not, like the Genius, to the person of any man, and, as so attached, their presence in the house can easily be explained in any other way. The arguments for this theory will be found in full in Wissowa's art. 'Lares' in Roscher, in his Rel. und Kulth., p. 167 ff., and in a reply to Samter in A.W. vii. [1904].

5. Marriage.—See art. Marriage (Roman).

6. Birth and early years.—If we are to believe Virro as quoted by St. Augustine (de Civ. Dei, iv. 11, 37; cf. Tertull. adv. Nat. ii. 11), the processes of birth and bringing up were under the protection of a multiple of spirit-deities, all of whom should be invoked at the proper time and in the proper terms; but, as has been said above (p. 582), it may be doubted whether these lists were not the invention of a comparatively late age of priestly activity, and whether they remain with any such, or in any other form. The chief deity of birth was Juno Lucina; in the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, which is a prophetic Carmen sung at the actual moment of birth (see Fowler, in J. B. Mayor, Fowler, and R. S. Conway, Virgil's Missaliani Eclogue, 1907), 60 this is the only deity invoked. Immediately after the birth, if the infant were sublatus, i.e. acknowledged by the father and destined to be brought up, we are told by Varro (Aug. de Civ. Dei, vi. 9) of a custom so curious that it may be mentioned here as possibly primitive in its original form and dating from the early agricultural age of Roman life. Three men at night...
booked to the threshold of the house and struck it respectively with a hatchet, a mortar, and a besoum, that 'by these signs of agriculture Silvanus might be prevented from entering'; from these actions arose three deities, Intecidona, Pilumnus, Deverra, by whose guardianship the infant is protected against the power of Silvanus (cf. art. BIRTH
(Greek and Roman), § 2). This idea of the bringing of the first fruits and the song of ! Old and evil spirits may be illustrated from Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites, lect. iii. We need not follow the infant through the stages of his commitment to the care of other numina; it will be sufficient to observe that he was made one of the deities of this kind, which have come down to us from Varro are doubtless exaggerated, the earliest tender age was, no doubt, nearer the greatest anxiety, and consequently the utmost endeavour to avert evil influences and omens. That this is the meaning of the children's bundle, or amulet, is almost certain, and probably the toga protexa, which was worn by both boys and girls, had an originally religious or quasi-religious meaning (see Fowler, CIR x. 317). But the one really religious ceremony of which we know in the first days of infancy is that which appeared preserved for the seventh and the eighth for girls—on which, as the name implies, the child was purified and adopted into the family and its sacra, and received also its name. After this the boy or girl grew up under the protection of the household gods, and performed various religious and domestic duties. As puberty the boy laid aside the bulla and the protexa; the former was hung on the images of the Lares in later times (Persius, v. 31), while the latter was taken off finally at the festival of the Libitina when the boy went to the Capitol and sacrificed there to Jupiter and to Juventas (De Marchi, p. 176; Fowler, p. 56). The girl when about to be married also laid aside her protexa, with her dolls and other marks of childhood, and, if Wissowa guesses rightly (ABW
vii, 44), offered them to the Lares at the Compitalia. The tender and dangerous age of the child in being then passed, and youth and maiden being endowed with new powers, the peculiar defensive armour of infancy might be dispensed with.

7. Death, burial, and cult of the dead.—As Augus
had the Roman dead body, the dying man had no reckoning to make with heaven, and had no need for the forgiveness of sins in order to depart this life in peace. His responsibility for his actions ceased with this life, and after death he had nothing to fear or to hope from the gods; thus he had no need of any mediating priest in his last moments. The miserable fears which haunted him through life, painted by Lucretius in such glowing colours of contempt, ceased altogether at his death; his peace and comfort in his grave depended on the right legal and religious conduct of his living family, in respect of his proper burial and yearly renewed offerings to the de manes of the family at the common tomb. The house which he had left for the last time, and all who had been in connection with him during his life, after his decease, must be duly purified by lustration, in this case, as in the other, the sprinkling of water, but the true religious rites only began at the grave. It may be observed in passing that both burial and cremation were in use at Rome in historical times, and had been so, as we know from the XII Tables, since at least the 5th cent. B.C.; the religious rites in each case were practically the same; the details of difference in other respects will be found in Marquardt, Privat-
alterthümter, 1. 365 ff.

When the body or ashes had been consigned to the last resting-place, the mourners partook at

the grave of a meal called silicernium, which had a religious character. The meaning and derivation of the word are uncertain, but there seems to be little doubt that it indicates some kind of sacra-
mental meal, first offered to the dead and then partaken of by the survivors (De Marchi, p. 192), since Tertullian (Apol. 13) parallels it with the opulum funeris of which the magistrates and Senate partook in the visible presentment of the three-bodied and the multiplex Capitoline temple (Fowler, p. 218). Thus it would seem to have bound together the living and the manes of the deceased in the same mystical way as deity and worshipper were thought to be connected by a sacrifice, whether or not it amounted to a meal, but consumed. The rites of the grieving continued till the ninth day; on one of these days occurred the feria doenicae, of which the meaning is uncertain, but they may have included, as De Marchi has suggested (p. 196), a sacrifice of sheep to the Lab familiaris of which Cceo speaks in de Legibus, ii. 22, 55. The 'finis fumtce familiae,' or conclusion of the mourning, mentioned in the same passage, is the sacrum novendiale on the ninth day, which consisted of a sacrifice at the grave, and was followed by the cema novendialis, at which the partakers of the meal took the matronas as their mother and celebrated with good cheer the end of their sorrow; in rich families this might again be followed by ludis iunebris novendiales, as Æneas in Æneid, v., after the parentalia, or renewal of these rites in the cult of the dead, refreshed the spirits of his men by all the ceremonies calculated to inspire reverence.

As the dead continued to exist as spirits or deities after due burial, it was necessary to renew every year the rites at the grave which we have described. This took place under the direction of the State on what may be called the Roman All Souls' Days, nine in number, as were those of the Great New-
year (Feb. 13-21, Parentalia; Fowler, p. 336 ff. On Feb. 22 was the family festival of the Caristia, de-
scribed by Ovid (Fasti, ii. 617 f.) as a kind of re-
union of the living members of the family after they had done their duty by the di manes, when all quarrels were forgotten in a general harmony. This took place not at the grave but in the house, and the household gods shared in the sacred meal. Cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Roman).

8. Agricultural rites.—A word must be said about those religious observances of private life which were so important for the prosperous prosecution of the daily labour of the ordinary Roman. Of such observances in the great city itself we know nothing indeed, and it may be that they were obsolete at a very early period, or were never followed out, as in the leisureed life of the farm; the 'busy idle-
ess' of town life probably had a damaging effect upon simple piety, as has been the case in modern Europe. But of the religious ritual of the farm we fortunately have valuable records in Cato's treatise on agriculture, compiled in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.; those records are in all prob-
ability drawn from the books of the Pontifices, and are included by Cato in his work as giving the genuine and correct formulas of invocation to the gods for those about to undertake certain agri-
cultural operations. We have already quoted above, in connexion with sacrificial ritual and prayer; they have been carefully studied of late by De Marchi (p. 128 ff.), and translated by him into Italian, with notes. Here it is possible to give only the general account, and a single speci-
men of invocation.

For the safety of his oxen the farmer is directed (Cato, de Agricultura, 83) to offer to Mars Silvanus in the wood (presumably the woodland where they grazed), and by daylight, for each head of cattle a fixed amount of meal, lard, flesh, and wine. The
offering might be made either by a free man or by a slave, i.e. by the voluitus in the master's absence; but no woman was to take part in it, or even to see the ceremony. The offerings were to be consumed by the persons present (cf. Fowler, p. 194). Again, when the pear-trees were in blossom, another offering, called epiga (cf. de Marchi, p. 139), was made for the oxen, in this case to Jupiter Dapalis (cf. Jupiter Farreus in the rite of confarreatio). The day was to be a holiday for the oxen and the herdsmen, and for those who took part in the rite; and afterwards Jupiter was to be entertained with various kinds of food (Cato, 131 f.); cf. Foskett, p. 218. It would be a holiday when wood was cut, or clearing made, or any digging done in a wood which might be inhabited by some unknown deity, a sacrificial pig had to be made, and the following prayer recited: 'Si dense, sic dura cum sacrum est, ut tibi lubet pio paculo facere illius sacri coercedi [i.e. violating] ergo. Harumque rerum ergo sive ego, sive quis issuo me fecerit, ut id fecerit, recte faciam. Eius rei ergo hoc pace paculo immolanda bonus precere precor, ut ieiunio propter paculum immolationem; harumque rerum ergo maete hoc pace paculo immolanto, est! (Cato, 139 f.; for this kind of paculum cf. Henzen, p. 136 ff.).

The singularly interesting directions for the Iustratio orii have already alluded to and in passing noted (1898). Here also Cato substiutute for it another piece of ritual, to be enacted before the harvest is begun, which is given by Cato in ch. 134. Before the harvest it is necessary to make a sacrifice of a porca procellancia in the following way: sacrifice of a sow and its connection with the cult of the dead. This sow has passed into the common usage of the farm, see Wisowa², p. 193; de Marchi, p. 135, nol. The offering must be made to Ceres before the harvesting of wheat, barley, beans, and rape. Janus, Jupiter, who are to be invoked with incense and wine before the immolation of the sow; and to Janus a sacred cake (strucus) is to be offered with the following prayer: 'O Father Janus, with the offering of this cake I pray thee to be propitious to me, my children, my house, and my familia. This cake I offer to the genius of the household, sent to Jupiter with the same formula of prayer. Next, wine was to be offered to Janus with the words, 'Father Janus, as I have prayed thee good prayers in offering the strucus, so for the same object let this offering of wine succeed'; so also a wine offering was to be made to Jupiter. Then the porca procellancia was to be slain; and when the entrails had been laid bare, another strucus was to be offered to Janus as before, and another fortum to Jupiter, and to each of them an offering of wine. Afterwards both the meat and the wine were to be offered to Ceres.

With this specimen of ritual, which so well illustrates the peculiar character of the Roman religious practice, whether public or private, this article may fitly be concluded. Like all such formulæ, it suggests topics of which are not easy to answer, and which it is not possible to attempt to explain here. But it may serve to remind the reader of what was said at the beginning of this article as to the origin and essential character of the genuine religio of the early Romans, which had its roots in the mental attitude and social powers to which they believed themselves indebted for all success in procuring food and clothing by agricultural labour.


ROSARIES.—I. ORIGIN.—A rosary is a string of knots or beads, designed as an aid to the memory, and, when used in religious exercises, providing a convenient method for counting the recitation of prayers or the repetition of the names and attributes of the Deity. The use of the rosary is very widely spread, being thearest home sacred to be found in Asia, where it can lay claim to a fairly venerable antiquity. In dealing with its origin we can do no more as yet than put forward suggestions.

The use of knots (q.v.) as mnemonic signs is almost universal, and such a simple device may have been invented again and again; its appearance in many parts of the world does not prove that it was invented in one country and transmitted thence to other centres. The highest development of a system of knots as a means of aiding the memory and for keeping records is seen in the American Indians. As an object similar to the rosary used in the rosary used by the Shingon sect of Buddhists in Japan there is a knot formed by the union of two strings which hang from the main string of beads, and it is said to resemble an ancient Chinese character which means 'man,' being one of a considerable number of objects representing one of the many attributes of Buddha.²

The use of knots as mnemonic signs for purely secular purposes still persists in many countries. Among the Indians of Guiana, where the water is often too deep to wade, the women prepare a number of strings, each tied into knots, the number of which correspond to the denomination of that string. The headman of each settlement is presented with one of these strings. Every day's knot is untied, and in this way the hosts show on which day they expect their guests.³ Among the

Wagogo of Central E. Africa the time of a woman's pregnancy is reckoned by knots; at each new moon one knot is untied.

In this country it is a common practice to tie a knot in a handkerchief to signify a new month. The same custom is found in India, the knot being usually tied in the strings of the pujaemana. Such customs are apt in time to disappear with the advance of culture, but the introduction of new uses for them, methods, being retained only for religious purposes. Such a survival of the use of knots for keeping records is seen in some respects in the sthāna, the handkerchief used by the Greek Orthodox Church in Egypt, and in India. These will be noted below under the various headings.

Handkerchief are also of universal use for record-keeping, such as the tally-sticks which were utilized in England and Ireland almost in the recent past; in Ireland in quite recent times. These sticks have been employed to record the number of prayers uttered, and the supplicant would leave such a stick with oratories to be some sacred well. These have been called 'rotive rosaries.'

II. AGE.—The oldest reference to rosaries to be found in the literature of India is in the Jain canon. Here they are referred to as forming one of the aśkharas, or gifts to be given to the of god. Some of the deities are represented as carrying rosaries in their hands. The following passage from the Buddhist 'Forty-two Points of Doctrine,' art. 10, alludes to the rosary being a symbol of virtue, applies himself to the extirpation of all his vices like one who is rolling between his fingers the beads of the chaplet. If he continues taking hold of them one by one, he arrives speedily in extirpating his bad inclinations one by one, a man arrives at perfection.

The propers of use is as a means of promoting contemplation. The rosary differs according to the sect to which the worshipper belongs. The materials of which rosaries are made vary greatly, and each has a specific purpose. The number of beads also varies according to the sect. A worshipper of Śiva is supposed to use a rosary of 32 beads, or double that number; a votary of Śīva, on the other hand, is supposed to use one with 108 beads. This number is also sometimes found on a Śāivite rosary; indeed the beads may run into several hundreds, irrespective of the sect. There are usually one or more terminal beads to each rosary; they are not greatly common with those of the or rosaries.

(a) Materials, etc.—A favourite bead of the Śāivites is that called rudrakṣa, 'eye of the god Rudra (or Śiva). This is generally supposed to come from the Elaeocarpus guineensis. In the Panjāb, however, the 'eye of Rudrākṣa' is applied to the seeds of the jujube-tree and is here attached to the number of facets on the seeds. These slits, running from end to end of each seed, are called 'mouths' (muh). A one-mouthed rudrākṣa is a very valuable amulet, and the owner of such a bead also possesses the goddess Lakṣmī and all kind of blessings. If nothing will tempt the possessor to part with it, it must be stolen from him, and it should be encased in gold and carefully preserved as a family relic. The name is also derived from the Hindī word rodrakṣa that such beads can be obtained, and any price that they demand must be paid by the would-be owner of such a treasure. Rudrākṣa seeds with eleven facets are worn by celibate Yogis, while the married ones wear those with two ; and those with five facets are worn by Yogis in the married state. The rough surface of the rudrākṣa seeds may possibly symbolize the austerities connected with Siva-worship. The seeds, according to a Siva legend, are said to be the tears of Rudra (or Siva) which he let fall in a rage (some say in grief, some in ecstasy) and which crystallized into this form. The five facets are also sometimes thought to stand for the five faces or the five distinct aspects of the god. The worshipers of Śīva, on the right hand, prefer smooth beads, and the beads devoted to Śakta worship are generally round; they are usually one to three inches in diameter, and the laity generally use the rosary when repeating the nāśikār mantras. The materials vary according to the use to which they are put and the wealth of the owner. The poorer ganges generally use rosaries made of cotton shawls and sandal-wood; the rich use beads of red coral, crystal, turmeric, emerald, pearl, silver, and gold. In this sect there are two special uses of the rosary.

(1) Rosaries of five different colours—red, yellow, green, white, and black—are used for the repetition of certain mystical formulas and are especially believed to accomplish the will of the deity. There are, for instance, rosaries of red, or (a) japa-mala, (b) rudrākṣa (a popular or rosary), (c) kācchāni (eating an image), (d) sāhautāttar sūtra, (e) sāhautāttar sūtra, (f) arahatāttar sūtra, (g) japa-mala, (h) japa-mala, (i) japa-mala, (j) japa-mala, (k) japa-mala, (l) japa-mala, (m) japa-mala, (n) japa-mala, (o) japa-mala, (p) japa-mala, (q) japa-mala, (r) japa-mala, (s) japa-mala, (t) japa-mala, (u) japa-mala, (v) japa-mala, (w) japa-mala, (x) japa-mala, (y) japa-mala, (z) japa-mala. The title generally used the rosary when repeating the nāśikār mantras. The materials vary according to the use to which they are put and the wealth of the owner. The poorer ganges generally use rosaries made of cotton shawls and sandal-wood; the rich use beads of red coral, crystal, turmeric, emerald, pearl, silver, and gold. In this sect there are two special uses of the rosary.

(2) Rosaries of these different colours are also used for the repetition of mystical formulas, charms, spells, and incantations, with a view to obtaining certain blessings from the deities. On the other hand, they may be used for harmful purposes—to drive hostile deities from the person of the wearer, to make them ill, to kill them, to subdue them, to obtain their affections, to make them inert, or to summon them.

There are also small rosaries called bohrakhas. These are used when the more costly rosaries with the usual number of beads are not obtainable, or when the user cannot afford to buy the more expensive beads. These bohrakhas generally contain 6, 9, 12, 18, 27, 36, or 54 beads—i.e., any sub-multiple of 108.

Devotees much in importance to the size of the beads—the larger they are, the more effective is the rosary, and the greater the merit attained by the user of it. Monier-Williams gives the following account of the use of such rosaries by an

2 Monier-Williams, Modern Indian and the Indians, p. 108f.
old hermit who was living in the neighbourhood of Kaira in a hut near a temple: 

'He was engaged in his evening religious exercises, and, while sitting on a thorny thorn, his mind dwelling on the sacred rosary, he suddenly gathered up his thoughts and turned towards two birds that were perched on a post of the temple. He noticed a chain of fifteen rough wooden balls, each as big as a child's head. As he gazed at the rosary round his neck, one bead passed into his hands, and whilst he held the several balls in his grasp he repeated, or rather chanted in a low tone, a short prayer. So much was the man impressed with the costliness of the rosary that he afterwards repeated this process of pious manipulation several times before he desisted. The muscular exertion and consequent fatigue must have been great, yet the entire operation was performed with an air of stoical impassiveness. Then the devotee went into another shed, where, on another cross-beam, supported by posts, were strung some heavy logs of hard wood, each weighing about twenty pounds. Having grasped one of these with both hands, he chanted with his face against the side post, and then took the log against the first. Probably the clashing noise thus produced was intended to give increased effectiveness to the recitation of mantras. }

The rosary plays a part in the initiation ceremony when children, at the age of six or seven years, are admitted to the religion of Vîṣṇu. Such a rosary is usually made of tulsi-(tulasi-) wood, and it is passed round the necks of the candidates by the guru, who teaches them one of the sacred formulas, such as 'Homage to the divine son of Vasudeva,' 'Homage to the adorable Rama,' or 'Adorable Krishna is my refuge.'

A high-caste Brahman employs the rosary equally as a means of counting his daily prayers. He uses it to keep his count of the beads, whether they are of metal, wood, or crystal. It is also employed by the jeweller, for counting the beads, and the superior has invested him with another rosary.

Further special uses for the different kinds of beads are given by K. Raghu Nath:

1. If a rosary is used in honour of a goddess the beads should be made of wood, preferably tulsi, and the woman must be careful not to lose them; whereas, if the rosary is made for Hindu use it may be of any kind of wood, excepting iron, as it is believed that the iron will attract evil spirits.

The Sikhs make a rosary of iron beads, some 108 beads in number, of the same kind of which is used by the Sikhs. The Jewellers make rosaries of silver, iron, or copper, and sometimes of mother-of-pearl, being the material most used for rosaries by the Sikhs. The rosaries are frequently used as necklaces and are usually worn on the neck. Sometimes the rosaries are strung on a rigid iron ring, sometimes they are connected by links like the longer rosary mentioned above. The rosary with 27 beads has a particular name (Lohe ká Sinarna), and it forms also a tribal mark.1

A Hindu rosary used by the Brahmins is made of beads of different sizes. It is called 'garur-rosary,' or 'garun-mandana' ('snubler of snakes'). Rosaries of snake-bones are tied to it, and, until it is furnished with two such rosaries, it does not become sanctified. This instrument is occasionally worshipped, and the beads of the rosaries hung on it are often used to cure diseases by being tied on to the wrist of the sick person.2

Some rosaries are made of tulsi beads, and are strung together in groups of ten, with a small bead between each group. They are called 'garun-mandana' ('snubler of snakes'). Rosaries of snake-bones are tied to it, and, until it is furnished with two such rosaries, it does not become sanctified. This instrument is occasionally worshipped, and the beads of the rosaries hung on it are often used to cure diseases by being tied on to the wrist of the sick person.3

Another rosary, used by Hindus who wish to get rid of their superfluous flesh, is made of small, almost black seeds, dry and shrivelled looking, being rather like dried currants in appearance. Doubtless the user hopes that by repeating prayers on it he may obtain a likeness to the seeds, and shrivel up and decrease in size himself. A rosary from the Partabgarh district, which is in the collection at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, consists of 213 very small beads, plus the terminal, and is finished with a tassel of pink wool. This rosary is stated to be used to prevent the effect of the 'evil eye.'

2. Buddhist. The Buddhist rosary is probably of Brahman origin, and here again the number of beads on the string is usually 108. This is said to correspond with the number of mental conditions, or sinful inclinations, which are overcome by reciting the beads.

Moreover, 108 Brahmans were summoned at Buddha's birth to foretell his destiny. In Burmá the footsteps of Buddha are said to be 108. Sometimes 108, sometimes 308, beads are strung on (Kâkyû), run into 108 volumes; in China the white pagoda at Peking is encircled by 108 columns, and in the same country

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2. Crooke, p. 408.

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2. Crooke, p. 408.
ROSARIES

108 beads form the ordinary punishment for malefactors. A crowd of lohans (disciples of Buddha, or contestants of the devil), observed from 13th to 15th July, 108 welcome fires are lighted on the shores of sea, lake, or river; and 108 rupees are used in the payment of their fines.

Besides the full rosaries of 108 beads, smaller ones are also used, the number of beads representing the chief disciples of Buddha.

(a) India.—In India the Buddhist rosaries do not seem to differ very much from many of those used in the Near East. They are made of more costly materials than others, the more valuable being of turquoise, coral, amber, silver, pearls, or other gems. The poorer people usually have their rosary beads made of wood, pebbles, berries, or bone, and they are often satisfied with only 30 or 40 beads.

The act of telling the beads is called taoi-c'e, which means literally 'to purr' like a cat, the muttering of the prayers being suggestive of this sound. The rosaries have 108 beads on the main string. The reason given for this number is that it ensures the repetition of a sacred spell 108 times. If the rosary the central bead is held in the right hand, the formula 'Anita, Dakka Anatha,' 'All is transitory, painful, and unreal,' is repeated. The monks sometimes wear a rosary called bodhi, with 72 beads. The beads are black and sub-cylindrical in shape, and are said to be made of slips of leaf on which a cleft has appeared. Other beads are rare and leaves are rolled into pellets with the aid of lacquer or varnish. The rosary is not mentioned in the Southern Scriptures as one of the articles necessary for a monk, and it is not so conspicuous among Southern Buddhists as it is among their Northern co-religionists.

(c) Tibet.—The rosary, phreng-ba (pronounced theng-wa, or vulgarly theng-naa), 'a string of beads,' is an essential part of a Lama's dress, and is also worn by most of the laity of both sexes. The act of telling the beads is called teur-wa, which means literally 'to prur' like a cat, the muttering of the prayers being suggestive of this sound. The rosaries have 108 beads on the main string. The reason given for this number is that it ensures the repetition of a sacred spell 108 times. The rosary is breathed upon and a fair long prayer is recited in which the petitioner begs various religious protectors and guardians that 'truth may descend on this lot,' that light may descend on this and the dark and wither the loss of wealth. After the repetition of this prayer 'the rosary is taken in the palm and well mixed between the two resolving pains and the hands clasped thrice.' Then, closing his eyes, the devotee seizes a portion of the rosary between the thumb and finger of each hand, and, after opening his eyes, counts the intervening beads from each end in three. The result depends on whether the remainder is one, two, or three in successive countings.

1. If one number remains, it is not very good, it is middling: 'Legal proceedings will come.'
2. If two numbers remain, it is good: 'Turquoise fountains will spring out and fertilize the grounds, unexpected food will be obtained, and escape is at hand from any danger.'
3. If one number remains, it is bad: 'The rejected one will be devoured and the devils be propitiated, then it will be prevented.'

(d) China.—The full Buddhist rosary in China has the usual number of 108 beads, with three dividing beads of a different size or colour. As in other countries, there are varying variations. There is also a smaller rosary of 18 beads, corresponding to the 18 lohans (chief disciples of Buddha). In some rosaries each of these 18 beads is carved into an image of a lohan. Sometimes the laity wear this smaller rosary at the waist, or it is placed on the bed, and an image of a lohan, name heung-chu, 'fragrant beads.' The Chinese name for rosary is su-chu. The ends of the rosary strings are usually passed through two retaining or terminal beads, one being large and globular in shape, the other small, and the latter of the larger one contains a sacred relic or a charm.
Part of a Chinese official's costume consists of a rosary with 108 beads which are often of large size, with dividing beads. The latter are sometimes made of richly enamelled silver and usually three in number: the division between them being a counter-beads. From the retaining beads sometimes hangs a silk ribbon embroidered with different-coloured glass beads, the patterns being symbolic. Attached to this ribbon there is generally a medallion, and finally an oval bead of some size. One of these oval beads also forms the terminal to each of the three dividing beads, the four being called the "droppers," the "disciple beads," or the "regents of the four heavens." They represent the emperor, father, mother, and Buddha respectively in whose eyes these beads reverberate and obey. These official rosaries are sometimes very costly, and are worn only by dignitaries on state occasions. They are not apparently of religious significance.

As a religious instrument the rosary seems to be chiefly used to count the repetition of set phrases, whereby the devotee stores up merit for himself. If these repetitions are performed at temples, the greater the merit of the votary. The rosary is also used as a means of counting prostrations and prayers. The devotee will prostrate himself and, strike the ground with his forehead, at the same time uttering a formula. At the end of the prostration and repetition a bead is moved along the rosary string which hangs round his neck.

On occasions of sickness and death there is a ceremonial performance with the rosary. The officiant must either be taken from a certain class of Taoist priests, or be a priest of the Buddhist church. On these occasions the priest chants in a monotonous sing-song, certain quotations from the sacred books. Count of these repetitions is kept by means of a rosary, and the benefit and merit obtained by them accrue to those who employ the priests and pay for them.

(3) Korea.—The Buddhist rosaries of Korea have 110 beads, though, according to the classics, the number is 108, the two extra beads being large ones—one at the beginning or head of the rosary usually containing a swastika, the other dividing the beads. The second of these beads is dedicated to a deity. Every bead on the string has its own special name. The devotee, when using the rosary, repeats the "Hail thou jewel in the Lotus!" (Oh mani padme Hüm!), holding each bead till he has counted a certain number. The rosary aside he repeats the following sentences:

"Oh! the thousand myriad miles of emptiness, the place which is the midst of 100,000 myriad quadrillion mountains and valleys, the place which is in the midst of the tens of myriad quadrillion of emptiness, eternal desert where the true Buddha exists. Of Tranquil Peace!" There is also a small rosary which, if used every day in the four positions or states, viz. going forth, remaining at home, sitting, and lying down, enables the votary to see the land of bliss in his own heart.

"Amila will be his Guardian and Protector, and in whatever country he goes he will find a home."

The materials of which the rosaries are made have all their intrinsic value, as may be seen from the following:

"Now you can calculate that in repeating the rosary once you will obtain tenfold the benefit of the rosary if the beads are of gold, and a thousand times the benefit if the beads are of silver, and ten thousand times the benefit if the beads are made of crystal you will obtain blessings ten thousandfold. But if the beads are made of hard rock or hard wood, the rosary will only bring benefits to the one who is repeating it."

The Ch'yei Ssöck classic gives certain rules to be observed in connexion with the rosary:

"When you begin chanting the Rosary repeat Om Akho Sehao ("Hail Aekhobya [a fabulous Buddha], may the race be progressed beyond this world") or Om Vaca Vaca, and after each one repeat Om mani padme Hüm twenty-one times, and, after that, STHO (if the personification of essential bodhi and absolute purity) STHO twenty-one times. Then recite the following poetry:"

The Rosary which I take includes the world of Buddha Of a diameter of hundred dice forming a round and putting the biorn. The Peaceful Sons where non-existence is In the Nest being seen and delivered by Amila."

On the walls of many of the Buddhist temples in Korea may be seen the classic of the rosary. A copy of one of these was obtained by E. B. Landis, who says:

"The date and authorship I do not know, but it is evidently very old, as it contains many Chinese characters that are now practically obsolete. The authorship is attributed to the Emperor Wu of the Chin dynasty, and to blocks cut at Pong Kui Se (The Temple of the Receiving of Benefici) during the reign of the Emperor. The expense incurred in cutting these blocks was paid by a virgin by the name of Pak, who wishes to obtain for herself and parents an abundance of merit."

(f) Japan.—It is in Japan that the Buddhist rosary reaches its most complicated form, each sect having its own special rosary. There is also the one known as the sho-zuku-jin-dzu, or the rosary used by all sects in common.

It consists of 115 beads, divided into two equal parts by two large beads, called the upper parent bead (ben-o-o-ya-rama-jin) and the lower parent bead (chi-o-o-ya-rama-jin). From the upper parent bead hang two strings on which are threaded 111 beads smaller than those on the main string, with terminal beads of elongated form called tsuny-dama (dewdrop beads). They are string in the following way: Just below the upper parent bead on the left pendent string is a solitary bead; below this the strings are knotted. Then, on each string, are five more beads and another knot; again other five beads on each pendant, both of which terminate in a dewdrop bead. The name for these pendant beads is known-ppy (sang-wa-ben-o). The solitary bead at the bottom is the one that is to be held. This bead should be on the left hand, thus ensuring the right signification to the rosary.

From the lower parent bead hang three strings, two with five small beads each and the terminal dewdrop beads. These two strings are called sashida-ten-ten (the four disciples). The third string has ten beads, but is without a dewdrop bead. These are used merely as counters and are called katu-ten-ten. The four dewdrop beads are also called shihan-ten, the four regents who are said to preside over the four quarters of the universe. The first represents the sun and the law of Buddha, and the position of the dewdrop beads is thought to symbolize their actual positions of power and authority, as, according to Buddhism, the whole world is divided among these four over this and all other worlds. Throughout all the Japanese rosaries names of deities or saints are assigned to certain beads.

On the main string of this rosary are dividing beads. At an interval of seven beads on either side of the upper parent bead is a small bead, usually of a different material from the other beads, and again at a further interval of fourteen beads are two more dividing beads, one on each side, similar to the other dividing bead. These beads show where a special invocation should be uttered, the rosary being at the same time raised to the form of a prayer.

The materials of which Japanese rosaries are made vary considerably according to fashion or the taste or wealth of the owner. In former times they were made from the wood of the bodhi-tree (pipal-tree in India), for under its shade Sakyamuni is said to have attained supreme and universal enlightenment. In modern times, however, the little wood probably accounts for the fact that common rosaries are now often made of the wood of the cherry- and plum-trees.

The sho-zuku-jin-dzu is the rosary usually carried by monks and laity of all sects, on all occasions of religious state, on visits of ceremony, at funerals, etc.

Besides the rosaries of the separate sects there are three ceremonials performed for special purposes in which the rosary plays an important part. They are known under the names of kanö, ki-ô, and gomö.

(1) Kanö.—This ceremony is for the recital of "prayers of request," (of a just nature) to a deity who has the power of accomplishing wishes or purposes of human beings. It is a special manipulation of the rosary, which is held by both hands, the petitioner raising it very reverently and slowly to the position intended to be attained. Also during prayer the beads are rubbed up and down between the hands in a more or less energetic motion according to the fervour of the petitioner, causing an unpleasant and grating noise. The members of the orthodox school, however, prefer to keep to the "rosary of ten thousand," considering too extreme an exhibition of this sort to be vulgar.

(2) Ki-ô.—This ceremony is peculiar to the Tendai, Shingon, and Nichiren sects—Ryö-in—or those Buddhist sects which have adopted certain Shinö formulas.

1 All the information on Korean rosaries is obtained from E. B. Landis, in The Korean Repository, vol. ii. no. i.

3 J. Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese, ii. 386 f.
5 Ib. p. 387.
According to one authority, the rosary in Japan plays an important part in social as well as in religious life. In the late room of the temple there is always a rosary or gosho, a rosary of value, historical or other, much appreciated as an ornament for this room. It is said that rosaries were carried by all the soldiers in the late Russo-Japanese war. The dead also have a rosary slipped on the wrist, which they are buried or cremated with. The larger temples and at all places of popular pilgrimage there are special shops for the sale of rosaries, having as their sign an enormous rosary hung outside. The devotee attach especial value to a rosary that has been consecrated over the sacred flame and incense smoke of a venerable temple.

3. Muhammadan.—The rosary used by followers of Islam generally consists of 99 beads with a terminal bead called the idinm, 'lender.' Its chief use is for counting the recital of the names of Allah, which they indicate at times by repeating the essential name, Allah. This rosary is divided into three parts, 33 beads each, by beads of another material or shape, or by tassels which are often made of gold thread or of bright coloured silks. According to some authorities, there is another variety of the rosary, not often used, which has 101 beads to correspond with the 101 names of the Prophet. A smaller rosary of 33 beads is very commonly used, and the devotee will go round this three times to get the full recitation of the 99 names. In Persia and India the rosary is called tasbih, in Egypt subbaB, from an Arabic verb meaning 'to praise,' 'to exalt.' At the present day it is used chiefly by the older or more devout Muhammadans; among the younger people it is tending to become merely something held in the hand and fingered during devotions.

Tradition says that the Prophet attributed great merit to those who recited the names of God and repeated certain formulas. 'There is no one who repeats the names of God, whover recites them shall enter into Paradise,' and 'Whoever recites this sentence [the tasbih], 'I extol the holiness of God,' and the tahmid, 'God be praised!' a hundred times, morning and evening, shall have all his sins forgiven.'

Umar Ibn Shu‘ab relates that the Prophet said: ‘He who recites “God be praised!” [al Hamdu lil-ha!] a hundred times in the morning and again in the evening evening shall be like a person who has provided one hundred horsesmen for a pilgrimage, or religious war. He will also have the repetition of a sacred formula, that the devotee shall receive rewards equal to the emancipating of ten men from slavery. He shall be rewarded to his account, and one hundred of his sins shall be blotted out, and the words shall be a protection from the devil.'

The date of the introduction of the rosary among Muhammadans is uncertain. It has been often asserted that it was taken over by them in a fully developed form from Buddhism. But tradition and various passages in the early literature strongly indicate that the form of rosary, such as would not have been used if borrowed from a people who had it already in a highly developed form.

Muhammadan tradition points to a very early use of the rosary, dating back even to the time of the Prophet himself. In support of this belief it is related that Muhammad reproached some women for using pebbles in repeating the tasbih, etc., suggesting that they should rather count them on their fingers. Another tradition, collected in the 9th cent. A.D., relates that Abu Abdul Rahman, on visiting a mosque and seeing some women counting the names of Allah on their fingers, said: 'This is an innovation, and Allah and His Prophet will not accept your good works.'

Abdul, son of Khalifah, 'Umar, who died in A.D. 692, on noticing a woman counting the names of Allah, reproved her, saying: 'Do not do that, for this comes from Satan.' The last two quotations seem to show that in Persia or India a method of counting the rosary was resorted to, the practice was still more or less looked down upon by those of rank or education.

The materials of which the rosaries are made are numerous, though black beads are most used. They have their own form and shape, and are usually of a round or oblong form. The Wahabis, who are followers of the reformer Abu al-Wahhab, use their fingers on which to count their repetitions, their founder regarding a more developed form of rosary as an abomination and its use as a practice not sanctioned by the Qur'an. Wooden beads are used by all sects, and beads made of clay from Mecca are highly valued. Pilgrims from this sacred city sometimes bring such rosaries back with them. Date stones are also much used, as are also horn and imitation pearls and coral. Beads made of both from Persia, where Husain was buried, are sacred to the Shi‘ahs and are used by members of this sect only. They are often of a greenish-yellow colour. These beads are believed to turn red on the 9th day of Muharram, the night on which Husain was killed. The beads from India are very much sought after, and are called the seeds of the Cannabis indica. These seeds are black in colour and are inlaid with silver. The terminal to this rosary is a complicated knot in bright coloured silk, the knot being of a form characteristic of the Muhammadan rosaries. This rosary is said to have been made in Mecca.

Another material often used is camel bone. Sometimes these beads are dyed red in honour of Husain, who was slain in his conflict with Yazid, the seventh Khalifah, the red colour representing his blood. Sometimes the beads are dyed green, this being Husain's colour. Hasan, Husain's elder brother, met his death by poisoning. The poison turned his body green after death; hence these beads are in memory of his tragic end. Figurs, on the other hand, prefer glass beads of various colours, and number them 99.

In Egypt on the first night after a burial certain ceremonies take place at the house of the deceased, among them being that of the subbah, or rosary.

3. Id. 348, note 1; Dr. Gaster, on the other hand, has informed the writer of this article that the 99 beads correspond not with 101 names of Allah.
After nightfall a certain number of fajrīm, sometimes as many as 50, assemble, one of them bringing a large rosary of 1000 beads, each bead being about the size of a pigeon’s egg. Certain passages are recited, after which the formula: ‘There is no deity but God’ is repeated 3000 times. Count of these repetitions is kept by one of the fajrīs by means of the rosary. They often recite themselves the whole round of the rosary, the end of each round of the rosary. Certain other sentences are recited as the beads are passed in the circle by the different companions, ‘Have ye transferred (the merit of) what ye have recited to the soul of the deceased?’ They reply, ‘We have transferred peace be on the Apostles, and praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures.’

Thus ends the ceremony of the subhā, which is repeated on the second and third nights if the family can afford it. A similar performance takes place upon news of the death of a near relative is received.

A further interest is attached to this ceremony in Upper Egypt, because a primitive form of rosary is often used on this occasion.

A fajrī will bring a plain cord with him, and, as he recites each formula or passage from the Qur’an, he makes a knot in his cord till he has reached 1000. The merit in this case also is conveyed to the deceased. The cord with its knots is afterwards thrown away.

The rosary is also used in Egypt in what is called making an istikhārāh, ‘application for the favour of Heaven, or for direction in the right course.’ Lane² describes it as follows: ‘Thus far taken, one may say two points of a rosary; after reciting the Patibrōh (1st chapter of the Qur’an) three times, he then counts the beads between these two points, saying, as he passes the first bead through his fingers, [I extol] the perfection of God; in passing the second, ‘Praise be to God’; in passing the third, ‘There is no deity but God,’ repeating these formulae in the same order to the last bead. If the first formula falls to the last bead, the answer is affirmative and favourable; if to the second, indifferent; but, if to the last, it is adverse.’

4. Christian.—The introduction of the rosary among Christians has been attributed to various people, among them being St. Aybert de Crespin, Peter the Hermit, and St. Dominic. The Roman Breviary has the last-named that he was admonished by the Blessed Virgin to preach the rosary as a special remedy against heresy and sin.³ There has been a fairly widely accepted theory that the rosary was introduced into Europe at the time of the Crusades, having been imitated from Middle Eastern research. But later research seems to have found that, though it is possible that such a means of counting prayers may have become more popular at this period, an earlier date should be assigned for its use in Western Europe. It is stated by Wycliffe that the Rosary was brought to this country by a resident of Coventry, wife of Count Leofríc, bequeathed to the monastery which she founded ‘a circle of gems which she had threaded on a string, in order that by fingering them one by one as she successively recited her prayers she might not fall short of the exact number.’ Lady Godiva died before 1070, so that some mnemonic device seems to have been in use prior to the preaching of the Crusades. The case of the Egyptian abbot Paul, who died in 341, is related by Sozomen (c. 400–430) in his Ecclesiastical History,⁴ where it is stated that the said abbot Paul, knowing that means of pebbles gathered in his cloak, dropping one of them at the end of each prayer. Here is seen a much earlier and more primitive system of record-keeping, which suggests that the rosary had evolved in some centuries before it was not been taken over from others, where presumably it was already in a fairly developed form.

By the 13th. cent. the making of paterosters, as the beads were then called, had become a business industry both in Paris and in London. In the former city the workers were divided into four different guilds or companies, each company being distinguished according to the material in which its members worked. In London, at the same period, certain citizens were known as ‘paterosters.’ These craftsmen probably resided in Paternoster Row and Ave Maria Lane, being thus conveniently close to the great devotional centre of London, under the shadow of St. Paul’s cathedral.¹

That the rosary probably arose from a practice in early Christian times of making repeated genuflexions and prostrations, sometimes combined with prayers or sacred formula, has been shown by the last-named authority.² This form of self-discipline was practised in Eastern Europe and in Ireland, spreading from these two widely separated centres over the greater part of Europe. Such a form of asceticism survives in the Greek Church at the present day, as will be seen below.

(a) Roman Catholic.—The complete Roman Catholic rosary of the present day consists of 150 beads, these being divided into decades by fifteen beads of larger size, called ‘gospel beads,’ and sometimes influencing the shape. These beads form the chaplet. A pendant is usually attached consisting of a cross or crucifix, and one large and three smaller beads, the latter being similar to those on the chaplet forming the decades.

This pendant is little used in practice, but the devotee, after making the sign of the cross, generally begins at once to recite the Paternoster, followed by ten Ave and a Gloria. This process is repeated for each decade, the Paternosters being recited on the larger beads, the Aves on the smaller ones. As the 150 Aves correspond to the number of the Psalms, the name Our Lady’s Psalter was given to this devotion from an early period. This is the full Dominican rosary, the institution of which a tradition of the order ascribes to St. Dominic himself.

To each of the fifteen decades is assigned for meditation one of the principal mysteries in the life of Christ or of the Virgin Mary. These fifteen mysteries are divided into three parts, viz. five joyful, five sorrowful, and five glorious mysteries.

The five joyful mysteries are: (1) the Annunciation, (2) the Visitation, (3) the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, (4) the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, (5) the Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple.

The five sorrowful mysteries are: (1) the Agony in the Garden, (2) the Scourging, (3) the Crowning with thorns, (4) Jesus carrying His Cross, (5) the Crucifixion.

The five glorious mysteries are: (1) the Ascension, (2) the Descent of the Holy Ghost, (3) the Assumption, (4) the Crowning of the Virgin Mary, (5) the last two mysteries being accepted on the authority of tradition.

In practice the recitation is commonly limited to one of these sets at a time, and the rosary itself usually consists of five decades only and five Paternosters. The fifteen decades may, of course, be said by going round the rosary three times.⁴

There are other special rosaries in use, among them being the following:

The Crown of Jesus, with 33 Paternosters to commemorate the 33 years of Christ’s life on earth, and five Aves in honour of the five wounds of the Lord. This rosary was dedicated by Michael of Florence, in 1526. The beads used must be blessed and indulgenced by a Camaldolese monk or priest with special power given by the Pope.

Chaplet of the Sacred Heart, with five large beads in honour of the Sacred Heart.

¹ Thurston (Journ. Soc. Arts, l. 39) says that there was also in the 14th cent. another Paternoster Lane located beside the Thames in the Vintry ward, close to the church called Paternostor Church, or St. Michael’s the Royal. This quarter of London was then inhabited by Gascon Vinters who brought their goods by ship up the Thames. They would require their own forms of this devotion, and Thurston suggests that French paterosters settled in this locality in order to supply this want.


⁴ Ib. p. 338, pl. 20, fig. 3.
of the five wounds, and 35 small beads in honour of the 35 years of His life.

Chapter of Thanksgiving.

Chapter of Purification.

Chapter of the Seven Dolours, consisting of 49 Aves divided into seven groups of seven by the Virgin Mary. The Seven Dolours are as follows: (1) the prophecy of Simon, (2) the flight into Egypt, (3) the loss of Jesus for three days, (4) the Virginal purity of His Cross, (5) her standing beneath the Cross on Calvary, (6) her receiving beneath the Cross the sacred body of Jesus, (7) her witnessing the burial of her Son.

The Crown of the Twelve Stars, or Rosary of the Immaculate Conception, consists of ten small beads in three sets of four, divided by three larger beads.

The Rosary, and by a Capuchin Friar of Bologna and approved by a Brief of Pope Pius IX. 20th June 1855.

Chapter of the Dead, with 40 small beads, divided into four sets of ten by three larger beads. It is used in honour of the 40 days during which Christ's body lay in the Sepulchre.

The Bridgetine Rosary, with 69 Aves and seven Paternosters. St. Bridget was a Swedish saint, and the 69 small beads in her rosary are the number of the Virgin Mary said to have lived, the seven Paternosters to commemorate her seven sorrows and seven joys.

There are several other varieties of rosaries used by particular religious bodies or for special devotions.

Rosaries are blessed with prayers and holy water by some authorized priest in order to make them "instruments of grace."

The rosary, so soon given to this devotion, seems to be of comparatively late date—not appearing, according to one authority, till the 15th century.

In earlier times other names were applied, such as patrologium, sexta, nuntialis, calculi, etc.

The words of a bead (Anglo-Saxon beodes or bode) meant originally 'a prayer.' In the Vision of Piers Plowman the expression beodes belegyn is found. Cf. Spencer's Faerie Queene:

'And all the day in being good and godly deeds.'

The expression 'a pair of beads,' sometimes met with in early literature, means 'a set of beads. This term is used in the Prologue of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, where the Priestess carries her beads upon her arm:

'Of smal corall aboute hire arm she bar
A pere of beades, gauded al with grene;
And ther-on hang a brooch of gol ful shene,
Upon wher ther was firste written a crown A.'

'She was apparelled with a crown of jewels.'

'Gauded al with grene' means having the gaudes green. These gaudes were the larger beads.

The beads were sometimes worn by ladies as a girdle. One set of beads belonging to Isabella Hylls, in 1497, is spoken of as 'a payr of bedes of comohn calibre, with gold gauds ovyr gyllt, and a green gyrdyl with boote and penant and foure stinds theirein.'

Early representations of prayer-beads on tombs sometimes exhibit the rosary not as a circle but, especially in the case of men, as a single string of ten beads with the two ends unattached and hanging free. Occasionally the two ends are attached at two different points of a girdle. Such a form is also seen in some old pictures.

In the Middle Ages various objects were sometimes worn in imitation of a rosary, such as signet rings, cameos, and brooches. This led to a certain amount of extravagance, and efforts were made to check it; the price to be given for a rosary was limited, and no one person could possess more than three or four.

In these beaded rings were carried as a sign of penance, this being often done by pilgrims who visited various holy places in Rome, and the wearing of such beads at the girdle became a distinctive sign of membership of a religious confraternity.

Beads were most highly valued if they had originally belonged to a person of renowned sanctity, or if they had touched the relics of some saint. In this case they were believed to possess a special virtue. Eastern Christians especially valued rosaries which had been made in Jerusalem or other sacred spots in Palestine. The materials composing the beads varied, and still vary to a great extent, often depending, as is the case among other religious objects, on the rank of the devotee, some being so valuable that they were left as legacies. Chaplets of wood were used at funerals by poor bedsemen, and in 1651 Lord John Scape willed that 'twenty-four poor men clothed in white gowns and beds, doned with a new set of wooden beads,' should pray (on them) for him at his funeral, with the liberty to 'stand, sit, or kneel' at their pleasure.

The Rosary.—This is a pious exercise founded on the Dominican rosary. It was instituted by Sister Maria Jacottic to whom the Society for the Propagation of the Faith owes its existence. It was approved by Pope Gregory XVI. in 1832 and has since that date been established all over the world. Fifteen persons associates together for the purposes of this devotion. One of their number is elected each month, his duty is to superintend the association. Once every month he selects for himself and for his fellow-members one of the fifteen mysteries of the rosary. Each member recites daily one decade, with the Gloria Patri. Meditating on the mystery allotted to him. The person to whom the first mystery is given recites, in addition to the above, the Creed once and the Ave thrice. At the conclusion of the decade each person recites the following: 'May the Divine Heart of Jesus and the most pure and sacred Heart of Mary, ever known, beloved, and admired, and imitated in all places throughout the world.'

The Feast of the Rosary.—This feast is observed on the 1st Sunday in October, in memory of the battle of Lepanto, which took place on this day in 1571. This battle was won, while the confraternity of Rome were praying the rosary. Thereafter Pius V. ordered an annual commemoration of 'St. Mary of Victory,' and, by bull in 1583, Gregory XIII. set aside this particular Sunday as the Feast of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was to be observed by all churches throughout the world. Finally, Clement XI., by bull of 3rd Oct. 1710, decreed that the feast should be observed by all churches throughout Christendom.

The rosary in witchcraft.—In S. Italy the rosary, among other things, is used by witches who undertake to break spells. Certain objects are hung under the bed of a man made impotent, and the witch provides herself with a packet of unwashed herbs and a rosary without the medals or other blessed objects. She then tears open the packet and scatters its contents on the ground, meanwhile saying, 'Come to scelgo questo mazza, cosi scelg0 questo c-o.'

Rosary rings.—Another method of count ing prayers is by means of the rosary or decade rings. These rings are worn on the finger and usually have ten beads. The well-known 'ten Aves, with occasionally an eleventh for a Paternoster, and sometimes an additional twelfth' is the repetition of the Creed. The earliest date assigned to these rings by one authority is the 14th century. Such rings were worn by some classes of devotees during the hours devoted to the rosary, so that they should wake during the night, they might repeat...
a certain number of prayers, keeping count by means of the bosses on the ring. 

The Knights of Malta frequently wore chaplet rings, consisting of a rosary chain and a cross. These rings were said to have been invented by them. Their use, in place of the ordinary rosary, was spreading rapidly, till in 1536 the matter was referred to the tribunal of penitentiaries by Pope Gregory XVI. This tribunal then decided that such rings could not be blessed 'with the appropriate indulgences.'

(b) Orthodox Churches. — In both Greek and Slavic monasteries part of the investiture of the Little Habit and the Great Habit is a knotted cord, which is bestowed ceremonially upon the monk or nun. The Superior takes the veresitas (knotted cord) in his left hand, and says: 'Take, Brother N., the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, for continual prayer to Jesus; for thou must always have the Name of the Lord Jesus in mind, in heart, and on thy lips, ever saying: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner.' Let us all say: 'Lord have mercy,' 'And, blessing the Veresitas with his right hand, he prostrates it to the Candidate; while the Brothers sing thrice: 'Lord have mercy.' And he, taking the Veresitas, kisses it and the right hand of the Superior.'

The knotted cord, already pointed out, is possibly a very primitive form of rosary, and, in this case, it is seen surviving in a highly ceremonial function.

The *komvoschion* (cedarwood) of Athens, the Russians give it the old Slavic name of veresitas ("string"). In popular language it bears the name *testovka* because of its resemblance to a ladder (ladders). There is also a string of beads called *komvoschion* (cedarwood) by the Greeks. This form is not approved as a religious appliance, it being used by eclectastics and laity alike merely as an ornament or as something to hold in the hand.

The *komvoschion* used by the monks on Mount Athos at the present day has 100 knots, divided by three beads of large size into four equal parts. It has a pendant with three more knots, and terminates with a small cross-shaped tassel. This rosary is divided by the *komvoschion* (cedarwood) of the highest grade, called *skhimaunik* in the Slavic monasteries) to keep count of a definite number of prostrations every day, viz. 12 x 100 prostrations down to the ground, and in the evening 300 more, meanwhile repeating the following prayer: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner.' Through the intercessions of thine all-pure Mother and of all thy Saints, have mercy and deliver us.' Sometimes these prostrations are imposed on a monk as a penance, in which case the accompanying prayer is: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner.' The form and number may vary in character thus: ten great metanoi (down to the ground), thirty little metanoi (down to the hips), and the prayer: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner,' repeated sixty times. This has to be done five times a day. The *komvoschion* is also used for counting any kind of prayers or devotional exercises.

The reason assigned for the adoption of the number 100 X 3 is as follows:

The number 

| of the Psalms and Little Doxologies said at the Canonical Hours. The whole Psalter is divided into 20 portions, each of which is a kathisma (strophes, seat), and it is followed by a recess. Each kathisma consists of three parts, each part ending with the Little Doxology ("Glory be," etc.) and the doxological Alleluia. For the sake of these unable to read, or (especially) to teach, individual sections are added. Each kathisma, one of the following prayers might be said 300 times, and a man might have said over 1,000 times, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner." Or 'Lord Jesus Christ, for the sake of Theotokos, have mercy upon me, a sinner.' In other words, to be told to chant the Little Doxology of the kathisma, i.e., for each of the three parts of the portion of the Psalms ending with the "Glory be," etc., and the doxological Alleluia, each of which will be merely intended to represent the ending of the three parts of the kathisma, and no prayer is connected with it."

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2 Kurz, p. 35.
5 Ib. p. 155.
6 Ib. p. 154 f.
7 Ib. p. 150 f.
8 This form of *komvoschion* is used by Hellenic monks in Greece, Turkey, and the East generally, as well as on Mount Athos.
9 Among the Indians the monks who sung the knotted cord used is the old Slavic veresitas. It has 105 knots or beads, which are separated into unequal groups by larger beads. The groups of beads are as follows: 17 + 33 + 40 + 12, and an additional small bead at the end. In the Slavic veresitas the lower beads are fastened together with three flat triangles, inscribed and ornamented. Sometimes these rosaries are made of little rolls of leather chain-stitched together, divided into groups by larger roles. The terminals are also of leather, triangular in shape, inscribed in Church Slavic (ancient Slavic) with the words 'Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, a sinner.' This kind of rosary calls to mind the popular name for it, viz. *testovka*, as it certainly might be thought to resemble a ladder in shape. This rosary is also used for counting a large number of prostrations.
10 For instance, if a monk is prevented from saying the Typica (the selection of Psalms sung at certain offices), he must instead 700 metanoi; he must count 500 instead of Hesperinos (Vespers), 200 in place of Apostlepion (Compline), and 500 in place of Orthros (Laud.).

The use of the *komvoschion* or veresitas is a purely monastic or ascetic devotion; it is not indulged in by the Orthodox laity, though the laity of the Russian sects called Old Believers have adopted it. Whenever this devotion is seen in use among the Uniates outside the monasteries, it has been copied from the rosary as used among the laity in the West.

The rosary as a charm. — In certain parts of Poland, namely, in the districts of Piotrow, Wiesiostocho and Vlock, the following custom is in use to keep off lightning:

During a storm a rosary—either a genuine one made of cedarwood from the Holy Land or one made in imitation—is carried round the house three times, together with a little bell called 'the bell of Loreto' (associated with the Holy Mother of Loreto in Italy) and sometimes also a lighted candle, blessed on Candlemas Day (2nd Feb.). The bell is rung, and the rosary is used with the words 'God save us' at the large beads and 'Holy Mother, be our mediator' at the small ones.

(c) Coptic. — The rosaries used by the Copts in Egypt have 41 beads, or sometimes 81. They are used for counting a similar number of repetitions of the 'Kyrie eleison.' This petition is repeated in Arabic or Coptic, with the addition, at the end, of a short prayer. In these they resort to what is, presumably, a more primitive method of keeping record of their prayers, and count on their fingers.

5 Jewish. — Among the Jews the rosary has lost all religious importance, having been taken over by them from the Turks and Greeks. They use it merely as a pastime on the Sabbaths and holy days. No manual labour being permitted on those days, they occupy themselves with passing the beads through their fingers. These rosaries sometimes have 32 beads, sometimes 30.


2 Robinson, p. 156 f.
4 The writer of this article is indebted to Mrs. Czaplicka for this information.
5 Lane, Modern Egyptians, p. 541.
6 Dr. Gaster has suggested to the writer of this article that there may be a kabbalistic reason for the number 32. It is the mystical number for the 'ways of wisdom' by which God created the world. They stand at the beginning of the so-called Book of Creation, and they play an important role in the kabbalistic literature. It may be that this has influenced the number of beads on the smaller rosaries.
ROSICRUCIANS


WINIFRED S., BLACKMAN.

ROSICRUCIANS — When considering the history of the Rosicrucians, we have to bear in mind that members of that body were, and are, pledged to secrecy, and that the paucity of records is in a proof of their sincerity and devotion. But it is permissible to give some data of the history of the Society since its foundation about the year 1420.

Christian Rosencreuz was born in the year 1478. His parents were noble, and he was educated at a monastery. His education being completed, he travelled in the East, and on his return, he founded the fraternity with him as companion and guide a certain P.A.L., who, how ever, died on reaching Cyprus. After a delay caused by this untimely event, Rosencreuz proceeded on his travels alone, and, on reaching Damascus, he founded a lodge of the hands of others. To wise men with whom he continued his studies, and from whom he derived much information respecting their philosophy and science. Thence he journeyed to Egypt, to Fez, and to Spain, gathering in each place a store of learning which he used in the development of the fraternity which afterwards bore his name. In the year 1413 he reached Austria, and after five years' preparation, during which he collated his knowledge, he chose three companions, Fratres G., I.A. (who, it was noted, was not a German), and I.O. to them he imparted his philosophy and principles in the philosophy and science of his travels, which included religion, philosophy, and the science of medicine. These four were the original members of the Society of the Rose and Cross. Their communications with each other were made by means of a magical alphabet, language, and code which was recorded in the books of M (Magus), Aziomata, tote Mundie, and Protheus are known. They built from their own designs a home for the fraternity, which they named 'Domus Sancti Spiritus,' and a few years later increased their number by the creation of a second circle consisting of four other fratres, namely R.C. (a cousin of Rosencreuz), B. (a draughtsman and painter), G.G., and P.D., who was appointed secretary, thus completing the scheme of work. Their declared object, as narrated in their writings, was to unite with the religious or political actions of States, to improve mankind by the discovery of the true philosophy. While two of the fraters were always with the founder, the others went about doing good works, relieving the poor and attending to the sick. Thus the Rosicrucian philosophy has composed of students of religion, philosophy, and medicine, who also practised acts of beneficence.

They were bound by six rules: (1) to profess nothing, but to cure the sick, and that freely; (2) to wear only the dress of the country in which they were; (3) to assemble at the Domus Sancti Spiritus once a year on a certain day (the festival C.C.), or send a reason for absence; (4) each frater to select a proper person to succeed him; (5) letters C.R. to be their seal, mark, and character; (6) to maintain the secrecy of the fraternity for at least 100 years.

It was Frater I.O. who, having learned kabbalistic, doctor, and a labor of the book he visited England, and laid the foundation of the Rosicrucian system which has ever since existed in this country. He was it who cured the young Earl of Norfolk of leprosy, and he was the first of the original members to die.

In the year 1647 Rosencreuz wrote an interesting and curious tractate entitled Chymische Hochzeit, which was published at a later period; and in 1648 the founder of the fraternity died and was buried in a vault of seven sides decorated with symbols, which had been erected about eight years previously for his resting-place. The body was embalmed and placed in this specially prepared tomb, which was then closed, and upon the door was fixed a brazen plate upon which was engraved an inscription of a prophetic exclamation of his own, that in 120 years after his death his tomb should be re opened and all his doctrines, in a modified form, once more made available, and that not only to a few, but to the learned in general.

Frater D. was chosen as the successor of the founder, and after his death Frater A., at an unknown date, became Frater N., and he succeeded Frater N., who in 1604 disclosed the entrance to the vault and caused it to be opened. In it was found the body carefully preserved under an altar; in the right hand was the parchment roll called the book T (Testamentum); there were also found copies of other valuable books of the fraternity—a Vita, and an Itinerarium of the founder, together with certain songs (mantras), mirrors, bells, lamps, etc. On a brass tablet were engraved the names of all the brethren who up to the time of the founder's death had been members of the fraternity.

In 1610 a notable named Haselmeyer wrote that, while staying in the Tyrol, he had seen a copy in MS of the history called Fama Fraternitatis; the name of its author is not known, but four years later this Fama was printed, and at various times reprinted. The notice of the foundation of the Rosicrucian fraternity was re-issued at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1615, together with an addition called Confessio Fraternitatis. The authorship of these tracts has been variously attributed to Johann Valentin Andreae, or to Jacob Boehme (who died in 1637), to the mystic Giles Guttman, and to a comparatively little known writer, one Tauler. Although these works gave to the world a knowledge of the existence of the Rosicrucian fraternity, it is probable that they were not written by any one with a real personal knowledge of the affairs of the brotherhood; neither is there any evidence that they were authorized; but, although they lack literary ability, they may be accepted as founded on facts obtained from current conceptions of the work of the fraternity, inasmuch as the necessity for strict secrecy had to some extent abated; for between the death of Rosencreuz in 1484 and the opening of the tomb in 1604 the Protestant Reformation had been accomplished by Martin Luther and his coadjutors about the year 1530.

An Epitome of the God-illuminated Brotherhood of the R.C., issued at Danzig in 1615, and written by Julius Sperber, rendered high praise to the learning of the fraternity, while the Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreuz, claimed by Andreae to be his own work was published at Strassburg in 1616, and an English translation, under the title The Chemical Wedding, was issued in the year 1690 by R. Foxcroft, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.
The publication of these works caused a great sensation among the learned in Europe; they were widely criticized, notably by such men as Libavius and Menapius; those anxious to be admitted to the fraternity were loud in their praise, while others, having failed in their attempts to secure reception, denounced the brotherhood unparaphringly.

Michael Maier (1568–1622), a notable philosopher and Rosicrucian Magnus, the author of many learned works describing the Rosicrucian system, visited England and admitted Robert Fludd to the Society of Robert Fludd (1574), a noted English anatomist, who, after the death of his master, entered the House, Bearstead, Kent, in 1574, and was the son of Sir Thomas Fludd, Treasurer of War to Queen Elizabeth. For many years he practised medicine in the city of London, and on his death was buried in Bearstead church, where there is a monument to his memory with a long inscription recording his many virtues. Near the house of his birth are the rose farm and other gardens where he cultivated the plants used in his pharmacy. He was the Magnus in this country, and during his life wrote many learned works on kabbalistic theosophy and Rosicrucian mysticism. In 1610 Ashmole, William Lloyd, Apologia Compendiaria pro fraternitate de Rosae Crucis (Leyden, 1616), Tractatus Apologeticus, integrata Societatis de Rosae Crucis defendentes (Leyden, 1617), and Summanna Bonum (Frankfort, 1629), in which groups in Sweden, France, England (1665), philosopher and poet. Among his published works are Two Treatises: the Nature of Bodies . . . the Nature of Man's Soul (Paris, 1644), books on medicine and the cure of wounds by sympathetic magic. The jewel and chain of his office as chief of the English Rosicrucians is in the possession of one of his descendants in the south of England. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626), was influenced by his friend Robert Fludd and became a Rosicrucian.

It is believed that Elias Ashmole (1617–92), the antiquary and astrologer, who was a Rosicrucian, was associated with the introduction of kabbalistic theosophy into the Masonic body, and that his influence is felt in modern speculative freemasonry. Towards the end of his life he derived much occult knowledge from William Backhouse, a Rosicrucian of renown and a chemist. In 1638 Ashmole, William Lloyd, Apologia Compendiaria pro fraternitate de Rosae Crucis (Leyden, 1616), Tractatus Apologeticus, integrata Societatis de Rosae Crucis defendentes (Leyden, 1617), and Summanna Bonum (Frankfort, 1629), in which groups in Sweden, France, England (1665), philosopher and poet. Among his published works are Two Treatises: the Nature of Bodies . . . the Nature of Man's Soul (Paris, 1644), books on medicine and the cure of wounds by sympathetic magic. The jewel and chain of his office as chief of the English Rosicrucians is in the possession of one of his descendants in the south of England. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626), was influenced by his friend Robert Fludd and became a Rosicrucian.

Thomas Vaughan (1622–66), twin brother of Henry Vaughan, 'Silurist,' was a celebrated mystic; under the name of Eugenius Philalethes he published an English version of the Fama Fraternitatis (1552). In this he was associated with Sir Robert Moray, the first president of the Royal Society. In 1710 an adept named Sigismund Richter published, under the pseudonym 'Sincerus Renatus,' a work entitled Die Wahrhaftige und Vollkommene Beschreibung der Kabbala. Kreuzen, giving 52 rules of the Rosicrucian fraternity of that period. In 1777 the Reformed Rite of the Brethren of the Rose and Golden Cross was established.

Many important works were published during the succeeding years, among them a theological book, with coloured emblematic plates, at Altona, Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer aus dem 16ten und 17ten Jahrhundert (this work, issued in 1793, continued the German text of the Aurora Svevaunium Rosicrucianum, originally printed in 1621, together with The Golden Tractate of the Philosopher's Stone and the original Prayer of a Rosicrucian). A portion of this volume, translated into English by Franz Hartmann, a member of the German fraternity, was published in 1857.


In 1866 the strands of the Rosicrucian rope were gathered together, when, under the direction of W. W. W. Westcott, the 'Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia' was founded, consolidating the system and erasing some false impressions that had been created during the past century. At the present time duly authorized Rosicrucian colleges are at work in England, British India, Australia, New Zealand, S. Africa, and S. America, all under the authority of the English body; and there are daughter colleges in the United States of America working in complete harmony with the parent body. The Continental Rosicrucian system was reorganized in 1890, and its branches were very active up to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. This body insists upon complete privacy, and its members are required to acknowledge their status; but they had been, until the war, very active in good works, especially in carrying on investigations into the uses of vegetable drugs and the relief of disease by means of coloured lights and by hypnotic processes; there are numerous physicians using these means, which are freely supplied, but these doctors are not necessarily pledged members of the fraternity.

As in the earliest times the Rosicrucians not only studied, but went about ministering to those in distress, so the fraternities of today are concerned with the study of the mysteries of life and death, and with their manufacture upon the old lines. They believe that this world and indeed the whole universe is permeated with the essence of the Creator, that every rock is instinct with life, that every plant and every thing is a part of this, this, the mastery of which is derived from the Master Mind that caused it to exist, and that each living thing moves, acts, and thinks in accordance with the supreme design by which all things were made, by which all things exist, and by which they will continue to function till the end of time. At no period did the Rosicrucians declare the transmutation of metals to be a part of their practice, nor did they ever promise indefinite prolongation of life by mysterious drugs, but they did speak of these in parables with the full and complete knowledge that all things are possible, and that, with the forcing of their control, they could do even these. They were content, however, to act and to trust to the future, when the minds of men having been cleansed, the redemption and absorption should be accomplished.

ROTHE.—I. Life.—Richard Rothe was born in Posen on 30th Jan. 1799. His father, a man of striking character, held an important official position under the Prussian Government, and was powerfully influenced by that idea of the State which subsequently found expression in the works of Gustav Freytag. His mother, the daughter of Hofrath Müller in Liegnitz, was a woman of considerable intellectual culture and of a deeply religious nature. Soon after the birth of Richard, their only child, the parents removed to Stettin, and a few years later to Breslau, in Silesia, with whom Rothe in early youth was chiefly associated. As the delicate child, of a shy and retiring disposition, he occupied himself up to the age of eight largely with picture-books and stories of travel, whereby his imaginations were awakened and nurtured.

A tendency towards mysticism early exhibited itself, and the Bible, as soon as he was able to read it, made a deep impression upon him. At the age of ten he was sent to the reformed Friedrichsgymnasium in Breslau and at once proved himself to be a pupil of great industry and perseverance. His knowledge of Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, the two Schlegels, Tieck, and Fontené, although, when he reached the age of sixteen, Novalis became his favourite author.

In April 1817 he entered the University of Heidelberg as a theological student. Heidelberg was at that time at the height of its fame as a seat of learning. Hegel had settled there the year before as Professor of Philosophy, only, however, to migrate to Berlin in Jan. 1818. Rothe attended Hegel's lectures on Logic and Metaphysics, which, he writes, in his autobiography, was chiefly associated with the idea of the Holy Scriptures, for a number of his auditors complained of them, he hopes will not remain unintelligible to him. Karl Daub, the 'Talleyrand of German thought,' who was Professor Ordinarius of Theology and a speculative thinker of unusual insight and power, became the teacher to whom Rothe owed his greatest debt.

Daub, he writes to his father, ‘is a man of whom not only Heidelberg but our whole German Fatherland can be proud. I hesitate not to say that he is the first of all living academical teachers. The enthusiasm with which he is here spoken of is absolutely universal, as also is the love of him on the part of students of all Faculties.’

Daub was attempting to work out a philosophy of religion along the lines of the idealism of Schelling and Hegel, and one can understand the fascination that a mind of his bent must have had for the young Rothe. He was quick to enter upon the new movement. Yet the pupil was not a blind hero-worshipper. Towards the end of his student life in Heidelberg he expresses dissent from certain of Daub's contentions. Probably he had come to desire the more profound tendency in his teacher of thinking in the lines of Schleiermacher and Hegel, and his later narratives embodiements of metaphysical ideas. Daub, he complains, yields too much to the philosopher, more than the theologian ought to yield, and when the philosopher has been allowed to have his way he only laughs at the theologian and then disarms him.

After Daub the man who chiefly succeeded in winning Rothe's affection was Abegg, a lecturer on New Testament Exegesis—a man, he writes, ‘in whom Christ is formed, as the Scripture puts it, who is penetrated through and through with all that is most fundamental and eternal in Christianity, who loves with Christian eyes.' 'To me,' he declared in 1840, speaking of Abegg, of all men on earth, he set the 99% of overwhelming certainty upon the essence and reality of Christian devotion. Not only in the class-room did Abegg inspire the young student; Abegg's simple homilies from the pulpit during no weekday were to him marks of genuine religious experience, seemed to him tokens of the truth. The five semesters spent in Heidelberg were undoubtedly fruitful in every respect. It was here that his mind was moulded; it was here that the interests were engendered which were to be his throughout life. Just before leaving Rothe preached, at a little village in the neighbourhood, called Mauer, his first sermon—a sermon, he tells his father, with which he was utterly discontented, in which he made himself a laughing-stock; but by diligent practice that one could ever expect to succeed in giving true and unweakened expression to the life which lives in us.

For the winter-semester of 1819 Rothe went to Berlin. The Theological Faculty of the then recently founded University had at its head a man of world-wide reputation—Schleiermacher, Neander, and Liske. And, in the Philosophical Faculty, Hegel had commenced the work which made him the acknowledged leader of philosophical thought in Germany. Taking back upon that period, Rothe wrote in 1802:

1. A new birth of the German people through the power of the gospel that had again become living, a new formation of its entire life.

Yet at the time, and after his Heidelberg experience, he never felt at home in Berlin. He heard Schleiermacher's lectures, delivered for the first time that semester, on das Leben Jes; but they gave him the impression that the last man was troubling himself with artificially constructed difficulties. Schleiermacher's sermons, too, he contrasts unfavourably with those of his beloved Abegg; they lacked, to his mind, the inner spiritual grasp of the Heidelberg preacher, and from them he gained little inspiration, although he admires their ingenuity and scholarly character. He gives his father an interesting account of Schleiermacher's seminar. The work was done mainly by essays written by the students, one of which was discussed at each of the weekly gatherings.

To Rothe there had been assigned the theme of determining whether in the reported sayings of Christ traces could be found of His having possessed knowledge of the OT Apocrypha and of His having devoted special attention thereto. They gave him the impression that the last man was not dealing with a problem of that sort, a host of prior questions would have to be answered, for the answering of which the necessary historical data were incompletely wanting. In regard to Neander, who was lecturing on the history of dogma, the young man was impressed, although his expectations had not deceived him.

1. Nippold, Richard Rothe, i. 43.
2. Ibid. p. 153.
3. Nippold, Richard Rothe, i. 112.
4. Ibid. p. 455 f. He is a wonderful man,' he writes, 'externally altogether dried up, but internally fresh and vigorous. He is not without genuine Christian life, although it does not dawn on him forth with joyfully, but only gleams through sadly as the moon between graves.'

And he draws a woeful picture of his aching fingers trying to take down the prodigiously rapid dicta-
tion which the learned theologian was giving to his class.

'Happy is all I still feel myself,' he tells his father, amongst the old Heidelberg acquaintances, and the well-known, though not exactly melodious, voice of Hegel is for my ear a delicious music from the banks of the Danube.1

Hegel was lecturing five times a week on Naturrecht, but had started by dismissing the term as wholly unsuitable because of its implication of a so-called state of nature, and was giving in fact in Rodolphi— an account, namely, of the immanent determinations of the Spirit from the point of view of its necessary development in the form of the State. A second semester was spent in Berlin, during which Schleiermacher was lecturing on Ethics, Neander on Church History, and Marcinko began, in Heubner, because his life-long yearning for release from the Prussian capital. A considerable number of relatives and family acquaintances resided there, and a good deal of his time had to be spent in visiting.

'It's no wonder that people of the world get inwardly stalled, for when we have so much to do with outward things we become in fact heathens, and our pure human conceptions grow over weaker.'

Probably it was recoil from what seemed to him the prevailing worldliness of the Lutheran churchgoers that led to his interesting himself at this time in the Pietist movement, then in its earlier and healthier phase. His letters show that his religious nature was craving for a deeper earnestness of heart and higher inspiration, and more genuinely personal devotion. And he found a companionable feeling among the devotees of the revival movement.

On 6th Nov. 1820 Rothe entered the theological seminary at Wittenberg, then under the super-intendence of Karl Ludwig Nitzsche, 'an old and genial man, of unusually kindly nature, who is full of love for his work.'2 Here he was plunged into a course of preparation for the practical work of the ministry—Bible study with a view to homiletical application, the composition of sermons and of sermon-schemes to be criticized by his teachers, preaching to rural congregations in the district, and visiting people in their homes. Rothe threw himself con amore into the work, and yet found time for the studies for which his university training equipped him. He taught the younger teachers at the seminary he was at once drawn to H. L. Henbner, a man of singular simplicity of character, with a wealth of ideas and an insight into the means of applying them such as he had not met with since the days when he had sat at the feet of Altvater.—

His friendship with Henbner, and it was largely due to his influence that Rothe was persuaded, at first very much against his inclination, to keep in view the possibility of devoting himself to an academic career. In March 1821, a fellow-student at Berlin, Rudolf Stier, entered the seminary, and he was in large measure instrumental in inducing Rothe, already tending in that direction, to espouse warmly for the time being the Pietist propaganda. In his letters home of this period Rothe relates the circumstances, he did not want to return to the prevalent ecclesiasticism, with its dreary orthodox propositions and verbal formularies. He goes to a church on Easter Sunday and cannot rid himself of the feeling that he is in a Greek temple. Over the altar-table he finds the words 'Friede, Hoffnung, Ruhe und Eintracht alien guten Menschen inscribed, and they strike him as more fitted for a hall of English deists than for a Christian house of God.

Returning to his parents' house at Breslau in Oct. 1822, he remained there about six months,

1 Nippold, Richard Rothe, I. 155.


During his licentiate period. In Breslau he had much intercourse with the awakened J. G. Scheibel, Henrik Steffens, Julius Müller among them—who helped to strengthen his belief in Spener's proposal for restoring the life of the Church. These friends met together frequently for devotional reading and prayer; and, in letters to Stier, Rothe describes in the buffet that he was thus obtaining in his spiritual needs. His days were fully occupied; he was busily engaged with laborious researches into the development of early Christian doctrine, and in addition he was preaching regularly in the place of a pastor who was ill.

On 29th July 1823 he received an invitation from the Government to undertake the work of chaplain to the Prussian embassy in Rome, of which Baron Bunsen was at that time the head. After anxious reflection Rothe accepted the offer, recognizing that it afforded opportunities for carrying on the historical inquiries to which he felt himself specially called. He was ordained in Berlin on 12th Oct.; and a month later he married Louise von Briicke, to whom he had become engaged while in Wittenberg—one of whose sisters was the wife of Richard Haenel and Heinrich August Hahn. It was a happy marriage, and he had by his side henceforth a true helper in all his aims and endeavours. Early in Jan. 1824 he arrived with his wife in Rome, and entered at once upon the duties of his office.

"A little flower which I have to shepherd presents," he writes, "a peculiar appearance. Externally it is composed of a few so-called upper-class people and a not unimportant number of priests."3

With characteristic zeal he plunged into the work, organizing week-day evening services, and lecturing on various phases of Church History and on the origin and growth of Christian institutions. He preached regularly on Sunday, and of his great power and influence in the pulpit there is abundant testimony. He combined in his utterances a simplicity and a depth of spiritual experience that speedily made their appeal to and touched the hearts of his hearers. Bunsen was at once attracted to the young chaplain, and a warm friendship sprang up between the two men. Bunsen's own studies in the field had been extensive, and he was then engaged in an attempt to bring about the compilation of a liturgy that should be for the evangelical churches of Germany what the Book of Common Prayer was for the Anglican Church. Full of activity as the year was himself to literary work, he then appeared his theological studies and to lay the foundations for his work on the early Christian Church.

Under the many influences of the city his religious views gained in catholicity and broadness; he became convinced that Christian faith could fulfill its mission only by feeling itself at one with reason and with the history of the world.

Towards the end of 1827 Rothe received, partly through the aid of Bunsen, the offer of a professorship of Church History in the theological seminary at Wittenberg; and, after visiting Naples and Florence, he started for Germany in April 1828. His lectures in the seminary were on the history and constitution of the early Christian Church, and also on selected sermons of ancient and modern times. Besides lecturing, he superintended much of the practical work of the college, and preached frequently. In 1831 he became second director, and, in the following year, ophorus, of the seminary. He was thus brought into close personal touch with the students, and their affection for him was unbounded. During these years he completed the great work of which he had dreamed in 1836 his commentary on Rom. 5: 12-21; and in the
following year the first volume of his great undertaking entitling Die Anfangs der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung. During this Wittenberg period Rothe found himself diverging more and more from the ways of thought represented by the Pietists, and, when the two books just mentioned appeared, his secession from Pietism was an accomplished fact. He sympathizing with the religious tendencies of the Pietists, he was alienated by their narrow attitude to historical investigation and speculative reflection.

A new theological seminary was founded in Heidelberg in 1837, and Rothe was chosen to be its first director. The institution started with only fourteen students, and Rothe was discouraged by the absence of any religious interest in the congregations of the district no less than by the prevalent civic inertie among the clergy themselves. He speedily, however, made his presence felt in the circle of the younger theologians, and the influence that he exerted as University Preacher was profound and wide-spread. He concentrated his attention now more than he had done hitherto upon the fundamental principles of religious theology and, with this in mind, he wrote his two volumes of the Theologische Ethik, which he recognized to be his main contribution to theological science. The third volume appeared in 1848. In the summer of the year 1848 he was called at the age of forty under the oath to fulfill the duties of Rector of the University.

On 22nd Nov. he delivered his rectoral address Ueber die Aussichten der Universitaeten aus dem Standpunkte der Gegenwart, in which he vindicated the necessity of exact and methodical scientific investigation in the interest of the religious tendencies of the past thirty or forty years, whilst emphasizing the dangers attending increasing specialization of losing sight of the ideal of science as a whole.

Rothe accepted in 1849 a call to one of the theological chairs in the University of Bonn, and he was also appointed University Preacher. He had Dorner and Bleek as his colleagues, and the Theological Faculty rapidly increased in numbers; Rothe's lectures on the life of Christ and on ethics awakened the keenest interest. He made few disciples, but the principle that belongs to every man who can succeed in doing. His influence was of a deeper and more enduring kind—that of a man who was constantly feeling his way along the thorny path of speculative theology. He was present at the Synod of 1850 in Dinsburg; and he continued to be largely occupied with ecclesiastical matters.

Five years' residence in Bonn Rothe returned in 1854 to Heidelberg as Professor of Theology in the University. He took part in the General Synod of 1855, at which important issues came up for decision as regards the Belkenmissefrage and the Ketzchumsfrage, and with reference to both he stood for the position of freedom and liberty of thought. The following years, though full of activity, were saddened by the long and disappointing illness of his wife.

After her death he was filled with a consciousness of the needs of the age in respect to religion; and he threw himself with great earnestness into several ecclesiastical questions. He took a prominent part in the General Synod of 1861 at Karlsruhe and became a member of the Oberkirchennath. He was largely instrumental in founding the Protestantverein, which held its first meeting at Eisenach in June 1865. The aims of the Verein were these: that the Church should frankly recognize the culture and science of the time; that perfect freedom should be accorded to both clergy and laity to search for and to publish the truth in entire independence of external authority, that the clergy and the laity should stand upon an equal and spiritual equality, that the laity should have a greater share in Church matters, and that a National Church should be established upon the basis of universal suffrage. Rothe read an introductory paper on the means by which the estranged members of the Church could be reclaimed. He urged that the Church becomes useless as soon as she loses the moral power to win and keep the hearts of her members, that she had lost this power by opposing modern progress, and could regain it only by becoming progressive.

The last few years of his life were spent in going over once more the ground of his Theologische Ethik, but he succeeded in rewriting only the first two volumes. Although his health had been gradually failing, he continued lecturing until a month before his death. He died, after a severe illness, on 20th Aug. 1867.

2. Writings.—As a theologian, Rothe may be said to belong to the so-called right wing of the Hegelian school, although no doubt he was largely influenced by Schelling's later writings. The bent of his mind is shown in the first volume of his two volumes of the Theologische Ethik, which he recognized to be his main contribution to theological science. The third volume appeared in 1848. In the summer of the year 1848 he was called at the age of forty under the oath to fulfill the duties of Rector of the University.

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Roth, as Harnack expresses it,1 belongs the undiminished credit of thoroughly realizing the significance of nationality in Church History, and to him also we owe the first scientific conception of Catholicism. One characteristic feature of Roth's speculative thought is the way in which the Anfang—you may think, the State and in civilization rather than in the Church that the ideal of Christianity will ultimately find realization.

Roth's chief claim, however, to a place in the history of theological science rests undoubtedly upon his Theologische Ethik, the first edition of which appeared in three volumes (1845-48), and the second edition in five volumes (1867-71), the last three of the latter being edited and published after his death by Heinrich Holtzmann. This work is the result of a prolonged effort on the part of a comprehensive and logical mind to think out a system of speculative theology that should furnish a rational basis for the religious life of a Christian community. The fundamental ideas are not, indeed, new. No one who is familiar with Danil's Philosophische und theologische Vorlesungen (ed. P. C. Markeinecke and T. W. Dittenberger, 7 vols., Berlin, 1838-44), which unfortunately are now but little known, can fail to discern the extent of Roth's indebtedness to his old teacher. And, in fact, the two subdivisions of a section of the book indicate the many other writers to whom he was under obligations. In the earlier and more metaphysical sections Schelling is the thinker who is most frequently alluded to, but to Fichte and Hegel there are also numerous references. Lotze's Mikrokosmos yields him many apt quotations, while Fechner, Weisse, and the younger Fichte are often mentioned. None the less the work as a whole bears the impress of an independent and honest inquirer, of a vigorous intellect wrestling with the greatest problem of human reflection.

The author starts by making a sharp distinction between speculative thinking and thinking that takes the form of empirical contemplation. The latter must always be directed upon an outer object which has no reality for the subject of this object is interpreted. It is reflexion upon the given object, not self-thinking of it. Speculative thinking, on the other hand, is self-thinking in the strictest sense of the term. It begins with what is purely a priori and proceeds by following the self-thinking man of the Unconditioned, to know, and to determine out of itself new notions. There cannot be, therefore, single, isolated speculations, but only one organic whole of speculation, a speculative system. The success of thought, so conceived, depends upon the fact that the human thinker is a microcosm—that in him the whole of the rest of creation is, so to speak, recapitulated. When, however, speculative thought has completed its task of construction, it must turn its attention to the empirically given facts and ascertain whether the speculative reason is in accordance with this fact. If it is, the system in question will of necessity collapse, and the effort must be commenced afresh with the resolve to carry it through with more rigid dialectical caution and conscientiousness. All the same, the thinker will remain the microcosm, the universe of his thought, as though there were no world around him and nothing in his experience except thought.

Now, in the devout or religious man, according to the measure in which his devoutness is living and healthy, there is immediately contained in his thought as presupposed the notion of being determined by God. The religious man's feeling of self is at the same time a feeling of God, and he cannot come to a distinct and clear thought of self without coming to the thought of God. In him, that is to say, the consciousness of self is as such the consciousness of God. There is thus provided for the devout subject a twofold point of departure for his speculative thinking—the subject of a priori and the method of speculative inquiry. His thinking can proceed either from the consciousness of self as an a priori fact or from the consciousness of God; and, according as he follows the one or the other of these paths, his speculative thought will take an absolutely different direction. The former will be that of philosophical speculation, the latter of religions—or, in so far as it is scientifically pursued, of theological speculation. However near these two may approach each other in certain respects, they will in form inevitably deviate from one another; each will construe what it has to deal with purely a priori, but philosophical speculation will think and conceive its subject-matter by means of the notion of the human self, theological speculation by means of the notion of God. Theological speculation is in essence nothing else than an attempt to express in conceptual form the immediately certain content of the devout consciousness, the content of its feeling of the divine. It falls into two main divisions—(a) theology in the strict sense, and (b) cosmology, which again falls into the two subdivisions of physics and ethics. The body of Roth's treatise is, of course, concerned with the last-named.

The starting-point of theological speculation is, then, the fact that the religious man in thinking of himself thinks likewise, in and through the self, of God. The primordial form of the religious consciousness is doubtless feeling, the basis of the thought of God is the Gottsehnung, just as the basis of the thought of self is the Ichsehnung. But the primary step in reflective knowledge is to translate this feeling of God into the form of a concept, to express it in a perfectly clear and distinct idea, which shall completely and exhaustively represent it. And the thought in question can be formulated, in its most abstract and elementary aspect, as the thought of the Absolute Realization. As absolute realization is the condition or, whatever else there may be, it is conditioned by Him and does not condition Him. He is numerically one—containing within Himself all that there is of being. Moreover, as being absolute in an absolute way, or the absolutely right, He is the absolutely good Being, or the absolute Good. For the Good is that which is truly perfect, truly eternal and self-dependent. If, however, God as the Absolute is to be really thought by us, it can be only through the application of that category by means of which alone thought is possible—the category, namely, of ground and consequent.

And, since in thinking of the Absolute we are thinking of an existing, and not merely of an ideal, reality, the category of ground and consequent assumes in this application the form of cause and effect. Absolute Good is, therefore, a cause only as causa sui, as the simply self-determined. This implies, further, that in God there is absolute and harmonious union of necessity and freedom; as self-determining, that is to say, God is a living activity.

The concept of pure being is as such the concept of absolute negativity; it is for our thinking purely negative; yet in and for itself it is none the less the most positive of all concepts, only under the form of absolute negativity. It is negative, not in the sense of nullity, but in the sense of the absolutely not-this-or-that (das Nichtetcwes). Herein two moments are included; God is the fullness of all being, while the being of this or that appertains to Him only in a negative significance.

Now, what is contained in Him only negatively is contained in Him not as posited, not as existent or actual, but only as possible; in Him is to be found the totality of all possible realities, yet such totality can be expressed only as possibility. The thought of real possibility is equivalent, however, to the thought of pure potency or pure power; and any other essence causality, which cannot be otherwise conceived than as a bringing forth of effects, i.e., as creative (wirksame). God, in other words, as absolute potency or power, must be thought of as issuing forth from mere potency or power, and as issuing forth from His absolute life. The absolute life must be a process of self-realization. Again, self-realization presupposes that the ideal and the real are recognized and distinguished; God, that is to say, must be acting a spirit, the Absolute Spirit. And the notion of God as spirit implies that everything real had for its presupposition an ideal substance—a thought alone can become and be real. The timeless development of God as spirit includes within itself a twofold immanent development—one on the one hand, God becomes conscious of Himself, subjectifies Himself, proceeds with the self-activity. On the other hand, God determines Himself in and through the divine nature which furnishes the means or instrument of His self-activity. But these two immanent processes in God—determination of Himself as personality and act of thought—are necessarily one and the same, as can be thought of only in correlation. God then, as personality posits a nature as His objective counterpart; but this nature is originally ideal, a world of thoughts. Its contents are not originally in Him as operating entities that are raised from possibility to actuality by His self-activity. And the results of His activity are moral results; His determinations are at the same time commands. As self-determining, God is completely master of His own will; and His will is necessarily at the same time an act of thinking—a thinking, namely, of that which He wills, although the converse is not true, for God is under no necessity to will whatsoever He thinks.

In that God determines Himself to absolute personality He necessarily sets over against Himself the thought of an Other which is all that He is not. Yet He is under no necessity to posite this thought; the fact that He does not forgo the power of positing it is due to His perfection—a perfection which requires that He should realize Himself in and through that which is other than Himself. Thus we reach the notion of creation; God posits, namely, as real a sphere of being opposed to His own, and yet in union therewith, in order to have His own being expressed or manifested in His Other, the world. In what precisely this act of creating consists—that, namely, is thereby added to possibility that it should attain this level of actuality—Rothe is as little able as Leibniz, faced with a similar problem, to say. He confines himself to maintaining that the divine causality in producing the world is not active as an entirety, but divides its activity—in other words, the act of creating this world—into two parts: the formative thought, as primitive and unfinished product, a product which could only successively be brought to perfection. The primordial act of creation is the contraposing of God by a non-ego; and what is thus contraposed must be the thought opposed to spirit—namely, pure matter, in the notion of which is implied infinite divisibility. Pure matter is not, however, nature; and the divine creation evinces itself, therefore, as a continuous process, proceeding from one stage of material forms to another—bringing forth a graduated scale of existences that together constitute an organic whole. Rothe tries to trace the evolution from pure matter, which is virtually identical with space, first of mechanical nature, consisting of atoms conceived as centres of force, then of the chemical properties of these constituents, later of mineral products, and finally of vegetable and animal organisms. Until the world soul differentiates itself from the body as having the relation of subject to itself as object.

The gradual process of creation takes, in short, the aspect of a continuous incarnation of the divine Spirit within His non-ego, or matter, a process of transformation of the primordial matter into spiritual form until the former is transubstantiated into the latter. It is, therefore, the opposite of spirit, and to transform it into an organ of its own life.

It is no proof of God's omnipotence that He creates pure matter; the proof rather consists in His doing away with matter merely as such.  

The progressive creation is just the mode, and the only possible mode, of bringing about that consummation. But creation is creation only in so far as there is exhibited in it no sudden bound, only in so far as each of its links evinces itself as a real development from the preceding links of the chain. Herein is to be discerned the reason of the incompleteness of each successive stage of the world's evolution, which is not the result of creating a universe, but the manner in which it is created. The relation of the terms of the various degrees of creation is such that the one degree necessarily and necessarily to the next degree, the two terms being the act of creating and the created universe, that which to the human consciousness wears the aspect of evil, is to be traced back in the last resort to matter—that matter which is not yet transmuted, not yet done away with merely as such. Moreover, inasmuch as creation is a process of evolution, the one term represents the dissolution of the universe previous the lower, there must always remain, in every epoch of the world's history, a residuum of matter, which is the organ of the soul, as Pfeiderer calls it. The consequence is that the consummation of one epoch of creation requires that another epoch supervenes, and the world-evolution must be thought of as an endless series of stages following each other in time.

The natural man is conceived by both to have been developed according to the natural laws of animal evolution. In the animal sphere there is no definite contrast between the soul, which emerges out of and rises above matter, and nature, which is in direct union with it. The soul of the animal is entirely under the sway of nature, although even in the animal the merely physical has been transmuted to the extent of exhibiting the power which we call instinct. But with the appearance of human personality a new order of created being enters the world. Matter has given birth to a new species of existence in which it is transcended, to a creature whose essence and principle are its direct opposite. Looked at from the genetic point of view, the finite personality is the product of material evolution; considered in and for itself, it is just as certainly not material. That the finite spirit could not be created directly, but only through aid of the creature itself, only through the non-spiritual creature coming to posit itself as spiritual—all this appertains to the essence of spirit as self-determining. The true power of God as self-determining is that to determine itself to be so. It follows, therefore, that the creature to whom it belongs cannot have been endowed at its creation with this self-determining power, but can only have been created indirectly—by the creation, namely, of a material world soul so scientifically organized as to be able to transubstantiate itself from materiality into spirituality. As a self-determining personality, man acquires the status of a free agent. He is at once a thinking being, whose thoughts find everywhere objects corresponding to them, and a volitional

being, whose autonomous acts find realization in the outward world. A finite spiritual ego or person thus has it for his function to become, in a literal sense, a co-worker with God in the eternal process of creative-manifestation, not getting rid of matter in so far as it is the mere opposite of spirit. 

The process of creation finds, then, its continuation in the human world through the self-determination of finite persons. Hence it is that the creation-process in man necessarily assumes a new character. Man cannot live even the animal life except as a moral life. The formal principle of moral action may be expressed as the elevation of human personality out of its natural state of bondage or external determination to full freedom in itself; the material principle of moral action may be expressed as the appropriation of the natural environment to subserve the ends of personality. Three special features of the moral life call for detailed treatment in any scientific account of its essence and contents: (a) the results or products to be produced by self-determination; (b) the forces which constitute self-determination; and (c) the modes of activity which emenate from self-determination. The science of ethics will consequently be divided into a General Ethics and a Pflichtenlehre, i.e., it is only through following these three correlative branches of inquiry that a comprehensive science of the moral is possible. Of the three the first is the logically prior, for apart from the notion of the moral Good neither a system of virtues nor a system of duties can be constructed.

Since moral action is in itself a continuation of the divine creative action, it follows, according to Rousseau, that the moral life and the religious life really coincide, and, when normal, are identical. The object of both is the realization of the highest good—i.e., the absolute communion of man, individually and socially, with God, and, by means thereof, the perfected Kingdom of God on earth. Only in so far as the world is made the theatre of moral purpose is the truly religious life conceivable apart from that. It is an essential component of Religion, in order that it may become truth and reality, demands morality as its fulfillment, as the only concrete way in which the idea of fellowship with God can be realized; morality, in order that it may complete religion, in order that it completely fulfill the idea of religion, in the light of which alone it can comprehend its own idea in all its breadth and depth. In the moral process of human evolution the religious process is included as a necessary factor; the perfect development of human personality can be no other than its absolute determination by God, and consequently its perfect consciousness of God. When, then, mankind reaches its full moral stature, the antithesis between the religious and the moral will have disappeared; the moral life will be the religious life, and vice versa. The Church as the community of the devout is the State, must, accordingly, be regarded as a transitory institution; the full realization of the Church's aim can never be reached in abstract severance from the social organism as a whole. Ultimately the Christianized State, embodying, as it will, all the functions of the human spirit, will absorb the Church into itself; in so far as the Church fulfils its mission, it will tend more and more to fall away as a Church and to be the cause of its own dissolution. Its work, as a Church, will be accomplished when the social life, having advanced to a form of worship higher than it can awaken—that, namely, of a religiously moral community.

Five years after Rousseau's death a collection of isolated and miscellaneous reflections which he left had in various notebooks was published by his pupil, F. Nippold, of Bern, under the title of Stille Stunden. The volume is a rich storehouse of penetrating thoughts and suggestive ideas. One of these aphorisms sums up in a few words the burden of much of Rothe's teaching. "In this world," he says, "all Good, even the noblest and fairest—such as have been above a man's power to sustain them, or which he has to consume with pain and convert into pure spirit."  


G. DAWES HICKS.

ROUSSEAU.—1. Life.—Jean Jacques Rousseau was born on 28th June 1712, in Geneva. His father was Protestant by tradition: his ancestors had migrated from Paris to Geneva nearly 300 years before his birth, and they adopted the Protestant form of religion from the time of its first beginnings in Europe. His mother was of a well-to-do family, and the birth of her son cost her her life. The boy was thus left to the care of his father, Isaac Rousseau, a watchmaker, who was, as his son tells us, of an ardent and sensitive nature. He was early made to feel the influences of an emotional kind which affected his whole life. His father and he spent nights in reading romantic literature to one another, and exciting their sensibilities in a way which must have surprised their more stolid Genevanese compatriots. After having hastily made their way through certain romantic works of fiction which were inherited from the dead wife and mother, they tackled more serious literature, including a number of classical works of history; and, while still a young boy, became absorbed in a study of Plutarch, who remained all his life a favourite author. Unfortunately, when about ten or twelve years of age, his happy time with his father and a devoted aunt came to an end. The father, who was probably passionate and unresistant, grieved his son deeply, who thinking himself aggrieved, resolved to leave Geneva rather than suffer under what he conceived to be unjust laws. Consequently the lad was placed by an uncle at a school kept by a pastor in the village of Boissy. At this school there awoke within the boy a sensual consciousness which affected his outlook on life to the end. He tells the whole circumstances in his Confessions in a way which alike astonishes and disgusts a modern reader. In this
extraordinary book, published in his later years, we have a soul laying bare its inmost feelings, faults, and experiences, and the result in Rousseau's case is astounding. At Boissy, also, he experienced the first taste of the disagreeable art of being accused of a petty misdemeanour of which he was not guilty. This early experience made him intensely sensitive throughout his life to wrongful suffering by others. After leaving Boissy he returned to his uncle in Geneva for a few months, and enjoyed a happy out-of-door life with a young cousin. About 1725 (though this does not tally with his own account) the lad was placed in a notary's office, and, when dismissed from it, he was apprenticed to an engraver. The latter proved to be a brutal master who by his culls and blows constrained his apprentice to engage in many reprehensible practices. At the age of sixteen he took the law into his own hands and ran away—a step which, he says, completely altered the whole course of his life. Had he remained where he was born, he might, he considered, have become a peaceful Christian citizen, and now came his wanderings into strange lands and devious courses. He made his way into Savoy, where the faith and politics of the people were very different from those of the republic of his birth, and in the course of the summer he was exercised the deepest influence upon his outlook and character. It must, however, be allowed that he had already cut himself adrift from his family ties and caused himself to be regarded as somewhat of an alien.

At once he came into contact with the rector of Conflignon in Savoy, who was able to make him an apparent convert to Roman Catholicism without much difficulty, after giving him an excellent dinner. He was then sent to a Madame de Waren of Annecy, a young woman considered zealous in her faith, from whom he went to a monastery in Turin, where, after a certain show of protestation, he was formally received into the bosom of the Church. Once satisfactorily converted, he was (in 1728) thrust out to find his way for himself with only twenty francs in his pocket. After some days he was admitted into the house of the Comtesse de Vercelli, who died three months after he entered her service. After her death a piece of ribbon was missing, which Rousseau had stolen. He basely put the blame on a young girl in the house, and persisted in his accusation, when he was found out and the cause of the theft overwhelmed him with remorse on Rousseau's part, which haunted him to the end of his life. We must, however, recollect that the whole story is told by himself, and that he may more than likely have morbidly exaggerated both the crime and its effects.

After further efforts in service his youthful restlessness took him back over the mountains, this time with a young companion as destitute as himself, and at length he once more reached Annecy where, Messrs. de Waren, his friends, still lived there. With this strange figure he took up his abode; indeed, from 1729 to 1738 he was more or less in close touch with her. His friendship for this woman was of a curiously sensuous and mysterious kind. He called her 'Maman,' but for two or three years he was like a young woman of eighty. He had married early, disagreed with his husband, and become a convert to Roman Catholicism, thereby securing a small pension from the king of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus. Rousseau learned much at this time, and lived in an ecstasy of happiness with the beautiful and learned Baroness de Gence, a relation of the Baron de Vassan, an unlettered serving-girl in the small Hôtel St. Quentin at which he lived. This strange union at least gave satisfaction to Rousseau, since he did not ask for more than sympathy and cared little for permanent companionship of an intellectual sort. An event occurred in 1738 which is stated to have caused the utmost sorrow to his friend Madame de Waren, viz. the birth of a son, known in 1762, their relations changed, as Thérèse's sentiments towards him altered altogether, and Rousseau wrote piteously of his grief on this account. The woman appears to have naturally enough treated the subject of her offspring, for, much against his wish, she was exposed in the box for receiving foundlings, without any reason being given except that the father was in straits for money. At least certain specious
arguments in defence of his conduct were not developed till later, when Rousseau pretended that he suffered the deprivation of the joys of fatherhood in order that his children might be brought up in a healthy and simple life. We are glad to know that remorse came in the end. The pair were not actually married until 1768, when a certain form was gone through.

Rousseau spent twelve years in Paris— from 1744 to 1756—and it was during this time that his children were born and deserted. It was at this time that he was put to writing in Paris, and his life was by no means easy. In 1747, against the advice of Mme. d'Houdetot and of Diderot, he undertook the defence of the Hocques—a work which, according to the endeavours of the Philosophers, was to have been the first part of his Confessions—that extraordinary revelation of a man consumed with egotism, undisciplined, and living on the feelings of the moment, which yet produces in the reader a sense of reality such as few autobiographies have ever been able to inspire. Finally he fled to France in a condition almost distraught. Mirabeau (the father of the more famous statesman) and then the prince of Conti gave him hospitality, and he composed the second part of the Confessions, while also pursuing botanical studies, during the year 1766. Again he fled, this time to Grenoble and other places. At length in 1770 he settled in Paris, where he remained for the last eight years of his life. He had been temporarily estranged from the unfortunate Thérèse, but became reconciled again, and he occupied himself in copying music and writing his Dialogues; indeed, he seems to have lived those last years more peacefully than any that went before, despite constant and uncalmed quarrels with his friends. He was extremely poor, and would not draw upon the pension granted him by George III. of England. The last months of his life were miserable. He would not accept of help, was subject to delusions, and now pretended to Thérèse; some suspected suicide when the end came on 2nd July 1778. His remains were in the Panthéon.

1. Works.—The first of the Discourse was written for a prize offered in 1749 by the Academy of Dijon on the question of whether the progress of the sciences has contributed to the improvement or to the corruption of manners. Rousseau was on his way to visit Diderot, when in prison because of his Lettre sur les aveugles, when he was seized with an inspiration to enter the competition and deliver himself of his opinions. The paradox of the answer which he designed enthralled him. It has been said that he had set himself to prove good by nature and that by institutions only is he made vile. This original contention really proved to be the basis of the writer's later work; it proved also to be the expression of ideas which had been the most prominent of all Rousseau's—about the origin of France, for it was laid hold of as though it were a new gospel opened up before them and indicating the beginning of a new epoch in history. It seemed, indeed, to bring fresh possibilities into the life of every citizen. Rousseau now devoted himself to the composition of a new work, the subject being the origin of inequality among men and whether it is authorized by natural law. This essay, though unsuccessful in gaining the

Thérèse joined him, and he there came into touch with Gibbon and Boswell. Rousseau entered upon controversial correspondence at this time with great effect. In 1764 appeared his famous Lettres de la montagne, wherein he fully proved the iniquity of his treatment by the republic of Geneva. These Lettres were publicly burned by the Parliament of Paris. The Church at Neuchâtel turned against him, and he was persecuted to such an extent that he fled to an island in the Lake of Bienna. He was not suffered to remain there, but was brought to Strasburg, to which he was not permitted to return, and finally accepted an invitation to make his home in England. Hume brought him to London in Jan. 1766; in London, as in Paris, he had a great reception.

In March he settled in the Peak of Derbyshire (at Wotton) with Thérèse. It was cold, and Rousseau had nothing to do, and he soon broke into a quarrel with Hume, accusing him of every kind of perfidy. Hume was, not unnaturally, indignant at this ingratitude, and the quarrel became a vehement one, in which many literary men engaged. Rousseau himself became morbid, and his friends, especially Mme. de Warens, now sunk in poverty and misery. To her he showed kindness, even going so far as to offer her a home, but he always blamed himself for not having done more to relieve her unhappy lot. His visit to Geneva caused him to adopt the Protestant faith, and made him the beneficiary of citizenship. At the same time he was much interested in the religious discussions of the day, which centred in the Deistic position. He did not remain in Geneva, but went to a cottage near Montmorency; and there he was joined by Mme. d'Épinay, and accepted only when he felt sure that he could do so without sacrificing his independence. His choice of this 'Hermitage' was a great surprise to his friends in Paris who did not love solitude, but, once his mind was made up, it was not suffered to be undone. This was the time (the spring of 1756) when plans of future work pressed upon his mind. He made a vain endeavour to edit the papers of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, and this abortive effort was followed by an unhomely condition of sensuous excitement which came in the autumn of 1756 and lasted until 1757. He went back to Geneva, to the great joy of Mme. d'Épinay, his benefactress, and moved to Mont Louis, in the neighbourhood of Montmorency. While there, he became incensed at an article on Geneva written by d'Aumont in the Encyclopédie expressing regret that the project of a new Hôtel de Régime had failed. This expression of opinion was indeed attributed to Voltaire, who had not been permitted to have comedies played in the town. This was the origin of the Lettre à d'Aumont sur les spectacles. The work was an immense success, but it lost Rousseau Voltaire's friendship for ever. At this time there were also breaches with Grimm and Diderot as well as with Mme. d'Épinay, Grimm's mistress, which entailed much bitterness and ill-feeling. But it was also a time of great productivity on Rousseau's part. Le nouvelle Héloïse, written mainly at the Hermitage, was to show society, in 1760, and the Contrat social and Emile in 1762. Rousseau dwelt in his new home in tolerable contentment, and he had many devoted friends among the great, despite his strange temper and physical colouring.

All kinds of difficulties in those days confronted a would-be author before his books could be duly printed and circulated. In 1762 Emile was condemned to be burned and its author to be imprisoned. Flight was the only mode of escape, and the future beside him only to the chimney of Berne. But again he had to depart. Frederick II. of Prussia had the credit of allowing him to take refuge in his territories of Neuchâtel, where
RUKHARS, SUKHARS, UKHARS

prize, proved almost as successful as the first. By these two essays the world came to realize that Rousseau's novel was being perceived as if it were an
artificial age was called upon to return to simplicity and truth. To us the argument seems shallow, and we feel that a little thought would show, for instance, the value of acquiring new knowledge in a social sense as well as in a material. Still, it is clear that Rousseau never had that it was one of the which the nation felt in need. Men longed to return (or thought they did) to the ancient times when humanity was rude and unlettered but natural and unspoiled by the arts of civilized life. From this time onwards the writer of the **Discourses** was a famous man, even though his fame might partly be accounted for because he was the preacher of the paradox that a barbarian was superior to a European of modern days. He established the predominance of feeling over the patient investigation of fact—a doctrine that brought fresh life while it brought fresh dangers to his own and other countries.

**La nouvelle Héloïse** is a love story of a highly emotional kind—the story of a tutor enamoured of his too attractive pupil. To the modern reader this story sounds silly, but as ever were concerned, it seems tame, in spite of a sensuousness which repels though it does not, now at least, corrupt. The episodary form in which it is written is tedious to those who have come to expect swift action, and to believe in a forced and stiff. But when it was published the interest in the tale knew no bounds, and the effect produced by it on an emotional public was incalculable both in Germany and in France. The second part of the book, in which the happiness of the noted ended, was just as much applauded as the first.

The **Contrat social** opens with the famous words, 'Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains,' and strikes the keynote of the rebellious spirit that animated men of a rebellious age. To Rousseau it was not a time for careful analysis of facts or investigation of the growth of custom, nor had he the necessary knowledge to enable him to do this. To him it was essential that the 'state of nature' should be declared to be the true state of freedom—the freedom which is based on reason. He might desire virtue which he knew that this state of natural freedom has ever been realized, and whether man can be independent of the environment in which he is born. The time was ripe for his doctrines, crude as they might seem, and they laid a solid base upon which all the developments of the scientific investigation of fact could have done. Therefore this became one of the most notable and influential books of the period.

**Emile** was virtually a treatise on education set forth in the story of a youth brought up on ideal lines. The theme is an ancient one, but is dealt with in a way that brought conviction and enthusiasm to a generation which was awakening to new ideas in regard to the upbringing of the young. France has ever since Rousseau's time been alive to the essential unity of the family; and to this is probably why his doctrine which emphasised the relationship between the parent and the child. Rousseau brings his readers back to Nature and her teaching, makes the mother realize her primary duties to her offspring, and feel that it is her pleasure as well as her duty to help her child's education. The **Emile** of the original sin had no attraction for Rousseau. The child was born into the world prepared to be good and happy and healthy, and it was the parents' duty to allow him to attain these ends. We must sweep away the artificial restrictions of an artificial society in which parent and the development of the best in a man. Rousseau applied his theories even to the simplest matters of food and clothing. In fact, he was the forerunner of many of the modern views of infant nurture, and he deserves much credit for awakening the world to the desirability of natural methods of upbringing and instruction based on the development of the reasoning faculties. It is only in respect of the upbringing of women that he theories are almost Oriental in their obscurantism.

The **Confessions** is perhaps the best known of Rousseau's works and the most extraordinary. Jules Lemaitre says of the writer that he was a creature of nerves and weakness, passion and reason, sadness and delight. He describes the unhappy qualities that Rousseau possessed. Lemaitre recognizes the good side that is always present, and bears no hatred to his person. He is right in saying that Rousseau is the most 'subjective' of all writers, since all his writings are but betrayals of himself. And it was a strange undisciplined soul that he revealed to that brilliant collection of famous men and women who received his outpourings with mingled admiration and derision. Probably these outpourings were in their way sincere, though in detail they are not at all


E. S. Haldane.

—RUSIS.—See BRAHMANSINSPIRATION (Hindu).

RUKHARS, SUKHARS, UKHARS.—These are all Saiva mendicants or Yogīs (g.v.), occasionally found wandering over N. India. They are said to be branches of the Anglahar or Oghār sect of Yogīs founded in Gujarāt by Yogī Gopala Rāmachānt (g.v.). The line was continued by Yogī Gorākhnath (g.v.), who founded two branches of the sect, named respectively Rākhar, Bhākhar, Kākhar, and Gūdār, of whom the first two are those most commonly met with. They are ordinary Yogīs, and belong to the sect of the Rākhar Brahmāins only in apparel and appurtenances. Thus the Rākhar and Sūkhar wear earrings in both ears—the former of copper or pewter and the latter of rudraksh (olive-nut) seeds—whereas the Gūdār wear a ring in only one ear and a flat copper plate bearing the footprint of Gorākhnath in the other. Bhākhar and

1 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, pp. 316, 556.
RUSSIAN CHURCH.—I. HISTORIC.

The history of the Russian Church falls into four periods, the character of each being defined by its chief events.

1. Primitive period and down to the Mongol invasion (1st to 10th cent., A.D. 988–1327).—Nestor, in his Chronicle, gives an ancient tradition, rejected by modern historians, that the first Christians, that is to say, the first baptisms, did not take place until St. Andrew, as he spread the gospel along the north-eastern shore of the Black Sea, came to the hills above the Dnepr upon which Kiev has been built, by which up to this time the 10th century, when our modern Russian Russia had come back to the time of the apostles. According to this, St. Andrew, as he spread the gospel, was forced to the banks of the Dnepr upon which Kiev has been built by the inhabitants of a country which had not yet been brought into the limits of the land that is now Russia, but it is unlikely that they took root at that distant time. More favourable conditions for the spread of the gospel in Russia came with the establishment of Slavic tribes, for the whole period of which we cannot exactly define. The Slavs had long been well acquainted with Greece, whether they went as traders or mercenaries, and there they not infrequently adopted Christianity. In the middle of the 9th cent. the south and southeast were already converted, the Caucaic and Dnieper, the inhabitants of which were called the "apostles of the Slavs," SS. Cyril and Methodius. About the same time Prince Rurik (862–879), invited from among the Varangians, laid at Novgorod the foundation of the Russian State, decreed by Providence to profit more than any other Slavic land by the labours of SS. Cyril and Methodius. Of the Russian princes, the Varangians Askold and Dir, the earliest to rule in Kiev (862–882), were the first to fall under the influence of Christianity, and after their death against Constantinople, which accepted the holy faith. Under Prince Oleg (879–912) there were about the same number of Christians among the Russians, and under his successor Igor (913–945), in the treaty with the Greeks concluded at Kiev in 944, the Russians are already divided into baptized and unbaptized, in the agreement of the time the agreement by swearing before the idol of Perun, the baptized swore by the Holy Cross and the Gospels. Igor's widow, Princess Olga (945–969), herself desired to be baptized, and in 955, when she was 67, was baptized, which convinced to Constantinople and Thessalonica, according to the Churches of Russia and Christianity. Many of her following were baptized along with her. On her return to Kiev Princess Olga (baptized as Eleusa) journeyed through the towns and villages and preached the faith, shining like the moon in the night in the darkness of the heathenism around her. She tried to persuade her son, Prince Svyatoslav (946–973), to accept Christianity, but in vain. Her grandson, Svyatoslav's son, Prince Vladimir (973–1015), accepted the faith in 987. In 988 he decreed that Christianity began to spread to the other towns of Russia. The first metropolitan of Kiev, Michael (+991), began by baptizing the people in the towns and villages round about Kiev; afterwards, with bishops and Dobrynya Nikitich, he preached in the towns of Kiev (N.E. Moscow), and the surrounding districts, and baptized no small number. Vladimir himself visited Volhynia to preach the faith, and even had several princes of the Rama Bulgars and the Pechenegs baptized at Kiev. Vladimir's sons sent to the various principalities, also spread the new faith among the people under their rule. So, during the reign of Vladimir, Christianity spread to the feudal centres of Muron, Polotsk, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Smolensk, Tsykov, Lutsk, Tmnatarakan (opposite Kurch), etc. For his zeal in spreading the faith of Christ Prince Vladimir received the epithet of isospostolos and was canonized by the Russian Church.

Under Vladimir's successors the Christian faith continued to spread. The reasons, however, were mainly not so much geographical as it was by the fact that in Russia the message was delivered in a Slavic tongue akin to the people's own.

After Vladimir's baptism Christianity became in the full sense of the word the ruling religion in Russia. Accordingly, even in his time there followed the establishment of a special law for the existence of which all the conditions were present. At the same time the relations of the Russian Church to the Greek Mother-Church and also its internal local relations to the State and the community began to be defined. In relation to the Greek Church the idea of a metropolitan as a special metropolitan see, forming part of the patriarchate of Constantinople and consequently subject to the patriarch's authority. The attempts of Roman Catholic scholars to prove that originally the Russian Church was subject to the pope, are absolutely futile. At the head of the Russian Church stood the metropolitan. The whole time of the tenure of St. Michael, the first metropolitan, was taken up in simply spreading the elements of Christianity, so that the Russian Church did not achieve an equality in the eyes of the metropolitans made before the end of the 10th cent., and that was achieved by his successor Leonitus (+1008). In 992 he divided the Church into dioceses (Novgorod, Chernigov, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Polotsk, Turov, Belgorod, Kostov, and Tmnatarakan), and appointed the first diocesan bishops. Their own see the early metropolitans fixed at Periaslav (S.E. of Kiev), and afterwards, under Prince Yaroslav (1017–54), they transferred their place of abode to Kiev. The Russian metropolitans were chosen and consecrated at Constantinople by the patriarch himself with the consent of the majority of the first rulers of the Russian Church were Greeks. But the metropolitan of Russia, though chosen from among the Greeks, was by no means so dependent on the patriarch as were the other Greek metropolitans. In consequence of the fact that the Russian principality was independent of the Greek Empire, the metropolitan of Russia enjoyed special dignity and almost complete independence of the patriarch; he was in the position of an exarch rather than a sort of bishop, and the dependence of the Russian metropolitan upon the patriarch of Constantinople meant no more than that he was chosen and consecrated by the latter and was bound as far as possible to attend the patriarchal synods. Within the Russian Church the metropolitan had an independent jurisdiction.
over ecclesiastical affairs, exercised either directly or
with a synod of his suffragans, which he often
convened at Kiev. His decisions were recognized
as final, and recourse to the patriarchal court at
Constantinople was very rare—only in specially
important cases. The link between the Russian
monasteries of Kiev and the metropolitan and
bishops amounted to this, that the patriarch was
prayed for by name in the Russian service, that contribu-
tions were often sent from Russia for the needs of the
Greek Church, and that there were founded in Russia
central monasteries such as Pechera, which stood
under the direct jurisdiction of the patriarch. These
relations continued till half-way through the 15th
century. From the very first days of its existence,
however, the Russian Church showed a tendency
to complete independence of the patriarch of
Constantinople. This appeared in attempts to
elect the metropolitans from among native Russians
and to enthrone them in Russia. In the period
before the Mongols two cases are known of such
election and enthronization of Russian—born
metropolitans—Hilarion in the middle of the 13th
century, and his successor a hundred years later
(1147); and these were among the best bishops of
the Russian Church.

In his relation to the bishops the Russian metro-
politan was the elder, counsellor, and guide. He
appointed the bishops, summoned them to synods,
judged them in cases of ecclesiastical and civil,
and sometimes, for instance, in cases of their
labours, and made arrangements concerning the Church as
a whole.

The metropolitan of Russia stood in the same rela-
tion towards the grand princes as in which the
patriarch of Constantinople stood to the emperor. He
was not only the protector of the Church and
her interests, the supreme teacher of the faith and
religion, but also the guide in many civil affairs.
As he always lived near the grand prince, he
naturally supported him in his struggle against
the vassal princes, and thereby contributed to the
strengthening of his authority and the unification
of the nation. Being a Greek, he knew the Byzan-
tine laws and customs and thus was enabled to
help the grand prince in organizing the life of the
Russian State. Furthermore, in accordance with the
customs of the Greek Church and the Councils
of Princes Vladimir and Yaroslav, the metropolitan
was the champion of all the oppressed, the protector
of the sick, of widows and orphans, of liberated
slaves or prisoners of war who had returned to the
fatherland, and such like. But, although he held so high a place, the metropolitan remained
duly conscious of the limits of his rights and obliga-
tions. Accordingly, the Russian Church never
saw such conflicts between the ecclesiastical and
the civil powers as the Western Church shows.

The most eminent metropolitans before the
subjugation by the Mongols were St. Michael
(+901), the first metropolitan of the Russian
Church, who laboured zealously to spread Chris-
tianity through the land and encouraged learning,
and St. Hilarion (1051–53), remarkable for his
ascetic life and love of Bible instruction.
The most important event in the Russian Church
during Hilarion’s episcopate was the foundation in
1051 of the Pechera Lavra (monastery) at Kiev by
Antony (+1073) and Theodosius (+1104). As Kiev
was then the chief city in Russia, so its
Pechera monastery became the centre of a large
number of other monasteries and gained enormous
influence on the general trend of religious life.
From it the ascetic outlook spread through Russian
society. From it were taken the abbeys for other
monasteries in Russia. More than fifty of its monks were raised to bishops’ sees.
The men whom it sent out spread abroad its piety,
spirit, rule of life, and the writings of its ascetics.

To it gathered those who desired religious instruc-
tion. In it were collected the monuments of eccle-
siastical literature; here, too, was begun the
Russian Chronicle.

After the Pechera monastery there arose monas-
teries in other places. They were the chief points
for the concentration and diffusion of piety in the
land, which had indeed been converted, but was
far from having cut itself loose from survivals of
paganism. Outside the walls of the monastery
rude passions had full play; within the monastery
the spirit ruled, where the spirit ruled, the spirit
raged. The world could not free itself from the
spiritual realm. The Pechera monastery was still
a centre of spiritual life and influence, a place of
monasticism, a centre of spiritual life and
influence, a place of
influence, a place of
influence, a place of
influence, a place of
Russian Church.

Jona's was promised the succession to the metropolitan see only after the death of Isidore. Isidore, on his return from the Council of Florence, met with a most hostile reception in Moscow in 1441, and in the same year fled to Rome. But, even after this, Jonas remained only a bishop and was not enronned as metropolitan till 1448.

The enthronement of Jonas as metropolitan at the wish of the grand prince Vasily Vladimirovich (1425-62) was performed at Moscow by a synod of Russian bishops. This event was of great importance as a long step on the road to the Russian Church's gaining complete independence of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Jonas, the new metropolitan of Moscow, was in that capacity the spiritual head of the Russians and the successor of Moses, the old metropolitan of the Moscow city, who in 1320 had consecrated the bishop Simeon as the first metropolitan of Moscow.

The final partition of the Church into two provinces took place in the time of Jonas. Isidore, who had fled to Rome, would not give up his pretensions to the Russian Church and wished to take away from Jonas at least the south-western dioceses which were under the rule of the Polish king Kazimir (1440-92), a zealous Catholic. His attempts were not successful, it is true; but through his influence the Constantinopolitan patriarch, Gregory Mannas, who had been deprived of his see for his independent attitude, was consecrated as the metropolitan of Lithuania a pupil of Isidore, by name Gregory († 1472). After this the council of Russian bishops held in Moscow in 1490 acknowledged the final division of the Russian Church into two provinces—Moscow and Kiev.

3. From the division into two provinces to the establishment of the Holy Synod (1646-1721).—(a) The province of Moscow.—In the middle of the 15th cent. Russia was divided into two political aggregations—the eastern, under the rule of the Moscow autocrats, and the western, under the Lithuano-Polish government.

The Moscow province, under the protection of an Orthodox government, advanced both spiritually and in externals. With regard to spiritual things, it successfully overcame the heresy of the Judaisers which troubled it during the latter half of the 16th cent., and in the 16th cent. took up the important task of correcting various abuses which had crept into the divine service and into Church life as a whole. Externally it continued to extend its boundaries and to adorn itself with outward magnificence, and at the end of the 16th cent. it rose to the dignity of an independent patriarchate.

The Judaizing heresy, besides its bad consequences, had its good side. The struggle with the heresy raised various questions as to the abuses at that time rife in the Church and occasioned attempts to remove them. These abuses dated from early times, being due to insufficent education, but they had greatly increased owing to the disorders of the feudal period and the weight of the Mongol yoke. The rule of the Czars, which had begun when the Russians had retained various pagan usages, together with the holy books they used to read, tended to disregard the canons and superstitions; many of them visited wizards for divination and took part in pagan festivities. The carelessness and ignorance of scribes had introduced into the Scriptures and liturgical books many false readings and doubtful expressions with
ambiguous or even heretical meanings; into the rites of the Church there had crept many innovations unknown to the Greek Church, such as the singing of "Alleluias" (instead of threnos), the circulation of processions "with the sun" (from east to west), and the use of only two fingers in making the sign of the Cross. The rectification of these abuses had long been aimed at by the metropolitans Nikon, Philaret III, Peter, Alexander Jones, and others. For this twofold purpose, at the beginning of the 16th cent., there was summoned to Moscow from the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos Maximos the Greek († 1536), a pious and learned monk, who worked hard on the translation of the Holy Scriptures from Greek into Slavic and the correction of the Russian liturgical books. Later, in 1551, there was summoned to Moscow the so-called Stoglaz ('Hundred Chapter') Council, and from its time care was devoted to the settling right of various faults in the religious and ecclesiastical life of Russian society, not only of individuals but of the whole Church. An event of great importance for this period was the foundation by Sergius († 1501) of the Trinity monastery (Troitse-Sergiev Lavra) near Moscow. This had the same significance for N. Russia as the Pechora at Kiev had for the south. The other abbeys of the time were Solovets, Volokolamsk, and that on the river Sora; these were the refuges of asceticism and of piety and the nurseries of Christian education for all Russia. The Russian monasticism of the time showed two special types—practical and political, under the headship of Joseph of Volok († 1515), who defended the holding of landed property by monasteries; the other critical and ascetic, led by Nihus Sorski († 1608)—so called after the cell which he founded on the river Sok. The contest between these two points of view kept cropping up in connexion with all sorts of questions and found its way into all departments of the Church and community. After various discussions the former school triumphed, and in 1560 it was actually tyrannized by a尊严 at Moscow. In 1561 the grand prince Ivan III. Vasilievich (1462-1505) threw off the Tatar yoke; more and more of the Russian land was united under the power of the Moscow princes, and in 1547 they assumed the title of "Tsar of Russia" to strengthen their power not only in civil but in ecclesiastical affairs. In their use of this power some of the Moscow tsars, especially Ivan IV. Vasilievich (the Terrible, 1533-84), reached the limits of despotism. In the second half of the 16th cent. the Moscow State entered upon an aggressive movement towards the east and subdued the kingdoms of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556). These conquests had a most important effect upon the Church, as they opened the way to the preaching of Christianity among the Musalmans and pagan tribes inhabiting those kingdoms. The most remarkable men produced by the Church at this time were the metropolitan Macarius (1542-63), who compiled the famous Menaion, St. Philip (1566-89), who fearlessly rebuked Ivan the Terrible, and Guri (1555-63), the first archbishop of Kazan, who illuminated that part of the country with the light of the Church faith.

Since the time of the metropolitan Jonas the Russian Church had in practice lived its own life, independently of the Greek patriarch; the only evidence of its ties with the Greek Church was the all which it rendered to the Orthodox Church, and in 1581 it was suffering under the rule of the Turks. The Russian metropolitan, however, continued to be nominally dependent on the patriarch. At the end of the 16th cent. even this seemed out of place, since Russia had become a mighty power, while the patriarch was a subject of the Turkish sultan.

Tsr Theodore Ivanovich (1584-98) accordingly formed a desire to establish for Moscow a patriarchal see of its own. In 1587 the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had come to Moscow in 1588, fulfilled Theodore Ivanovich's desire, and in January 1589 consecrated as patriarch the then metropolitan of Moscow, Job (1589-1603). Two years later (1591) the Eastern patriarchs were given an instrument of confirmation and gave him precedence next after the patriarch of Jerusalem.

The establishment of the patriarchate produced no essential changes in the rights of the ruling bishop of the Russian Church. The difference came merely to this, that whereas he had been governing his Church independently and enjoying within it rights identical with those of the ruling bishops of the Eastern Church, he was now put on a level with them in his title and hierarchic precedence. In his administrative encouragement the patriarch employed more pomp and magnificence than before.

The raising of the ruling bishop of the Church to the rank of patriarch was only in accordance with the Church's dignity and magnificence. Unfortunately the tenure of this rank was short. The last convocation was held in 1666. It was one of the most remarkable and the most protracted of all convened in the State. This prevented them from leading the Church along the normal road of gradual advance. On the other hand, the patriarchs at that time saved Moscovite Russia from what seemed to be inevitable destruction. In 1568 Tsar Theodore Ivanovich died without issue. His death cut off the ancient Russian dynasty of princes and tsars of the house of Rurik, and there followed the so-called 'Troubles.' The 'Troubles' were specially rife after the appearance of the first pretendent, pseudo-Demetrius († 1598), who was a tool of the Poles, Jesuits, and Roman Catholic propaganda, and therefore as serious a menace to the Orthodox Church as to the State; he threatened both the political independence of Moscovite Russia and Orthodoxy. Having accepted Roman Catholicism himself, pseudo-Demetrius energetically prepared, with the help of the Poles, to bring Russia over to Latinism. It was the patriarch Job who came forward in this anxious time as the champion of the independence of the Russian Church and the inviolability of pristine Russian Orthodox Orthodoxy. With firm and ardent zeal Job defied the usurper, whose partisans, when they took Moscow in 1605, unfrocked him and banished him to the Staritski monastery, where he died in 1607.

After a certain Ignatius, a Greek inclined to Roman Catholicism (1605-06, † 1640), had occupied the patriarchal throne for a short time, Hermogenes (Germogen) became patriarch (1606-12). During the 'Troubles' he stood fast for Orthodoxy and was an 'unshakable pillar' of Church and State. When, after the deposition of Vasily Ivanovich Shuysky (1606-10), a mission was sent to the Polish king Sigismund III. (1587-1632) to invite his son Wladyslaw to be tsar, Hermogenes insisted that in all negotiations concerning Wladyslaw the envoys should lay down as an indispensable condition that he should be an Orthodox tsar. Hermogenes also took an active part in raising the so-called first land-levy (1610-11) to oppose the Poles. For this some of the Moscow nobles, partisans of the Poles, shut him into a cold, damp cellar of the Church monastery (in the Moscow Kremlin) and he died of starvation. In 1913, in view of his martyr-death and of the miraculous healings which had taken place through the intermediation of his prayers, Hermogenes was canonized by the Russian Church under the name of Ermogen.
The inviolability of Orthodoxy and the independence of the State were also championed by other representatives of the Church—metropolitans, bishops, and ordinary priests. The religious and patriotic achievements of the monasteries, especially the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra, were also notable at this time. The latter was besieged for sixteen months from September 1608 by a Polish army of 80,000 men. The defenders in this famous siege numbered in all only 2500, some of whom scarcely knew the art of war.

The first patriarch after the 'Troubles Times' was Philaret Nikitich (1619-33), the father of the newly elected tsar Michael Fedorovich (1613-45). It was during his tenure of the patriarchate that the patriarchal power attained its highest development. The patriarch now shared with his son the title of 'Great Lord' (Gosudar). All acts of the supreme power ran in the name of both 'Great Lords': to both reports were addressed; to both foreign ambassadors were accredited. The Church attained complete independence in its affairs. Under Philaret the ecclesiastical courts had respect for no persons, however mighty. In 1625 the patriarch obtained from the tsar the grant of a charter under which all the clergy of his diocese, the monasteries and churches, with their servants and possessions, obtained the full jurisdiction of the patriarch. At the same time the patriarch arrayed himself in imperial state and thereby added majesty to his office. Philaret also devoted no little attention to the organization of the Church.

After Philaret the patriarchal throne was occupied by Joseph I. (1634-40) and Joseph (1642-52). Under them the patriarchal power noticeably weakened, but under the patriarch Nicon (1632-66) it shone forth once more in all its brilliance and splendour. In both articles of faith and dogmatical systems, Alexis Mikhailovich (1645-76) and the patriarch Nicon through almost all the time that the latter ruled the Church. Without the patriarch no political decision was made; during the tsar's absence from Moscow at the Polish wars (1654-35) the patriarch had little left to deal with the affairs of the State. But the high position to which Nicon had attained and certain peculiarities of his character brought about the formation of a strong party opposed to him, consisting of nobles and many others, mostly persons who were old and had little left to deal with in the Russian liturgical books and the various abuses in ritual had already been clearly pointed out by Maximus the Greek, and also by the Stoglay Council. All admitted the necessity for correction, and throughout the whole period, from the Stoglay Council to Nicon, there had been a series of attempts at emendation—with little success, inasmuch as the actual method of emendation had been faulty. The correction had been carried out according to old Russian texts, themselves erroneous, and ranging from the original to the most recent. Under Nicon the correction of the books was carried out by experts working with Greek and Slavice MSS, and constituted an epoch in the history of the regulation of Church order in Russia. Lithuanian liturgics, churches, and ritual included emending either the text of the service-books or the ritual ordering of the services. But this great historic achievement of Nicon aroused the bitter hatred of his contemporaries. Consequently, when in 1658 a difference arose between Nicon and Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, the latter, in order to gain the throne and retired to the Monastery of the Resurrection. Meanwhile the movement against Nicon's innovations spread and embraced many people in all ranks of society—from peasants to influential noblemen. To restrain false teachers and to prevent the further spread of false teaching, Alexis Mikhailovich summoned in 1666 the so-called 'Great Council' (1666-67) of Russian bishops with the participation of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. This Council began by considering the case of the patriarch Nicon, and, after examining various charges against him, condemned him and deprived him of the patriarchate. Nevertheless, when Nicon died in 1681, Alexis Mikhailovich ordered him to be buried with patriarchal rites, and within a year, the ban from the Eastern patriarchs freeing him from the Council's condemnation and restoring him to the rank of patriarch. The Council went on to examine the corrections made in the service-books and ritual during Nicon's patriarchate, entirely approved them, and condemned their chief opponents, certain of whom made public repentance and received absolution, while the unrepentant were anathematized and banished to distant exile. The chief schismatic teachers, Avvakum, Lazar, and Theodore, were later, in 1681, burnt upon a pyre. So appeared in the Russian Church the schism of the Old Believers, who subsequently divided into two sects, the Popovtsy (with priests) and the Bezpopovtsy (priestless), and these again split into a large number of sects and schools. Taking its rise from the tsar's order to the patriarch to correct the service-book and from faith in the saving power of the rite in itself without any understanding of its sense and meaning, the schism is in its essence faith in ritual, jealously guarding from changes both the old texts in the Church books and rites. Of the particular points upon which the tenets of the Old Believers differ from those of the Orthodox the most important are: (1) services must be conducted according to the old books published before the time of Nicon; (2) the eighth article of Creed must be read: 'And in the Holy Ghost the true Lord and Giver of Life'; (3) 'Alleluia!' must be said twice and not thrice; (4) Church processions must go with the sun, not against it; (5) the sign of the cross must be made with two, not three, fingers; (6) the only cross to be honoured is the wooden one, in passages, in which the title and the slanting foot-rest have become extra cross pieces; (7) the name of Jesus Christ must be written and pronounced Jesus, and not Yesus; (8) the liturgy must be celebrated with seven proskynes instead of five. After its establishment in the Church the schism at once began to be persecuted by the ecclesiastical and civil governments and took up a hostile position towards both Church and State. Hiding from persecution, the Old Believers filled all the forests of inner Russia with their secret cells. The spread of the sect was still further helped by the strict measures taken against it. Only in 1905 did the sectaries gain the right to religious freedom.

1) Cf. art. Sects. Russian.

(b) The metropolita'n province of Kiev.—Whilst the province of Moscow enjoyed political independence, the province of Kiev was under the suppression of a Roman Catholic power.

The Polish-Lithuanian Government found it inconvenient that its orthodox subjects should gravitate towards Moscow; so it endeavoured to prevent the spread of ideas and the recognition of Moscow as the special centre of political life in N. Russia; and, even before it had become Roman Catholic, it had striven energetically towards an ecclesiastical separation from Moscow. But from the time of the grand prince Yagello (1377–1386–1434), during which Lithuanian power was under a Royal Lithuanian Government (1386), the position of Orthodoxy in those parts became yet more disadvantageous. In spite of the fact that the greater part of the Lithuanian principality
RUSSIAN CHURCH

consisted of lands inhabited by Orthodox Russians, and that all the notables of the Russian regions held to the Orthodox confession, Yagello made several attempts to spread Roman Catholicism in Lithuania. These attempts completely failed, and even led to Lithuania's absolutely breaking away from Poland and joining the Union of Lublin (1392–1430); nevertheless they went on with more or less energy according to circumstances. The prudent Vitovt, understanding how predominantly important the Orthodox population was for the Lithuanian State, did not rashly cut them off, but devoted himself towards cutting off the Orthodox Church in Lithuania from the province of Moscow—a project realized in 1459 under Yagello's son, Kazimir (1440–92). The separation of S.W. Russia from the power of the metropolitans of Moscow was a definite step towards the establishment of religious union between the divers confessions of the Lithuanian population. After this separation the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State found itself in a most dangerous position—isolated, deprived of all outside support, face to face with stimulation from the Lithuanian Orthodox clergy, oppressed the Orthodox in every way. But the persecution cost Lithuania very dear. Many notable Orthodox families and even whole towns adhered to the Union of Lublin and moved to Moscow. Alexander's successor, Sigismund (1500–48), treated the Orthodox with more tolerance. Profiting by this, the Orthodox bishops of Lithuania held a council at Vilna in 1509, at which they promulgated certain canons, intended to restrict arbitrary lay interference in the affairs of the Church. The next king, Sigismund II (1548–72), under the influence of a Protestant chancellor of Lithuania, Nicolas Radziwill (†1583), also refrained from persecuting the Orthodox for their faith; but, being in need of money, plundered the Orthodox churches and imposed excessive taxes upon the people. Under this king also the forerunners of new misfortunes for the Orthodox Church appeared—the Union of Lublin (1569), which joined the two States of Lithuania and Poland, the coming of the Jesuits, and, soon after, the ecclesiastical Union of Brest (1595).

In spite of the wiles of the Jesuits and the pressure of the Roman Catholic Government, the Orthodox Church in its own districts of Poland and Lithuania held firm to its old faith, and with its foes it was actively supported by the Eastern patriarchs, by the best representatives of Russian society of the time, and by the Orthodox Church brotherhoods. The patriarchs, either in person or through their exarchs, righted abuses in the Church, appointed metropolitans and bishops, blessed and encouraged the champions of Orthodoxy. The best representatives of Russian society, such as Princes Andrew Kurbski (†1383) and Constantine Ostrozhski (†1608), and the Orthodox bishops, especially those of Amberberg and Vilna, took part in electing the clergy, looked after Church courts and government, helped the clergy to root out disorders in the Church, defended its interests with the Government, set up schools, printing-presses, and almshouses, and collected money and goods. Unfortunately these activities, advantageous though they were to the Church, found no favour with certain of the Orthodox bishops, as they encroached upon their independence. Hence ensued frequent collisions between the bishops and the representatives of the secular power, and these the Jesuits were quick to use for their own ends. At their instigation in 1591 certain of the south-western bishops secretly laid a petition before King Sigismund III., asking that the South-Western Church should become subject to the papal see as a Uniate Church. Next, in 1595, Bishops Cyril Terlecki (†1607) and Hypatius Pacieiz (†1613) set out for Rome, where Pope Clement viii. (1592–1605) met them with great joy, and on 12 Jan., 1605, declared the Union of the South-Western Russian Church with the Roman Church. In 1596 there was held at Brest-Litovsk a council of local bishops to which the patriarch of Constantinople sent exarchs, Nicholas of Tyr, and Cyril of Rahoza, afterwards patriarch (1612–58, with interruptions). The purpose was to promulgate the completion of the Union, but strong opposition to it arose among the Orthodox. From the very beginning the council was divided. The Orthodox, as they had no church at their command, met in a private house. They excommunicated both the metropolitan Michael Rahoza (†1599) and the bishops who had joined the Union. The Uniates answered in like manner, and afterwards executed a deed of submission to Rome. So the Union was produced by force, and not by consent. Many of the Uniates had remained faithful to Orthodoxy were deprived of their sees; the priests were driven out of their parishes; the brotherhoods were declared assemblies of insurgents; townsmen were restricted in the exercise of trade and handicraft; peasants were prevented from performing their customary duties; the churches were leased to Jews. The effect of these restrictions was to lessen the number of Orthodox bishops, and the Orthodox were compelled willy-nilly to have recourse to Uniate priests for the performance of occasional offices. But the Uniates themselves were in no better case. They were looked down upon by both Roman Catholics and Orthodox. So matters stood under Sigismund III. His successor, Wladyslaw IV. (1632–48), though well disposed to the Orthodox, could not help them, as he had not the power to make headway against the turbulence of the nobles and the fanatism of the Roman Catholic clergy.

When it became clear that the State of Poland and Lithuania either would not or could not satisfy the just aspirations of its Orthodox populations, the defence of Orthodoxy was placed in the hands of the Cossacks of that region. One after another came Cossack insurrections. These were unsuccessful and merely served as new excuses for persecuting the Orthodox; but their failure made the champions of Orthodoxy turn to Moscow for defense. In 1654 the little Russian metropolis of Peter Mohila (1626–38), who rendered great services to the Orthodox Church. He championed both Orthodox persons and the rights of
Church institutions many times before the Polish-Lithuanian Government; he laboured for the restoration of monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity, richly adorned the Pechora Lavra, and restored from almost complete ruin the cathedral of St. Sophia at Kiev and other churches recovered from the hands of the Uniates. He also wrote and published works in defence of Orthodoxy, corrected the service-books, and laboured to spread education in the Orthodox Church. His most important educational work was his remodelling of the Clerical Academy, to give on the model of a liberal and humane education and his improvement of the instruction given in it.

From that time dates a special theological tendency in the Kiev Academy, the mark of which was the influence of Roman Catholicism and the Scholastic philosophy.

4. From the foundation of the Holy Synod to the present time (1721-1917).—Among the most important reforms due to Peter the Great (1682-1725), the transformer of Russia, is the change in the supreme administration of the Church. In his task of organizing the life of the State and the Church, which was so extraordinary, Peter made straight for his aim, with no regard to the feelings of the old school. From the first, he recognized that the Church and its clergy had a great influence on every part of the people's life; on the other hand, he saw that among the clergy his reforms met with little sympathy. Starting from these premises, he came to the conclusion that, to secure success, he must change the form of the supreme administration of the Church and for the rule of one man substitute that of a college, or board. Accordingly, when in 1700 the patriarch Adrian (1690-1700) died, Peter refrained from nominating a successor to him and assigned his duties to the metropolitan of Kyiv, Stephen Yavorski (1712), with the title of locum tenens of the patriarchal see. This manner of administering the Church continued until 1721, when the ecclesiastical administration came up for reform. In 1718 Peter the Great had promulgated an edict for the foundation of a 'clerical (spiritual) college,' and entrusted to Theophan Prokopovich, bishop of Pskov († 1736), the work of drawing up a scheme for its governance, the so-called Clerical Regulations (Dukhovnoye Reglament). In 1720 the Body was established at Kiev. The College itself was solemnly opened under the name of the 'Most Holy Governing Synod.' In 1723 the Eastern patriarchs sent a deed of confirmation to the synod, and in it they named it their 'Brother in Christ,' and allowed it the rights and authority of a patriarch.

By the Clerical Regulations the synod took its place in the general system of higher administration; its members took an oath of allegiance to the emperor and bound themselves to observe all the interests of the State. The synod was at first composed of seventeen members, four presidents, Theodosius Yanovski (archbishop of Novgorod, deprived of his see in 1725) and Theophan Prokopovich; four counsellors; and four assessors. Besides the representatives of the superior clergy there were appointed to the synod, in the first instance, members of the secular clergy. In its rights it was held equal to the senate and in the same manner was directly subject to the emperor, represented in the synod by the chief procurator (Ober-Procurre), a layman, who watched the progress of business, and held up unsatisfied judgments, reporting upon them to the emperor. The synod was given the right to promulgate new laws touching the Orthodox Church and its members. It was also its duty to see to the purity of the faith and the due celebration of public worship, to root out superstition, heresies, and schisms, to test reports as to saints (whom it was proposed to canonize), to certify miraculousIconst and reliics, to examine books on religious subjects, to survey the building of churches and monasteries, and to care for the religious education of the people and the material support of the churches. The composition of the synod, its rights and duties, as laid down in the Clerical Regulations, have remained in the main unchanged until the time of its abolition.

After the reign of Peter the position of the Russian Church throughout the 18th cent. was very difficult, especially during the reign of the empress Anna Ioannovna (1730-41), when great influence over Russia was gained by the Germans. Under Catherine II. (1762-96) a secularization of Church property took place (1764). It was opposed by Arsenius Matseevich, metropolitan of Rostov, who died in the fortress of Revel (1772). At the beginning of the 19th cent., under Alexander I. (1801-25), a mystic movement spread in Russia and the synod was suppressed on the 22nd March 1817. But the end of Alexander's reign the mystic tendency gave place to a more practical policy.

The most important facts of the synod period in the history of the Russian Church have been the establishment of clerical and parish schools, the foundation of missions and of the Edinovorie ('One Faith,' a compromise to bring back the Old Believers), the reorganization of the Uniates, the restoration of the activity of Church brotherhoods, and the foundation of church and parish wardships (popechitelstvo). The necessity of educating the clergy became evident from the time of Peter the Great's reforms. In his need of enlightened bishops Peter first of all directed his attention to the Moscow Academy, which had formerly been the only source of clerical education for the north of Russia, and reorganized it after the pattern of the Kiev Academv, giving it a Latin instead of its former Graco-Slavic tendency. He also improved the financial condition of the Kiev Academy. Next he required the bishops to establish, in connexion with their sees, clerical schools with primary and secondary courses, also organized with a Latin tendency. On these lines clerical schools were established at Kiev and in other sees, after the pattern of the S. Russian schools; and, in spite of lack of funds, they increased in number. At the end of the century there were in Russia three clerical academies (Kiev, Moscow, and Petrograd), 36 seminaries, and 115 clerical schools. From these there went forth a succession of remarkable bishops, ecclesiastics, and writers. In 1808 at the command of Alexander I. the clerical educational institutions were reconstituted and divided into four grades: (1) academies for higher education; (2) seminaries (one in each diocese) for secondary education; (3) parochial schools for primary education, opened in towns and villages. In 1814 new regulations for the clerical schools were promulgated, according to which they were organized as schools for the clerical caste, with clerical form of education and instruction. In 1867-69 and in 1884 the regulations underwent certain changes dictated by experience: these were directed towards improving the material position and regularizing the organization of the schools. At present these institutions are governed by the educational committee of the Holy Synod, established in 1867. Since 1843 schools have been opened for girls of the clerical caste. In 1884 a scheme for church schools in parishes was started,
for the education of the people in the Orthodox faith. These are divided into primary schools (for reading and writing, one-class and two-class schools, and in the schools), which give elementary instruction, and teachers' schools (secondary and training schools), which train teachers for the primary schools. These are all governed by the school council of the Holy Synod, established in 1839.

Until the 18th cent., the missionary activity of the Church corresponded closely with the expansion of the State. Its central and northern provinces had been illumined by the light of Christ's faith in the first centuries after the formation of the State; into its distant provinces, into the regions of the Caucauses and Siberia—Christianity penetrated later. Before the time of Peter the Great missionary activity lacked adequate financial support and had no regular organization. Consequently it could not have any very great success. On the north, Russian fringes of the Russian Church, the number of Christians was insignificant compared with that of the Muhammadans and pagans. But since Peter's time the spread of the gospel among the tribes has been more rapid. Peter himself, though he believed in toleration, supplied funds for the mission, and encouraged converts by various civil privileges. Missionary work was promoted by the empresses Elisabeth (1741–61) and Catherine II., and by the succeeding emperors. The work of spreading Christianity among the non-Russian tribes was specially advanced in the 18th cent, by Tyron, metropolitan of Kazan (+ 1724), Philotheus Leshechinski, metropolitan of Tobolsk (+1727), St. Innocent, bishop of Irkutsk (+ 1731), and in the 19th cent. by Macarius Glukharev (+ 1847) and Innocent Veniaminov (+ 1879). Since 1707 this work has been the care of the Orthodox Missionary Society, which manages nine Siberian missions. In 1913 it was founded a mission council of the Holy Synod, to act as the central authority for the missionary activity of the Church. The Clerical Academy at Kazan provided a separate department in 1854 for the special preparation of missionaries. From Siberia the preaching of the gospel made its way to China and Japan. In Japan the work of the mission was established on firm foundations by the labours of Niedas, the remarkable archbishop of Japan (+ 1708). Japan is also an Orthodox Russian mission in N. America.

The Edinoverie ('One Faith') was established in the Church in order to combat the schism. It first began in 1783, when certain schismatics living about Starodub in the government of Chernigov sent a petition to the synod expressing their readiness to join the Orthodox Russian Church on the following conditions: (1) that the synod should raise the curse laid by the 'Great Synod' of Moscow (1667) upon the use of two fingers in the sign of the cross and upon the other schismatic customs; (2) that the synod should give to the patriarch of Moscow the right to consecrate priests after the ancient rite; (3) that both the bishop and the priests should celebrate the services according to the old books; (4) that the synod should grant them some holy oil (sanire) as before, and its income. But they were not content to shave their beards or wear European clothes. The desires expressed by the schismatics were recognized by the synod as permissible, except the assigning to them of a special bishop. In 1800 the schismatics who entered into communion with the Orthodox Church on the above conditions received the name of Edinoveries.

The reconciliation of the Uniates to the Orthodox Church began in the latter part of the 18th cent., and was completed only at the end of the 19th. After the establishment of the Union at the Council of Brest-Litovsk (1596) the position of Orthodoxy in the west of Russia had become very difficult, and in course of time the Orthodox Russians were driven to seek to join the Uniates, and the Uniates to approximate more and more to the Roman Catholics. By the middle of the 18th cent. of the four Orthodox Russian dioceses in W. Russia only one—that of Mohilev, or White Russia ( kasakas left) this position. The Orthodox Russians of the south-west found an active defender in George Koniskii (+ 1795), bishop of White Russia, who impelled the empress Catherine II. to come forward as the protector of the Orthodox population of Poland, among whom a movement against the Union arose. Many of the Uniates returned to the bosom of the Orthodox Church. When the three partitions of Poland had successively taken place (1772, 1793, 1795), about two million Uniates, freed from Polish rule, returned to Orthodoxy (1794–96) and made up what is now the diocese of Minsk. A second mass movement of W. Russian Uniates joining the Orthodox Church took place in 1839; from that time the only Uniates left were in the Lublin and Siedlice governments of Poland; in 1875 these finally came over to Orthodoxy.

The Orthodox Church, which existed in ancient Russia, and afterwards, in the 15th and 16th centuries, were so specially important in S.W. Russia, had in the 18th cent. fallen into utter decay, and this continued till the middle of the 19th century. Only in 1861, when 'fundamental rule' for the establishment of Orthodox Church brotherhoods' were laid down, did they begin to be restored and to spread throughout Russia. At the present time they exist in almost all dioceses. In the same year, in order to improve church organization, a special Synod of Bishops was made, and a new institution was established, that of church and parish wardships (popечительства), which now exist in connection with most churches.

In the last two centuries, as in earlier times, the Russian Church has produced a line of witnesses to faith and piety, who have been numbered in the canon of the holy saints of God. Such are St. Theodosius, archbishop of Chernigov (+ 1696); Pitirim, bishop of Tambov (+ 1688); Mitrophan, bishop of Voronezh (+ 1703); Demetrius, metropolitan of Rostov (+ 1709); Ioann Maximovich, metropolitan of Tobolsk (+ 1728); Philaret of Irkutsk (+ 1731); Ioasaph, bishop of Belgorod (+ 1754); Tychon, bishop of Voronezh (+ 1783); Seraphim of Sarov (+ 1833). In the spheres of ecclesiastical activity and religious education during the 18th and 19th centuries distinguished names are: Stephen Yavorski, metropolitan of Ryazan (+ 1722), the first president of the Holy Synod; Theophan Prokopovich, archbishop of Novgorod (+ 1756); Plato Levshin, metropolitan of Moscow (+ 1812); Eugene Bolkhotyovitch, metropolitan of Kiev (+ 1837); Innocent, archbishop of Khuers (+ 1867); Philaret Gumilevski, archbishop of Chernigov (+ 1866); Philaret Drosov, metropolitan of Moscow (+ 1867); Macarius Bulgakov, metropolitan of Moscow (+ 1882); Silvester, bishop of Kanov (1908). In religious education a high place belongs to the ecclesiastical educational institutions of V. Klyuevich (+ 1911), E. Golubinski (+ 1912), N. Glukhovski, and others. The political reforms which took place in the Russian Empire in 1905 had also their effect upon Church life. The interests of the Orthodox Church were most nearly affected by the decree of religious tolerance issued in that year. By it subjects of the Russian Empire were granted the right freely to go over from Orthodoxy to other confessions. As a result, under the influence of Russian Catholic and Protestant propaganda, especially in the western provinces, there fell
away from the Orthodox Church several hundred thousand members. At the same time the question arose of the necessity of reforming the organization of the Russian Church and of summoning a council of the whole Church with that purpose. In order to do the preliminary work, a special 'pre-
consultative diocese' was created, and afterwards changed into a 'pre-council'.

In connexion with this consultation there must be mentioned a reform in the Church a command given by the emperor Nicolas II. in 1916 to the secular bishops, and afterwards to the clergy of the priests, and four laymen to the deanery synod; each deanery sent two priests and three laymen to the diocesan convocation; each diocese sent two priests and three laymen to the council, making 320 in all. The clergy of churches of Japan, America and Georgia, and four laymen from the Russian Empire, were also taken by the State and granted to peasants; it is, however, intended that compensation be paid.

A council of the whole Church held in Moscow on 3rd Sept. 1916. Elections had been held in June and July. All adults over 25 years of age took part in it. A special point in the agenda was the sending of reports to the emperor on affairs touching the internal organization of Church life and the essence of Church government, the reports should be made in the presence of the senior member of the Holy Synod in order that each point should be duly considered from the point of view of canon law.

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RYSBURGERS (OR COLLEGIANTS).

Rysburg, a hamlet on the Old Rhine, six miles below Leeuwarden, was the meeting place of a group of laymen who separated from the Dutch Reformed Church after the Synod of Dort. Similar societies for Bible study were soon formed in many towns of Holland and Germany, and became known generally as Collegia. The Collegia diminished in numbers in the 18th cent., and the Revolution gave them the death-blow.

1. Origin.—The movement was essentially an assertion of the priesthood of all believers, taking shape positively in combined and systematic societies of Evangelicals, and negatively in a repudiation of all ecclesiastical office. It was doubly due to Dirk Valkertszoon Coornhert (1522–00), a notary of Haarlem, who won distinction as engraver, poet, statesman, philosopher, and translator, and to Dekker, his pupil, who was inclined to bow to the judgment of clerical theologians. In particular he criticized the famous Heidelberg Catechism with its views on predestination. A young minister of Amsterdam, Jacobus Arminius, was asked to convince him of his errors, but Coornhertly him over, and thus initiated a general leveling of the ministry through the work of Arminius at Leyden, which culminated in the disruption of 1619.¹

Coornhert had also inherited a love of the vernacular Bible, which had been felt two centuries earlier by Gerard Groe of Groe, the author of the Common Life (q.v.) not only opposed to ecclesiasticism and mendicity; they devoted themselves to charity, and to education on the basis of the Dutch Bible. A barrier in one of their houses, Enzing, when issuing a fresh Latin version of the NT, expressed in its title the hope that others would do for their own people what he was thus doing for the literary world. The hope had hardly been fulfilled in Holland, and only poor versions were available, based on the Vulgate or Luther. Coornhert therefore began a new paraphrase into living, unconventional language: and, as he is acknowledged to have lifted a mere dialect to the level of a literary tongue, creating modern Dutch, he would probably have been the Tyndale of his country, had he lived. He also sketched out a plan of Bible study for groups of people, not dependent on a set sermon, and thus he laid a second train.

The match was put to both by the Synod of Dort, which not only ignored the Remonstrants against persecution, but started the local synods on inquisitions into the doctrines held by pastors and professors, demanding subscription to the Five Points of Calvin, and taking up the five theses of the Roman Catholic Church. The Remonstrants, on the other hand, were more inclined to acquiesce than the priests ejected by Elizabeth; but, until they drew together at Antwerp and systematically mapped out the field for a new organization, their lay sympathizers were thus thrown on their own resources. Conventicles arose again as in the days of Alva, and it was from one of these that the Rysburg congregation originated.

In this village lived four brothers van der Konde, whose father, though but a shoemaker, had educated his large family so well that all were good linguists; a fifth brother, who was professor of Hebrew at Leyden, was ejected at this crisis. Although there was a church in the village, Gysbert van der Konde, a minister of the Church at Warmond, a small town to the north of the village, when the minister there was ejected, Gysbert gathered those of like mind to a conventicle in an apple-orchard. This suited so well that, when the Antwerp committee sent other ministers, he discussed the points of difference with them, and in 1606, the Rysburgers, consisting of two brothers and two sisters, took the lead, helped especially by a fisherman and by Jan Batten, a Leyden man.

They were soon joined by a far more important adherent, who left a deep impress on their minds. Jan Evertszoon Coebergen had been minister at Alkmaar, his birthplace, but, having sided with the Remonstrants, he was banished on 12th March 1618 (or 1619). His forefathers had been in Poland, and were familiar with the discussions provoked there by the appearance of certain Socinian and other Italians; his own views were at least tinted with their characteristic theology. But something more superficial attracted greater attention at the time—his reproduction of their practice, the immersion of believers. He was baptized thus at Rysburg in 1620, and it was commented on as an innovation in Holland. Next year the Poles offered him the rectorship of the university of Rakow, and, though he did not accept, the incident increased his reputation and led him to wider spheres of work. He founded similar societies at Haarlem, Amsterdam, Norden, and Leuwarden, while Dirk Raedelszoon Campbysen established another at Rotterdam, and the movement attained more than local importance.

2. Development.—Thus, within three years, the Synod of Dort had broken up all outward unity by an attempt to coerc e it. Of earlier communions, Roman Catholicism had become negligible within the United Provinces; and the earliest reformers, the Doopsgezinden, or Anabaptists, had become relatively insignificant since Menno Simons had recalled them to the principle of non-resistance. In the times of Alva, the fighting Lutherans and Calvinists came to the front, and the Synod of Dort made it clear that the latter weighed heavier in the balance. The Remonstrants, however, unlike the contemporary Puritans in England, declined to submit, and defiantly organized a rival series of congregations;
thus it appeared as if there would be a variegated fringe of dissent, for the Doopsgezinde themselves were in at least two groups, the Flemings and the Waterlanders. Since these were all averse to Calvinism, negotiations were set afoot to check the divisive forces and to amalgamate into a sort of United Free Church. But the Doopsgezinde intrant ministers believed strongly in the necessity of the pastoral office, whereas Coornhert's writings had aroused in many breasts the feeling that all Christians were priests. Hence in town after town similar societies originated, though with frequent disclaimers of any intention to found a new communion; all were welcomed to the meetings who desired to know the mind of the Spirit, and gave evidence of His working in their lives, even if they chose to remain in any other external fellowship.

At this juncture a new edition of Coornhert's works appeared, and crystallized the movement. His ideas seems to have been suggested by events at Zürich, but had been clarified by developments in England, where the need for better knowledge of the Bible had been widely felt under Elizabeth. The necessity for providing sermons in place of the Masses, for repeating the service of familiar official homilies, but also to the need for training preachers. Since no provision was made for this at the universities or in special seminaries, regular meetings were promoted by some bishops, when these happened to be in the town, or when a preacher was passing by. Several were welcomed, and synods at Wesel, Emden, and Dort had approved, so that similar meetings were held in the great towns for a generation. Coornhert therefore saw a plan actually in use, to which he gave a most important turn. He proposed that such meetings should not be confined to, or be led by, ministers, but should be open to all.

The suggestion was now taken up in earnest, and, while there was much local variety, meetings were generally held twice a week, and lists of texts were prepared to be studied at home, and these were discussed at meetings held on Sunday and Wednesday. Exposition was varied by exhortation and prayer, and a solo was often a lament or invocation. A reaction from the Doopsgeziden came in their attachment to congregational singing, and, while the Calvinist psalms were not favoured, another deposed minister led the way with paraphrases and original poems, till a large selection of hymns was compiled and passed into general use.

The meetings were usually held in private houses, and attendance was compatible with membership in some definite communion. In Amsterdam the numbers were so great that the largest meeting-house of the Doopsgeziden was too small, and the ministers of the Unitarian party attended to improve themselves. Men and women were encouraged to take an active part, especially in the Bible conference. University students from Leyden were often seen at Rynsburg, and it appears that the Rynsburg Collegiants were not without a friendly reception. B꽃schedel, walking over from Deendegeest that he might hear how peasants and artisans dealt with the Bible. The great cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam were naturally the chief centres, but the history has been recovered of other important societies, at Leyden, Haarlem, Hoorn, Rhenen, Woorner, Zaanland, Alkmaar, Harlingen, Gronw, Knyve, and Groningen.

Nor was the movement limited to the Netherlands. Coornhert had lived for many years in Cleves, and before 1651 Hilarius Frache of Breslau knew of a society near Liegnitz in Silesia. Extension in Germany was due to Philipp Jakob Frankfort, the friend of the Elector Palatine, who gathered in his own house all who would listen to expositions of the NT and discuss them; and for such meetings he borrowed the name 'Collegia pietatis.' Nine years later, in a preface to Arndt's sermons, he made six proposals for reform, beginning with a study of the Bible in private meetings and a fuller recognition of the universal Christian priesthood by the activity of the laity. These proposals were republished separately in 1678 as Pia Desideria, and inaugurated a new movement known in Germany as the Pietists. In Saxony he found a wider sphere for his work, and from his influence arose Collegia liblica' in many places. Several young men trained by him at Frankfort became pastors or professors, and before long Halle was a centre of the German movement; here arose a university center with poorly supported theological and philanthropic institutions of many kinds. From the orphanage went forth a godson of Spener, Count Zinzendorf, who revived the old Moravian Church, and inaugurated Protestant foreign missions.

A study of the German Collegiants has been made by Theodor Sippell of Schweinsberg, who finds that they were rather more rigid than the Dutch: they abjured ordinary churches, held private synods, and kept all their services in their own homes, rejected baptism on the ground that John the Baptist foretold that the baptism of the Holy Spirit would replace water baptism, and were similarly literal in their refusal to take oaths, go to law, hold office, or enlist. Sippell also suggests that the Seekers of Westmorland and Bristol, about 1650, were derived from the Collegiants. Despite the similarity, no external evidence of any connexion is offered, whether by a book or by a man. On the contrary, the Friends, who did absorb close to Leyden, of the Seekers, had no connexion with the Collegiants in Holland as early as 1656, and George Fox betrays no sense of indebtedness; even his references in his correspondence and journals are not always sympathetic, and he passed through Leyden without turning aside to see Rynsburg.

It has also been said that the English Baptists derived their immersion from the Collegiants; but this is an over-statement. A single group of London Particular Baptists did in 1641 send one of their number to Holland, where he was baptized by Jan Batten, then head of a congregation in Amsterdam, a fact not found in Collegiant or kindred literature. Before that date not only had Roger Williams and Ezekiel Holliman baptized one another, but William Kiffin seems to have been baptized in England independently. And, when discussion was opened in Amsterdam in 1656, it had originated in many ways, many Baptists holding to the dictum of a generation earlier that 'sacrience was Antichrist's chief hold.' It might have been expected that a movement of this kind, which had sprung up in Leyden in 1619, would have had some contact with the church of

1 C. Fell Smith, Steven Crisp, London, 1592, p. 16.
2 See art. Pietism.
3 See art. Moravians.
4 Friends Quarterly Examiner, July, 1710, summarizing three art. in Die christliche Welt.
6 J. C. van Sle, De Rynsburgsche Collegianten, p. 381.
John Robinson, and that the parallel societies would have attracted attention from Sidiach Sinther Whittington, Willem Hersey, Heremans Homan, roughs in Rotterdam, if not from John Paget in Amsterdam. But the Collegiants were in revolt against Calvinism, and their deliberate ignoring of the ministerial office was hardly to be matched even among the Brownists. Their latest historian is that it was because the body of believers was the origin or in later times, with either Puritans or Separatists. The main thread of their development is to be followed in the Netherlands.

When the university of Raker was closed, many Polish teachers sought refuge in Holland, and to the alarm of the Calvinists. An edict of the States General was secured to limit their influence, and they found that the Collegiant gatherings were almost the only religious meetings which they might attend. They naturally made an impression on the character of Amsterdam, and the Collegiant movement in suspicion, till it became necessary to stipulate that those who frequented the conferences should acknowledge Christ as the Son of God.

The general tone being anti-Calvinist, the same excellent expositions were to be heard at their meetings, as by Laurens Klinkhamer, Abram Galenus, C. and M. van Diepenbroek, and Jacob van Rooyenstein, that many attended who hardly considered themselves members. Moshevers aher that adherents were to be found in most of the chief places of the country.

An important influence entered their circles about this time, that of Spinoza (q.v.). The young Jew had learned Latin from a physician in Amsterdam who had some connexion with them; and when he was excommunicated, he took refuge with another family. His home was the centre of a band of young thinkers. In this period he elaborated his first book, the Short Treatise on God, man, and well being. In 1660 his host moved to Rynsburg itself, and here he worked out his Ethics in correspondence with his friends at Amsterdam, chief of whom was Jan Rievartzoon, the Collegiant bookseller. He left the village in 1663, but continued the correspondence, so that his ideas filtered into the Amsterdam meeting; when the Tractus Theologico-Politicus was published, it was canvassed by them, and a vigorous controversy began two years later between Johannes Bredenburg and Francis Kuyper. His posthumous works were actually edited in their Amsterdam headquarters, and were published by Rievartzoon and the villages of Holland, and at Rynsburg itself a second meeting-house was erected. When, however, both leaders had passed away, the division healed itself as the century closed.

3. Salvation-A. Noah's flood— decided fossilizing the set in. There was still an insistence, in words, on the absence of all officers and on the duty of all to take part in the meetings; but at the chief centres the Bible study was transferred to the Saturday, and a rota of speakers was drawn up for at certain points. The original state of affairs was a brief pause at the close of the address, nominally for any one else to speak.

The question of celebrating Lord's Supper was answered in various ways. Very general reluctance was felt to participate at any ordinary church. Some preferred to regard it as a purely domestic ceremony, but, when the larger societies acquired premises of their own, and no longer met in private homes, the character was inevitably obscured. Indeed, about 1700, all Sunday morning was devoted at Amsterdam, and doubtless at other places, to a combined service somewhat on these lines. The worshippers sat in pairs around a hall, all facing inwards, a table occupying the centre. The president for the day gave an introductory address, disclaiming all authority and eliminating the brotherhood of all, reminding his hearers also that they met to illustrate brotherhood not only between those present but between all believers. After silent prayer he invited all who wished to take their seats at the table, while a solo was sung. He recited the words of institution, and passed the plates to right and left, each helping himself. They ate simultaneously, and the leader gave a few words of exhortation. After silent prayer, the last-named who the women came to the table, and the leader himself sat down to partake with the last sitting. A thanksgiving by him, and a hymn by all, closed the service. It will be seen that this method, despite the initial disclaimer, kept one man unnecessarily to the front, with the service; all others lifted up their voices separately were the soloist— often a professional—and the treasurer, who announced for what purpose the alms were desired.

Another striking feature of the Collegiant worship was designed to unify the movement and keep in the various societies in touch with one another. In and in August conventions were held, both at Leenwarden in Friesland and at Rynsburg in S. Holland; these lasted usually four days. To accommodate the visitors, several buildings arose at Rynsburg, though it was within easy reach of Leyden; it had a large meeting-house; the Mow Cop exerts on the Primitive Methodists or Keswick on members of many communions. The old flax-house was first disused in favour of a regular meeting-house; then arose another at the time of the Bredenburg quarrel; next came a Great House for visitors, supplemented presently by a Little House. A tract of land belonging to an abbey was leased and laid out as a park, with a grove of trees. It is not clear how these buildings were used for the greater part of the year, for the legal adherents were so few that the Amsterdam society assumed the trust early in the 18th century.

A still rarer act of worship was the baptism of any who desired thus to confess their faith. In early rarer, this day took place at irregular intervals, in the brook near the village. But in 1736 a baptistry was erected in this opening, and the societies divided into two groups, and at Rynsburg itself a second meeting-house was erected. When, however, both leaders had passed away, the division healed itself as the century closed.

See arts. BROWNSH, CONSPERATIONISM.
song, prayer, and thanksgiving. It must be emphasized that such a service was held only at Leeuwarden and at Rynsburg, and was exceptional even there. No baptism is recorded from 1738 to 1742, and, in the whole period of seventy-five years for which the registers of Rynsburg survive, only 116 entries are made. Another point illustrated by this register is the growing officialism; in all this period only seven men are entered as lapses. Here, then, are many signs of waning zeal, such as indeed affected most religious bodies at the time. But, while the societies of Germany were revivified by the missionary zeal of Zinzendorf, and in England John Wesley was firing others with enthusiasm for home evangelization, the Collegiants proper were becoming more and more stereotyped. Moreover, instead of launching out in any new direction, they turned their eyes backward and began to write their own history, while hitherto they had been content with two criticisms on a prejudiced account given by Paschier de Fijne in 1671, and incorporated by Brandt in his general History of the Reformation... in the Low Countries.

As in Germany, they were philanthropic. A burgomaster of Amsterdam gave his house, the Orange-Apple, to the local society. It was used as an orphanage, while the Sunday meetings were held in the hall. Presently it was rebuilt, and it became the most important of their edifices. The combination of purposes was characteristic, and other similar institutions arose. Besides the weekly alms, offerings were taken at the conventions, and the figures show that 1728-33 was the high-water period, though 1742 saw the largest collection—400 florins at the August gathering.

By this time, whatever their generosity, they were decidedly decaying, and only eighteen places of worship were open next year. The contrast between wealth and low vitality was enhanced when in 1780 a legacy of 13,000 florins was left to the great orphanage, while the last convention met at Rynsburg on 27th May 1787. In the revolutionary era the societies ceased to meet, and John Rippen, when making a laborious journey into the religious condition of Holland in 1790, failed to hear of them at all. The latest to hold on was at Zaandam, but this collapsed by 1810. The meeting-houses were disposed of one by one to provide funds for the orphans, and by 1828 these last relics of the corporate life had passed into other hands.

The Collegiants had always declared that they were no sect, and they had no ecclesiastical organization, whether of a single society or for the Conventions; therefore there were no minutes of meetings. Similarly there were no creed or other formal documents. The literary remains are chiefly Bible expositions, and even these seem to date rather from the earlier period. The best collection is probably in the Amsterdam library of the Doopsgezinden, with whom their relations were always cordial.

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SAADYA.—See SEADIAH.

SABÆANS.—A century ago Arabia Felix was an unknown land. There were but a few references to it in the OT, classical geographers had a little to say, and Arab historians told wonderful stories of it. That was all. To-day, after a hundred years of discovery and the self-sacrifice of a few explorers, it has played the sphinx. A few phrases in the Bible have been set in a new light, the Greek and Roman tales have proved well founded, and the Arab traditions have been largely discredited. One or two, like Hāmidāni, could spell out the inscriptions, but all that is valuable in their stories is in a few names and some references to the latest history. This has come from the discovery of the S. Arabian inscriptions and some monuments of its civilization.

1. History of discovery.—In 1811 Ulrich Jaspersen brought to Europe five copies of inscriptions, but they were so full of mistakes that only one was of any use. In 1835 J. R. Wellsted and in 1838 C. Cruttenden brought home other texts. Then L. Arnaud made his adventurous trip to Marib, bringing back over 50 texts (1843). On this basis E. de Goeje, W. Gessner, and E. Osiander deciphered the alphabet and laid the foundation of all future study. J. Halévy's journey to Negran in 1869 as a Jew from Jerusalem was made at great personal risk; indeed, his safety lay chiefly in the contempt which an Arab felt for killing a Jew. He gathered copies

of nearly 600 inscriptions, and, though much of his work has been superseded, yet it made an epoch in the study of the Yemen. S. Langer gave his life in the search (1883-1913) from that year on have provided the originals or facsimiles of 2000 texts, though most are still unpublished. His services were great; they should have been greater. Since then activity has been limited to the interpretation of texts already known.

2. Language.—The inscriptions are in a S. Semitic language and are written with an alphabet of 29 letters—the 28 of Arabic plus the amplech of N. Semitic. The alphabet is closely related to the Phoenician. Some letters are very like: 23p and 7; others are turned round or even upside down: 3 and 2; while others are slightly altered: 7 and 2. Which is the more original has not been decided. An attempt has been made to derive this alphabet from the Greek. It would be almost conclusive, were not time and space against it. 3 and 2 are more like the Aramaic forms. Of the letters not found in the Phoenician 7 is formed from 2 and 2 from 1. The old Ethiopic alphabet differs very slightly from the S. Arabian; some letters are clearly younger forms, while others are possibly older. So it appears that both descended from a common ancestor. The writing usually runs from right to left, but in some inscriptions, which from internal evidence and by analogy seem to be the oldest, it is boustrophedon. The oldest forms of 2 and 2 are circular, and 7 is either an oblique angle or the form of 2. Later forms become cursive and more complex. These changes have nothing to do with the elegancies of form shown by the most artistic monuments.

1 PSBA xxix. (1907) 123.
The inscriptions are mostly on stone, usually engraved, sometimes in relief, sometimes in hollow-script. They are painted—evident sign of haste. Many bronze tablets have been found with writing in relief, and all sorts of articles—alabaster bowls, statues, etc.—are painted. The language is closely akin to Arabic, especially in grammar, though the vocabulary has much in common with other Semitic languages. It is in common with all early Semitic alphabets—no exact knowledge of the structure of the language. Many old terms are possible to reconstruct, in the middle of words and more freely at the end. Corresponding to it in Arabic, a final s or s as the inde- terminable point of the syllable is expressed by a doublet, or a plural. Two or more nouns are used, and two construct states can depend on one governing noun. The construct depending on a sentence is very common.

There are at least two clearly defined dialects. Minean is much less regular in its writing. It is used in the names of persons and things, and is inserted between a noun and its suffix. The root consonant of the third persons pronoun and the prepositional are always in. There are many differences in vocabulary. In Sabean n is the root of the third personal pronoun and the prefix of the causal stem are y. Weimar, 1955, p. 222, a pitifully small form of the Minean inscription. It has been localized in many places, and this reference is doubtful. In the OT various names occur—even, even, even, being closely connected, may be best explained as a doublet of even, being a fairly exact rendering of the Minean title, and the sibilant has undergone the usual change. It is very doubtful if the Mineans are mentioned in the OT, and so far they have not been found in the Assyrian texts, though Ashurbanipal (c. 645 B.C.) conquered Abyatheh, king of the Arals. Abyatheh is possibly a Minean king, though not on Minean monuments. In 733 Tidath, Pileser III. refers to Tima and Khish. In 715 Sargon names Samsi, queen of Abi, and Ithana the Sabean. So it is assumed that the people were then living in the Near East, and later they migrated southwards. They that as it may, the Mineans and Sabaeans of history were settled in the Yemen. This district was important because it was on the trade route from India and the East. Its kings ruled their wealth to the customs which they levied perhaps more than to the products of their own land.

The names of about 30 kings of Mine are found on the monuments, but, though the order of their reigns has been to some extent fixed, nothing known to settle the time limits of the kingdom. A son of a king of Mine was king of Hadramaut, and had 193 points to close intercourse between the two countries. Their relations with Saba were not always harmonious. More is known of their activity. They were a peaceful folk and their business enterprise was wide-spread. At el-Ula in Arabia, a king of Mine is shown on the caravan route to Gaza, and it has left inscriptions extending over a long period. A serraphurgus was found in Egypt with the epitaph of an Arabian agent in the incense traffic, and in the island of Delos an altar dedicated to Wadd. Controversy still rages over the origin of the Minean alphabet, or whether it was earlier or contemporary with the Sabean. Epigraphic considerations suggest that it was at least no earlier. Strabo's authority is quite familiar with the Mineans and regards them as one of the nations of the Yemen. On the other hand it is argued that for several hundred years they held a commanding position in S. Arabia, and yet they are never mentioned—above all, in Assyrian records. Therefore their power must have come to an end before the arm of Assyria reached so far. But it has been mentioned in the official history of a Minean king. Saba is occasionally mentioned in Minean inscriptions, but Mine are never in the Sabean; therefore Mine was finished as a kingdom. The earlier and later character of the records and their predominantly religious contents, the argument from silence is risky. The attempt to put Mine before Saba, beginning 1400 B.C. or earlier—may be due to the legendary wealth of Arabia Felix; the existence of two states also cannot be reconciled with the tales of the land of gold and incense.

The history of Saba is clearer; about 50 rulers are known, who fall into three classes: (1) 15 are called mukarrlrib (vocalization uncertain) and are obvious the earliest; the title means 'priest' and is parallel to the title miswad borne by some kings of Mine; (2) 17 kings of Saba followed, and then (3) 26 kings of Saba and Raidan (dhu Ra'adun). Perhaps the mukarrls were vassals of Mine. They dwelt in Sidr, their family fortress; when they took the title of king from Bani Marib, the town famed in Arab story for its great dam, the ruin of which coincided with the fall of the kingdom. We do not know when Saba rose to power; it may have been c. 800 B.C. Some of the later monuments are dated according to an era of their own. One from Aden speaks of the period that occurred from events that are known from other sources to have happened A.D. 525. That puts the first year of the Sabean era in 115 or 114 B.C. It is only a guess, though plausible, that this is the year of the upheaval in the state when the new title 'King of Saba and Raidan' appears. The period that ended about this time was that of Saba's glory. To this we owe the references in the prophets to the omnipresent activity of Sabaean merchants. Then the legend of Sabaean wealth arose, and the Queen of Sheba—a gross anachronism—reflects popular ideas on the remote country. Contemporary with Saba were kings of Hadramaut. One inscription reads: 1 'Ishah Yahidh and his brother Ya'zl Bayin the two kings of Saba and Raidan, sons of Fara' king of Saba,' which suggests that the change of name is of some extent fixed, but the change of title was peaceable and due solely to internal causes, possibly the need of being nearer the sea, the new trade route. Raidan is the Arabic Zafar, near Yerim. Or, if Ishah is the Daras of Strabo, the result of Galus's expedition. About this time Aden was destroyed, and Manza, on the Red Sea, took its place for a time. Some think that this change was caused or accompanied by the rise of the race of

1 CIS 334: 'Sha'a Autar king of Saba and Raidan son of Albad Ninhin king of Saba.' Probably this was a customary abbreviation of the second title.
Himyar. Others put the rise of Himyar in the 1st century A.D. The author of the *Periplulas Harmis Erythræarum* (c. A.D. 77), calls Salaph the capital of Kharibat, king of the Homerites and Sabaïtes. Homerites corresponds to Himyar of the inscriptions, Hamer of the Ethiopians. Himyar is occasionally mentioned on the older monuments. The name was taken by the Arabs to cover the whole country and history because it was the nearest and best known to them. In 27 B.C. fell the famous expedition of Zelus Gallus, the only time when Rome tried to conquer the Yemen. He reached Nejarin and the Jaf, destroyed Nesa (Nesam, called the Habbah of Axum), and sank in the sea. Yet Salaph's greatest glory was past. What Alexander had tried to do the Ptolemies accomplished. They opened the sea route to India; so Saba, deprived of its customs duties, fell slow]ly into decay. Arab story has condensed the work of years—perhaps of centuries—into one event, the fall of the dam of Marib, though this was as much the result as the cause of the disappearance of Saba.

Here may be mentioned two other names known to the classics; the Gebasa and the Kattabani. Katarah was the name by which it is known in high rank to the Himyarite and Sabaean kings. They then became independent; a mukarrib is mentioned, and one king apparently became lord of all Arabia, as Evagrius Porphyritus tells us. Priscus knew of the Himyarites when he described some of the incense-bearing districts and in later times held the same views. These views were as long as Thamus and Okeies (near Saik, their capital). They used the Minaean dialect on their monuments.

The Abyssinians now play a part in the history of S. Arabia. Glaser believes that they dwelt originally east of Hadramaut and migrated in historical times, as the Sabaean mercenaries did, under the name of the Saba, and the title of the wars with the Abyssinians. On the authority of unpublished texts he says that there was in 75 B.C. an alliance of Saba and Habashat (Abyssinians) against Himyar and Hadramaut. There are difficulties in this view; perhaps the Habashat are the Egyptians, and the last known king of Saba and Raya'd was alive in A.D. 281. Then came foreign domination, for on the Axum monuments (middle of 4th cent.) the Abyssinian claims to be, according to the Greek text, king of the Axumites, Romeribis, Rada'n, Ethiopians, Saba' yan, and the like, and he is called Seer by the king of Axum, Hamer, Raya'd, Saba, and Selinik (2). Then in 378 native rulers, of whom nine are known, again appear with the title, 'king of Saba, Raya'd, Hadramaut, and Yemenat.' Arabia has now sunk to the ideas in its tendencies, but remained faithful to his overlord in Africa. An inscription bearing his name and the date 543 tells of its turbulent subjects and of a breach of the dam at Marib. This inscription unique because it invokes Salaph of the Merciful One and His Messiah and the Holy Spirit instead of the national gods. In 575 the Persians were called in, and S. Arabia was more or less a Persian province till the coming of Islam.

4. Religion.—As most of the monuments are only inscribed with names of gods we know them. They fall into two classes, and each people had its own favourites. The Minaeans honoured Wadd, 'Athtar, Nikrab, and in a lower degree Shams. According to Glaser, Katabani worshiped 'Athtar, Ana't, Ashr, and Shams; Hadramaut served 'Athtar, Sin, Khal, and Shams; and Saba recognized 'Athtar, Hanbas, Almaqah, and Shams Hanbas—the dier—is said to be the moon as the cause of ebb-tide. What Almaqah was doubtful. He was a specially Sabean deity. He may be a form of one of these gods. There is nothing against this, for 'Athtar is often named twice in one invocation. He is also mentioned by Almaqah. The judgment must be suspended. Some of these deities are clearly celestial—Sin and Shams; and 'Athtar, though masculine, is one with Ishtar (Venus). Arab authors tell of the star-worship of their forefathers. 'Anm is said to be the moon. While there are the chief gods, there are other forms of them: 'Athtar Sharran, the eastern or rising, and 'Athtar Dhu Qabül, a title for which the meaning 'setting' has been suggested, but has found no favour. There are also other forms of 'Athtar in which the god is qualified by names familiar to all men. The apparent conflict must be suspended. In the same way Shams, which is feminine, appears in many forms; she is Dhat Nashq, Dhat Bar'aan, Dhat Hima, etc. Nikrab is assumed to be the god of hate and war—the counterpart of Wadd, the god of friendship. His name is associated with the Arabic *kwrha*. One dedication may be quoted:

'To 'Athtar Sharran and 'Athtar Dhu Qabül and Wadd and Nikrab the gods of Mū'in and Yathil and all the gods of their house and of all the gods of sea and land and east and west and the kings of Ma'in.'

In the other class is Ta'shab, the god of the clan Rya'm, whose temple, Ta'ar, on Mt. Itwa, was a place of pilgrimage. He seems never to have reached full divine rank, but must be regarded as the patron of his worshippers. Possibly he is a development of tree-worship, as Hā'ir may be a stone-cult. In the same way the tribe of Hamdan was specially devoted to Shams and Amur to Dhu Samawi, who may be the lord of heaven and who was worshipped in Haran. His name does not occur in Minaean texts. There are many other gods, but they are only names. In addition to Wadd, who is sometimes described as Sharran, Arabic tradition tells of Uzza, Yaghuθ, and Nasr, who also have positions on the monuments. As this cannot be ruled out in the form N-s-w-r. The modern Jinn finds its prototype in the spirits of wells and watercourses, m-n-d-h. It is not clear whether we should speak of a S. Arabian pantheon. Shams does appear as Umm'athtar, and there is an inscription which may support the hypothesis. TN is not found apart from these two indications, the gods stand alone.

Proper names are instructive; many contain divine names. The general Semitic II is most common, though 'Athtar, Wadd, and others occur.


2. The change of guttural can be paralleled.
Various terms of relationship appear: Ab, Dad, and Akh. Those names that contain Wadd, 'Amm, Khal, might be desecrated, but, provided the gods are meant. Then in place of the divine name an abstract appears — righteousness, protection, salvation, or fear. In place of a god or his quality there often stands the name — Summah, the 'name is exalted.' From such names we learn that gods are represented in concrete form, that he blesses, commands, or saves men who are in some sort his kin. In S. Arabian the is the common noun meaning 'god'; it occurs very seldom in proper names. is very common in proper names; it appears nearly twice as a proper noun and sometimes as a common noun. The popular favourite, Almaquh, never forms part of a proper name. So it appears that II went out of fashion as an object of worship, though habit remembered him in names. In Gn 102 Almodad is a son of Joktan.

'Atthar Sharqan was the guardian of temples and tombs; to him men pray that sacrilegious hands may not be laid on their offerings, though they make no gifts to him. In the lists of gods who are invoked the names of men (especially kings) are often inserted, and there are many references to other persons. It is probable that they were not anything but a memorial feast, and these facts point to some sort of apotheosis or ancestor-worship.

The month of fathers' points to the same conclusion.

The temple was sacred to 'Atthar, and the bull's head was the symbol of the crescent moon. It appears in all manner of forms, from realistic representations of the animal to a conventional object where only the horns are recognizable. Other symbols that may have a religious meaning are the sphinx and the date-palm in fruit. This is often pictured naturally, but sometimes the stem is a truncated cone recalling the pyramid that stands between the horns on the bull's head or that — in conventional designs — supports the horn.

Worship took place in temples that had names of their own. The god took a title from his temple; Almaquh is lord of Awamm. That outside Mariab was an open space shaped like an ellipse surrounded by a wall. Various obelisks formed part of the equipment. It is not clear if there was any system of courts and altars. The middle was the centre of worship. In other places there was a number of obelisks before the gate. Apart from makirrib and misved, several words denote 'priest'; the commonest is . It is usually determined by the name of a god or temple. In one place the chief of a tribe is also its priest, and sometimes the eponym was also. There are many inscriptions in which a man devotes himself, his children, his servants, and goods to some god; perhaps this happened when he was made priest. These men may be the 'people of 'Atthar,' the 'servants of Wadd,' who are often mentioned. The word is usually joined with Wadd; the root means 'to help.' In el-Ula occur the title and its feminine. Arabic suggests that these persons correspond to the N. Semitic gidelhim, which is the name received by the 'Atthar.' Nothing certain can be said about the functions of the priests. Another form of dedication is that in which a man dedicates some other person to the service of a god; these may be gidelhim. The birds are so often played, especially in large numbers; and incense played a great part in the worship. This is evident from the number of altars of incense that have been found and the various names in use for them. A special priest seems to have been in charge of the incense. It has short hair and arms like a god, with fetters in animals in gratitude for favours received or to secure desired benefits. These may be the bronze figures of animals, four or five inches high, that have been discovered. Nothing is heard of images of the gods. Pilgrimage has already been mentioned in connection with Ta'lab. The month of pilgrimage, apparently in the autumn. Their ideas on ceremonial purity were similar to those of other Semitic peoples; but the Minean texts dealing with ritual are obscure and still unestablished. Titles are often mentioned, and perhaps firstfruits, though the word usually has a more general sense.

5. Civilization.—The wealth and luxury of the Yemen were proverbial among the Greeks and Romans, and their tales had a solid foundation. The monuments show the stools, chairs, and couches of which they speak, and tell of gold (gilded?) statues. The buildings and inscriptions that cover the country tell of its wealth, and show that the people were skilled masons. They must have been capable engineers to build the dam at Marib and the city of Marib and its environs. The temples were not so advanced; for the finest lettering accompanies rude carving. The bas-reliefs are lively and show observation, but the execution is rough and clumsy. They succeeded better in sculpture in the round, but there is always the suspicion that such figures may have been models; indeed, the Periplus speaks of an import of statuary from Egypt. A pair of eyes — that degenerate into circles — on a tombstone betrays Egyptian influence. Their work in metal was of a much higher level; and, indeed, the Periplus speaks of a workshop in the numbers and for the first time, but we know nothing of it. The expedition of Gallus may have had something to do with this change. Many coins bear the letter X, possibly a mint mark — Nejran? Various inscriptions and monograms occur. To these remarks there is one exception — an Attic tetradrachm with the head of Hercules and the lion's skin and, reverse, a seated figure with the lower limbs draped; the right hand holds a flower, and the hair hangs in curls, while the face is shaven; the name is and , and it stands in the field. The type which served as model came into use about 300 B.C. The head of the god is hardly distinguishable from Greek work and displays the skill and imitative power of the metal-workers. Bright Hellenistic coins are found, but none are of Greek origin. One of the most remarkable is a tetradrachm in late Hebrew the means 'equalled four denarii.'

The year was solar, and in early times each was named after an eponym, though this custom was dropped with the introduction of the Sabean era. Many names of months were transferred to the Sun, but none agree with those of Arab tradition; hence some may be duplicates. Their order is unknown. Some are derived from the seasons, while others are religious, as the months of pilgrimage and of the religious year. There seems to have been a spring festival of interest the festivals that are being celebrated at the present time. Of the 1 Description in Nielsen, Die altaraabische Mondreligion, p. 106. 2 Os. 90. 3 J. ASR II. [1845] pl. v.
calendar, but they are still too problematical to be mentioned here.

Strabo¹ says that the Mineans practised polyandry, but this is borne out by the Sabaoth. In Sabaoth, the same names in a group refer to the same persons. Elsewhere three men have a son in common. It is quite common to find father and son associated as kings of one state; this probably meant the recognition of the son as heir apparent, and their heirs were in line and sharing the title. Governors (kabir) are named, as the governor of Muṣri,² and the chiefs of the tribes were important people. The government was usually a federal and the line between vassalage and independence was not always sharp. There are several S. Leiden families who own the right to gather the gum. They are hereditary holders of this privilege.

During the harvest they had to separate themselves from women and funerals, and by these religious precautions they improved the crops. There are several S. Arabian names for these aromatic gums, but some still wait identification. The incense was produced in Sabaoth and the Sabaothi, where the priests took a tith of it for the god. Then only could it be put on the market. It had to be carried through the land of the Gezirate, who took their toll. It is suggested that Gabûn comes from the root meaning ‘to collect.’

It is customary to translate the words of S. Arabia borrowed on every hand, yet they were not slavish imitators. The name Arabia Felix seems to have been better merited than such titles generally are.


SABAOTH (Babylonian).—1. The Babylonian sabu.—The word ‘SABAOTH’ has not yet been found in Assyro-Babylonian, though the noun formed from its root, gdôn, occurs not infrequently in both singular and plural. The meaning of gdôn is ‘man,’ ‘soldier,’ and in the plural ‘army,’ ‘host,’ agreeing in some respects with the Hebrew cognate. It is nearly a name of the sun-god, but in the form bêl gdôn, but this has not yet been found. In many historical texts gdôn is replaced by its synonym ummanu (plural, ummanatû, expressed by the same ideograph, so that it is sometimes uncertain which word is intended). The Sumerian equivalent of gdôn is erô.

2. Sù and its Semitic equivalent.—For the meaning ‘hosts,’ the equivalent word seems to be kishtatu (kis Dunn, ‘to be strong,’ ‘numerous’), in Sumerian Sù. In many cases, however, some such rendering as ‘host,’ ‘universe,’ would be preferable, if, in translating, ‘Sû’ or ‘Sù’ with the appearance the character Sù, like that for Utu, the sun-god, was originally the picture of a circle. This implies that it was intended to express the circle of the earth or the horizon of heaven. Other synonymous signs for Sû are, of two wedges derived from a curve probably originally representing the vault of heaven, and kis, a character seemingly used on account of its pronunciation. With the determinative prefix for ‘god,’ ù was one of the ideographs for Merodach, of the people of Sû. Kishtatu is also expressed by the double square or enclosure nínig, meaning a collection of things.

3. Sû in the Babylonian lists of gods.—But the usage of the inscription gives information of a more interesting nature, the most important being the evidence of the ideas of gods and the Semitic legends of the creation. According to a list in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, xxiv. 1, the earliest deities were the two Ana, male and female personifications of the heavens. These occur afterwards as An-ki, ‘heaven and earth,’ and as An-ki and Nin-urna, the two Ana (Anu and Anatu) as deities of fruitfulness. Sixth in the list is An-šar-gal, ‘Anu,’ the heavens, as ‘the great host,’ whilst the seventh is An-ki-šar-gal, ‘Anu and Anatu as deities of the great host of earth.’ The eighth and ninth lines have the name Sû and Nin-šar, containing the earliest use of the Semitic Semitic idea of the root Sû with a development of the idea, as these words apparently mean ‘host of heaven’ and ‘host of earth’—divine personifications who appear in the Semitic creation-story as having been proposed after the Sû—ki Sû, as a substitute for a god, and in which the legend Anu, the god of the heavens, is represented as Anšar’s son. Later, in the same text, Anšar sends forth in turn Anu, En, and Merodach, to fight Tiamat (Tinwath), the dragon of chaos. The next divine couple, in the list of gods, whose names contain the Sumerian equivalent of Sabaoth consists of En-šar and Nin-šar, the ‘lord of the host’ and the ‘lady of the host.’ This makes a total of six couples, the seventh being represented by the Sumer.-Akkadian Duri and Duri, perhaps ‘Age and ‘Eternity,’ the two non-concrete forms or counterparts of a god and goddess, whose number is changed into infinite time. Concerning the Babylonians we cannot speak with certainty, but the Sumerians at least seem to have realized, at quite an early date, how multitudinous were the characters, and how they had evidently also formed the theory that the gods dwelling in the heavens (and this would include their divine servants and the angels) were at least equally so. As a confirmation of this, the British Museum tablet K.2109 gives (text, 3, 4), as a synonym of Dû, the ‘great gods,’ the reduplicate word Sû-baño, ‘the very numerous,’ or (as the prefix for divinity shows that we should translate) ‘the divine host.’

¹ See ERE iv. 1299.
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4. Anu and his divine partners.—Naturally it was the really 'great' gods who exercised rule in heaven, where all divine beings obeyed them. In agreement with this, the account of the attack of the evil spirits upon the moon (this was supposed to be the cause of our satellite's eclipses) speaks of Sin, Samas, and Istar having been set to rule the vault (šimmû) of heaven, and 'with Anu they shared the dominion of the host of heaven' (Sum. kis ana. Sem. kishā šamù, kis here replacing the seemingly more correct šar). Here, again, Anu appears as the god of the heaven-host; but it is to be noted that, when Marduk became king of the gods, power over the host was conferred on him, and, as stated in a well-known hymn to that deity, 1 'the Igigi of the host of heaven and earth' (ligigī šakhitā šamū d’ēritī) were said to wait upon his command. It was for 'the host of heaven and earth' that the new moon shone (uzkarm annum ina šumī ti ēritī šabāni), 'this crescent among the host of heaven and earth was created'; in Sum. 'this crescent of the heaven-host [and] the earth-host,' and in Akkadian WAI li 60, line 32, as patron of a city which is doubtful, but which is possibly the Rabbi of line 30. If this means 'the city of the host,' it may be supposed that the 'host of heaven' was worshipped there.

5. The god Ašur as the leader of the Assyrian host.—It is to be noted that, in his abstract of Babylonian cosmology, although Damascius 2 gives the feminine principle preceding Ea and Damkē as Kissarē, the masculine companion of the same is not, as would be expected from the Babylonian, Anarē, but Assōrē (Arēsarē). Now, as the name of the god Ašur is most commonly written with the characters An-šar, there is but little doubt that the Assyrian name had influenced the pronunciation, and changed it, even in Babylonia. Whatever may have been the original root of Ašur, therefore, the Assyrians had applied the name of the god to the compound group An-šar, and the Babylonian god of the host (of heaven and earth) became the god of the armies of Assyria. He is represented, in the sculptures of Ašur-nasir-apli, and wherever within the winged disk, flying in the air above the army, and drawing the bow against the foe. 3 We have here, apparently, an Assyrian parallel to the Hebrew 'Lord of Hosts, God of the armies of Israel.'

6. Sar = kisšati in the titles of the kings.—As a title of the kings of Assyria, Sar kisšati, 'king of the host' (of people or of nations), is fairly common. In Assur-nasir-pîrî I. (c. 1530 B.C.) bore it, and it seems to have been also adopted, more or less regularly, by his successors. In Babylonian Man-î-atun (c. 2700 B.C.) calls himself inugal kis, which, in its common acceptance, would be equivalent to sar kisšati; but kis may stand for the city of Kis, over which he ruled (though it is difficult to understand, in such a carefully- engraved text, how the determinative suffix could have been omitted). Perhaps the modesty of certain Babylonian kings did not permit of their using the sar which accompanies divine names. Among the later Babylonian rulers who used the title 'king of the host' (of men) were Nebuchadrezzar the Great and Cyrus. It is mainly the German Assyriologists who have discussed the meaning of the phrase sar kisšati. H. Winckler thought that it indicated 'king of a fixed definite territory.' C. P. Tiele was of opinion that it indicated 'something like world- lordship.' Leopold Messerschmidt suggested that sar kisšati and 'king of the four regions' signify the possession of two territories, and were not mere titles. F. Hommel holds similar views to the above. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt renders sar kisšati (so. nisī) as 'king of the totality of nations.' H. V. Hilprecht is of opinion that the title was first used by the kings of Kîš, and was due to word-play (see above).

To all appearance the Assyro-Babylonian idea of the host of heaven was that it consisted of all the divinities whom they regarded as dwelling in and beneath the sky; and the stars and heavenly bodies in general, identified, as they were, with the gods, were included therein. The host of the earth apparently included, in its widest sense, everything in the world which the god had created. In its narrowest sense, however, the latter stood either for all mankind or for the nations under the Babylonian or Assyrian kings, wherever they had made their rule effective.

SABBATH. 1

Primitive (HITTON WEBSTER), p. 885.

Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 889.

Biblical.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Hebrew).

Christian.—See SUNDAY.


Muhammadan (G. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 893.

The observance of rest-days forms a fairly common custom in the lower culture, if exception to be made of the Australian, Melanesian, and American areas. But the rest-day among so-called primitive peoples is as a rule not periodic in character, nor is it related to a deity and employed for religious services. Furthermore, it is usually marked by various regulations which can only be described as superstitions. All public gatherings may be discontinued, the house or the village closed against strangers, lights extinguished, songs, dances, and loud noises forbidden, and abstinence from food and sexual intercourse required. The day of rest then presents itself as a day of complete quiescence.

1 WAI ii. 29, 47-51.
2 See EREIT. 1296.
3 A. H. Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, London, 1849, ii. 418, Monuments of Nineveh, 1st ser., do. 1849, pl. 13, etc.

5 T. G. PINCHES.
All these negative regulations find their clearest expression in the tabus which have been studied, first among the natives of Polynesia, then in some other parts of the aboriginal world, and finally among peoples of archaic civilization. Tabu, indeed, is a wide-spread institution, and evidence for its existence steadily accumulates with the progress of ethnological research. 1 A tabu may be defined as a negative regulation or prohibition which is supported by supernatural sanctions. The penalty meted out to the tabu-breaker is generally death or some physical ailment such as insanity, but the priest and king, who belong to a superior order of beings, are sacrosanct or holy. These characteristics are easily regarded as infectious, as capable of transmission, not only by physical contact, but also by sight, smell, and proximity. Hence they are the basis of a variety of prohibitions whereby the dangerous person or thing is removed to a safe distance, or is carefully isolated, or is subjected to a variety of insulating regulations. The entire community is interested in such proceedings, and observance of them may be maintained without rigid quarantine. When this happens, a period of abstinence, merging into quiescence, will be considered the surest means of avoiding spiritual dangers which threaten each and every member of the body politic. Moreover, when the impending danger is specifically attributed to the action of spirits or of gods, the observance of the rest-day readily develops into a method of propitiating, and even of honouring, the supernatural powers. The two conceptions of abstinence and propitiation are not, indeed, always sharply distinguishable in communities such as Polynesia, and with advancing culture they tend to become more and more closely conjoined.

It is not improbable that some of the communal regulations observed in connexion with primitive sabbaths have been modelled on the tabus observed by single persons and household groups at such critical seasons as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Comparative studies have indicated how numerous are the prohibitions which attach to these occasions, and it is reasonable to suppose that, with the deepening sense of social solidarity, observance once confined to the individual only to his immediate connexions, would often pass over into rites performed by the community at large. However this may be, primitive sabbaths certainly present themselves as public ordinances which bear an obvious resemblance to the entire sabbath institution.

2. Sabbaths at critical epochs.—A survey of many rude societies shows that any time of special significance, inaugurating a new era or marking the transition from one state to another, any time of storm and stress, any epoch when untoward events have occurred or are expected to occur, may be invested with tabus designed to meet the emergency in the communal life and to ward off the threatened danger or disaster. Throughout Polynesia, in Indonesia, and in certain parts of S.E. Asia there exists, or until recently existed, an extensive body of communal sabbaths, whose purpose appears to have been entirely prophylactic and protective. In that part of the world periods of abstinence and quiescence are imposed because of such unusual, and therefore critical, events as a conflagration, an epidemic sickness, or an earthquake; after a death; at the changes of the moon; in the end of one and the beginning of a new year; during a period devoted to the banning of ghosts and demons; and in connexion with such important undertakings as the commencement of a war, seed-planting and harvest, and the celebration of a solemn religious ceremony. The procedure in such cases is this: If the man who offended is the tabu in his own family, the religious ceremony is changed to itself to a number of negative regulations, imposing idleness, fasting, and continence upon all its members.

These sabbaths at critical epochs formerly constituted a noteworthy feature of Polynesian life, especially in old Hawaii, where the institution of tabu perhaps reached its acme of development. Their observance varied according as they were common or strict. When a common season prevailed, the men were required only to abstain from their usual duties and to attend at the temple, to be silent, and to observe silence. When a strict period was determined, the persons who so offended were either isolated or all the people were put into a state of abstinence and quiescence. In the month of October, there were tabus to be observed during the celebration of the festival called the Day of the Dead. When the aforesaid period of thirty days had expired, the religious ceremony was resumed, and the sabbath was at an end. The people were now required to converse with each other, to eat and drink, and to engage in every species of occupation, so that the people could thus return to a normal state of body and mind. Hence the tabus which were observed during this period were not, as was the case in other seasons, regarded as infectious, and were not, therefore, communicated to others by mere contact.

Communal tabus of the strict type that has been described were observed by the Hawaiian Islanders on a variety of occasions, particularly when a chief temple was consecrated and when the New Year's festival was celebrated. The Hawaiian religious system also included a remarkable approximation to the institution of a weekly sabbath. At every lunar month there were four tabus periods, dedicated separately to the four great gods of the native pantheon. The first was that of Ku, from the third to the sixth night; the second, that of Hina, at full moon, including the fourteenth and fifteenth nights; the third, that of Kalon, on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth nights; and the fourth, that of Kane, on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth nights. During these tabus periods a devout king generally remained in the temple, busy with prayer and sacrifice; women were forbidden to enter canoes, and sexual intercourse was prohibited.

3. Seasons of communal abstinence and quiescence were enforced in the Society and Marquesas Islands in connexion with the bonito fishing, and in New Zealand at the time of planting the kumara, or sweet potato. 4 In the Tonga Islands, when the sacrifice of firstfruits occurred, all work was forbidden, and even any one's appearance out of doors, with the exception of the consecrated person who was interdicted. 5 The natives of Samoa, who possessed a remarkably complex pantheon of divinities with animal and vegetable attributes,
were obliged to suspend work on certain occasions devoted to their worship.1 During December, when the god Ratu-mai-Mbaliu was supposed to visit the Fiji Islands, a sabbatical period ensued.

Throughout that month it is taboo to beat the drum, to sound the conch-shell, to dance, to plant, to fight, or to sing at sea. ... At the end of the month the priests sounded the consecrated shell and gave the good news from village to village, and pleasure and toil are again free to the inhabitants.2

The scanty records of aboriginal Polynesian society also contain some passing references to the observance of communal sabbaths on certain occasions when the social consciousness had been deeply moved by untoward and disastrous events.

In the island of Futuna 'they go so far as to tape the day, etc., to interdict all work in order to please the gods, or to avert the hurricanes.'3

In Hawaii a tabued period was declared during the sickness of a chief.4 In Samoa the death of a chief of high rank was followed by the suspension of all work in the settlement for a period of from ten to thirty days, until the funeral ceremonies were performed.5 On the island of Yap, one of the Carolines, two aged wizards, before whom all important questions come for decision, have the power to pronounce a sabbatical period. The periods of seclusion have been known to last for six months. The critical epochs, when such interdicts are imposed, occur at a time of drought, famine, or sickness, after the death of a chief or famous man, and before a fishing expedition. To short, any mobile event is thus celebrated, and, in fact, there is always a tabu in full swing somewhere or other, to the great disgust of the traders, who only see in these holydays an excuse for idling, drunkenness, and delackery.6

Seasons of communal abstinence are not found in Australia, and only faint indications of them exist within the Melanesian area. In New Guinea a few instances have been noted, all within the British possessions there. On the other hand, the Indonesian tribes of Borneo, including the Kayans, the Sea Dayaks, and the Land Dayaks, keep many sabbaths in connexion with agricultural operations and other critical events. The Besaussians disclose a fairly consistent effort to adjust the length of the communal tabu to the importance of the event which it commemorates. Thus, house-building imposes a shorter season of abstinence than does planting or sowing; a single death will suspend the observance for three days, but the death of a great chief will keep the tabu by the inhabitants for only one day; but an epidemic sickness may necessitate a three days' rest, as among the Sea Dayaks, or even an eight days' rest, as among the Land Dayaks. The restrictions themselves appear to be substantially the same in all instances.

The inhabitants 'remain in their houses, in order to eat, drink, and sleep, but their eating must be moderate and often consists of nothing but rice and salt. They under interdict may not bathe, touch fire, or employ themselves about their ordinary occupations.'7

To these prohibitions should be added that of sexual intercourse, a tabu specifically mentioned for the Bornean tribe,8 and probably found among others.

Communal sabbaths appear to be unknown to the nomadic hunting tribes which occupy the interior parts of Borneo and probably represent an acquired habit among the aborigines under certain circumstances.

8 R. S. Douglass, in Smithsonian Museum Journal, i. (1911) 146ff.

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Consideration must therefore be an Indonesian importation into Borneo—a conclusion which is strengthened by the fact that similar observances are to be found among the Indian inhabitants of the Nicobars, Bali, Nias, the Mentawi Islands, Formosa, and the Philippine Archipelago. A typical instance is afforded by the inhabitants of the Pagi Islands, which form the southern extension of the Mentawi group. These people worship the evil spirits which manifest their power in thunder and lightning, earthquakes, tornadoes, and floods. When confronted by some real or imaginary danger, they shut themselves up in their villages and exclude all strangers. During this period of seclusion they may neither give nor receive anything, they must refrain from eating certain articles of food, and they may not engage in trade.1 Another authority points out that, while all crises in the communal life of the natives are thus kept as periods of restriction, yet in some cases the rest-days have become joyous festivals and holidays.2

Assuming, with modern ethnographers, that the Indonesian peoples represent an admixture in various proportions of primitive Indian and Sino-Tibetan blood, one may discover that in certain parts of S.E. Asia, and notably among the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Assam and Buruia, communal sabbaths form a characteristic feature of the native culture. The word genna, which the Nagas of Manipur apply to anything tabooed or forbidden, also signifies the village rest-days imposed in connexion with the rice cultivation, after the occurrence of unusual phenomena, such as earthquakes, eclipses of the sun or moon, and the appearance of comets, the destruction of a settlement by fire, and the outbreak of epidemic sickness.4 Indeed, as an early writer remarks, there 'is no end to the reasons on which a keenie must or may be declared, and as it consists of a general holiday when no work is done, this Sabbath appears to be rather a popular institution.'4

The genna custom seems to have attained its most complicated and grotesque development among the Nagas, but it is found among other peoples of Assam and may be traced in various parts of Burma.

The close resemblances which exist between these sabbatical observances in S.E. Asia, Indonesia, and Polynesia, and prohibitions which are here in the presence of an institution which has been gradually diffused from its Asiatic home over the Indian Archipelago and thence into the islands of the Pacific. But it will not do to infer that the conceptions which in this part of the world have generated the tabued day are therefore local and confined. On the contrary, they underlie a wide range of social phenomena.

There are few superstitions with a wider prevalence among the lower races than that which requires the suspension of ordinary occupations for a day. The prohibition which at this time usually forms only one of a number of regulations, which also impose partial or complete abstinence from food and place a ban on loud talking, singing, and the wearing of ornaments and gay clothing. The exceptional period is sought partly in animistic conceptions: the survivors ought to avoid all conspicuous activity, if they would not attract the unwelcome attention of the gods. But a more common belief is that in the pollution of death—a belief which leads to

1 P. A. M. Hiernon and R. Stecque, Zeitsehrift für Indische Taht, Land-, und Volkskunde, iii. (1855) 3391.
2 A. Assm. in Ze. xxi. (1906) 555ff.
many regulations as to the proper treatment of a corpse, of undertakers, of the dead man’s family and friends, and of mourners generally. The polluting power of death extends to everything in its presence; hence the obvious conclusion that little or nothing should be done by the survivors, at any rate till after the funeral. These tabus are often confined to the family or to the relatives of the dead and bear only a secondary relation to some solidarity is strong, the notion of abstinence at so critical a season may be extended to the entire community.

An inquiry into the geographical diffusion of this superstition shows it to be not unknown in Borneo, Micronesia, New Guinea, Labrador, and some other parts of the Oceanic area. It is discoverable in Assam, Burma, various parts of India, and Tibet. Africa from north to south offers many instances of communal tabus following a death and imposing abstinence from work. In the New World the Eskimo tribes from Bering Strait possess the custom in a marked degree. It is also found among some of the Asiatic Eskimo, thus strengthening the argument for the transmission of cultural elements betwixt W. America and N. E. Asia. Since these tabued days are only one of the instances of related peoples, who, as far as our knowledge reaches, have never been in cultural contact, it may be concluded that the beliefs underlying the superstition have not been narrowly limited, but belong to a wider system of thought.

3. Sabbatarian aspects of religious festivals.

The fact that most religious festivals are observed as holidays, when men give up secular occupations and devote themselves to joyful worship and relaxation of all kinds, should not lead to the assumption that all tabus have been dictated by native or related peoples, who, as far as our knowledge reaches, have never been in cultural contact, it may be concluded that the beliefs underlying the superstition have not been narrowly limited, but belong to a wider system of thought.

The rest is a measure of protection and propitiation, quite as much as the fasts, the sacrifices, and the prayers by which it may be attended. Where ideas of this nature prevail, all labour is tabued.

As savagery gives place to barbarism and from savagery to polytheism, the massacre, the vague and indeterminate, tends to differentiate into the twin concepts of impurity and holiness. To the primitive mind the sanctity which attaches to the priest or king, to such objects of special reverence as bull-roarers, idols, and altars, and also to certain places and shrines is sufficiently material to be transmissible and to be capable of infecting with its mysterious qualities whatever is done at a particular time. The notion of the transmissibility of holiness may seem of itself to furnish a sufficient reason for abstaining from ordinary occupations on a sacred day. In practice, however, this idea appears to mingle quite inextricably with the opposite too much related conception that what is holy can be contaminated by contact with the secular and the profane. Furthermore, when holy days come to be dedicated, we find that the deities, who at such times are believed to be present among their worshippers, it is easy to see how the belief arises that a god is pleased and flattered by the enforced idleness of his devotees. Abstaining from work then takes its place among other rites as a recognized way of expressing the proper reverence for the divinity; while, conversely, to labour on his holy day implies a disrespectful attitude towards him.

The consecration of a particular day to a divinity is a common feature of polytheistic cults. Had we definite information concerning the origin and development of the great deities of the higher religions, it would probably appear that in most instances their connexion with particular days is secondary rather than a primary formation. In other words, a period dedicated to a god, and observed by his worshippers with abstinence from labour, may once have been a season of tabu for the deity and may still be so, though the nature of some instances of tabued days which developed into holy days may be noted. Thus, in the comparatively well-developed religious system of the Hawaiians, the New Year’s festival was consecrated to the god Lono; but the same festival in Fiji was not associated with any religious idea. The four periods in the Hawaiian lunar month, which were dedicated to the great gods of the native pantheon, must be considered to have had no original connexion with any divinity, for among the Dayak tribes of Borneo there are numerous tabus attached to the sacred days of the moon and imposing communal abstinence. The Bontoc Igorot, a non-Christian folk of N. Luzon, observe a sabbath which occurs, on an average, about every ten days during the year. It is dedicated to Lumawig, the only god throughout the Bontoc culture area. Examinations of the institution exhibits a tendency, doubtless directed by the Igorot priesthood, to calendarize seasons of tabu at definite and regular intervals. Its dedication to Lumawig is probably only a natural outcome of the pre-eminence assigned to that supreme god, who stands out in such bold relief against the host of ancestral spirits, gods, and goddesses of the Igorot world. Some of the Dravidian peoples of India hold festivals in honour of their local deities, when labour is usually suspended. Mother Earth, an object of much devotion in Bengal, is worshipped at the end of the hot season. The goddess generally manifests herself as the sovereign source of all things, but sometimes she brings disease and hence requires a propitiatory festival. At this time all ploughing, sowing, and other work cease, and Bengal widows refrain from eating cooked rice. A similar sabbath in honour of Mother Earth is very strictly observed in the various tribes of the north-west coast of W. Africa, we find on the Slave Coast an annual All Souls’ festival kept as a period of abstinence. The festival is held in honour of Egungun, a god who is supposed to have arisen from the dead, and after whom a powerful secret society has been named. A similar ceremony, imposing a cessation of work for eight days, is observed by the Gold Coast tribes, who, however, have not dedicated it to a god. These instances, which do not exhaust the evidence, illustrate the passage of the tabued day into the god’s sacred day.

4. Sabbatarian aspects of market-days. — Rest-days, more or less regular in occurrence and following at short intervals after periods of continuous labour, are frequently observed by primitive agriculturists. Sabbaths of this sort appear to be known to the aboriginal stock of many peoples or among nomadic pastoral tribes. A wandering hunter requires no regular day of rest, since his life passes in alternations of continuous labour, while following the chase, and of almost uninterrupted idleness after a successful hunt. For the sheepman there can be no relaxation of the diurnal duties, for the cattle must be driven to

1 A. E. Jenks, The Bontoc Igorot (Ethnological Survey Publications), Manila, 1905, i. 299 ff.
pasture every morning; they must be watched and watered; and at night they must be milked.

Again, the shepherd, compared with the farmer, scarcely needs a regular rest-day; his occupation requires so little continuous exertion that he can pursue it all the year round, without much influence upon his health. A farmer, however, is benefited by a period of rest occurring more or less regularly; and, though agricultural pursuits are dependent upon the seasons and the weather, he is usually able to post-pone his work for a brief period with impunity.

It is certain, therefore, that the change from pastoral to agricultural life would itself be sufficient to call into existence the institution of periodic rest-days. It seems true, however, that the connexion of the rest-days with the farmer's pursuits is due to the obvious fact that a regular sabbath implies a settled life, a fairly well-developed form of social organization, and something approaching a calendar system.

The greater number of periodic rest-days observed by agricultural peoples in the lower stages of culture are associated with the market or market-day. Days on which markets regularly take place are not infrequently characterized by sabbatarian regulations. Such market-days have a wide diffusion. Markets every fifth day are found in various parts of New Guinea, in Celebes, and Java, and, among the Borneo natives of Tongking, Siam, and Burma. Throughout the central parts of Africa, from the British and German possessions in the east to those of the Portuguese and French in the west, there are numerous market-places where neighbouring communities meet regularly to exchange the products of their labors. Usually every fourth day is a market-day and is observed by the cessation of ordinary occupations. A similar custom exists among the peoples on both banks of the lower Congo. The market is a well-developed institution among the semi-civilized negroes about the Gulf of Guinea. Here we find market-weeks varying from three to ten days in length. One week-day is usually reserved for the market and is often regarded as the appropriate time for abstaining from toil, including labour, as well as sexual intercourse, sports, and amusements of all sorts.

Such seems to be the character of most of the market-days found in S.E. Asia and the adjacent islands, as well as in some parts of Africa. In the Congo region, however, the market-day sometimes bears an unlucky character, and a distinct tendency exists to attach various restrictions to it. In the Guinean region the market-day often (though not always) coincides with the general day of rest observed by an entire community. As such it is deemed a god and is observed. This extensive development of sabbatarian regulations appears to be confined to Africa.

5. Unlucky days as sabbaths.—The observance of unlucky days is a familiar phenomenon in primitive peoples and archaic civilizations. Under the attenuated form of a survival the superstition still lingers in civilized lands. The precautions which characterize these days—not to engage in various activities, not to eat specified articles of food, not to engage in sexual intercourse, not to travel, not to buy or sell—illustrate clearly enough the general likeness between periods tabu and periods deemed unlucky.

A common source of the belief in unlucky days is to be sought in the erroneous association of ideas. If an unfortunate event has taken place on a certain day, the notion easily arises that all actions performed on the recurrence of the day will have a similarly unfortunate issue. Among the Kaffirs of W. Africa, e.g., the most unlucky day is the anniversary of the Saturday on which Osa Tutu was slain in ambush near Acronanti in 1731.

The observation of natural phenomena often accounts for the unlucky character assigned to certain superstitions. The tendency is, for instance, to regard the unemployment of the market with the superstitious belief that the unemployed are the spirits of unlucky days. Among the Tujeran, a nautical superstition that the wind will not blow at the time of the full moon is to be explained from the observation of the effect of the moon upon the ocean. In the equatorial region the wind often ceases for several days after the new moon. This cessation of the wind was observed, and the effect of the moon upon the wind was inferred. If this effect is supposed to be produced by the moon itself, the more distant the full moon, the less is it likely to blow; hence, the full moon is considered unlucky.

Among many peoples in the lower culture the time of new moon and full moon, much less commonly of each half moon, is a season of restriction and abstinence. The lunar day is sometimes a holy day dedicated to a god, who may be identified with the moon itself. Other instances of the superstition are to be correlated with the general course of religious development, involving, as it does, the emergence of polytheistic cults and the institutionalization of the ritual. But under more primitive conditions the lunar day is an unlucky (or tabbed) day, quite independent of any association with a deity. The existence of these lunar tabus in Polynesia, Indonesia, and Africa, to say nothing of the survivals of them in Asiatic and European lands, throws light on the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath and its assumed Babylonian original.

The observance of unlucky days has undoubtedly retarded human progress. They hinder individual initiative and tend to prevent the undertaking of lengthy enterprises which may be interrupted by the recurrence of an unfavorable period. Their extensive development compels industrial, political, and social conditions where, as in modern Ashanti and ancient Rome, assemblies could not be held, or courts of justice stand open, or armies engage the enemy, when the unlucky day came round. It is equally obvious that all such beliefs play into the hands of the astrologer and magician, and thus tend further to strengthen the chains with which superstition fetters its votaries.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article. For a much fuller discussion of the subject, see Hutton Webster, Rest Days, New York, 1916, esp. chs. I—v., ix.

HUTTON WEBSTER.

SABBATH (Babylonian).—Notwithstanding that the Sabbath, as we know it, is a specifically Hebrew institution, there is every probability that it had its origin in Babylon. In that country, however, it was not the seven-day week used at the present day, but the seven-day week, owing to the Creator having rested from His work on that day (Gen 2), but was due to the festival of the full moon on the 15th

2 E. Thurston, Omens and Superstitions of S. India, London, 1912, p. 44.
day of the month, when the earth's satellite 'rested' for a while at the height of his brilliancy. 

The Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian) word for 'sabbath' and its origin.—The word by which the Babylonian Sabbath is designated is the somewhat rare term  Ngô-tu or  Ngô-tu, long known to Assyriologists, and early recognized as the probable origin of the English word Sabbath (Hebrew 'Shabbath'). The word was derived not only from the Sumerian še-bat, a compound meaning 'mid-rest' or 'heart-rest' ('day, heart; bat, to reach the end'), but also from the Semitic Babylonians paraphrased as inn niš tiłbī, 'day of rest of the heart' ('day of mid-repose'), in WAI ii. 32, 16ob. That this was not the designation of the last day of the seven-day week, however, is shown by the fragment published in WAI iii. 36, no. 4, l. 27, completed by the duplicate in PSBA xxvi. [1904] pl. xxvii. pp. 51-56, where it is explained as the 15th day of the month, when the moon was more or less at the full.

2. The moon's 'mid-rest' in the creation-story. 

The reason of the adoption of the 15th day of the month had been explained to the Semitists of the seven-day week of the Babylonian calendar System. The moon's seventh day is seen to be the mid-rest of the creation. The Semitic Babylonians paraphrased the Sumerian ū-ḫul-gallûn, the day of rest of the heart, as  개념 tiłbī, 'day of rest of the heart' ('day of mid-repose'), in WAI ii. 32, 16ob. That this was not the designation of the last day of the seven-day week, however, is shown by the fragment published in WAI iii. 36, no. 4, l. 27, completed by the duplicate in PSBA xxvi. [1904] pl. xxvii. pp. 51-56, where it is explained as the 15th day of the month, when the moon was more or less at the full.

3. The Babylonian Sabbath and the seven-day week.—This is the week with which we are so well acquainted, and which Christians have adopted from the Hebrews, merely changing the day of rest from the seventh to the first day. Here, however, ša-bat and  Ngô-tu, its derivative, were used from the seventh day of the Babylonians, but another word was used which they evidently considered more proper, namely ū-ḫul-gallûn, from the Sumerian ū-ḫul-gal-ga, which they translated as ṣuī līmu, 'evil day.' This was the 17th, 24th, 21st, and 28th days of every month, so that, as the Babylonian months had 29 or 30 days each, every month consisted of three weeks of seven days each, and one of nine or ten days, according to the length of the month. Two reasons may be suggested for the adoption of this seven-day period (1) the seven-day period is the ordinary Jewish period of rest and (2) that the fact that the period of a hintation may be divided, roughly, into four sections of seven days each. The following is the paragraph given by the Semitists for the observance of the seventh day of the month as a sabbath:

The day is a holy day (abies) of the king and Zerubbabel, an acceptable day, an evil day (ū-ḫul-gallûn). The shepherd of the great tribes (ū-bībīt) shall not eat salted meat cooked over the embers, he shall not change his body-clothing, he shall not be clothing in white, he shall not offer a sacrifice. The king shall not ride in a chariot, he shall not speak to the titans. The sabbath shall not make a wish.

To this the hemerologist for the intercalary Elul adds:

in the night the king shall bring his offering into the presence of Merodach and infants, he shall make the sacrifice. The raising of his hand (in prayer) is acceptable with the god.

The entries for the other weekly days neši fortress are the same, except that the 14th was dedicated to Nin-lila and Nergal, to whom the king brought offerings and sacrifices at night-time; the 21st was the day of votive offering to Sin (the moon-god) and Samaš (the sun-god), when, but king made his offering to Samaš and 'the Lady of the lands,' to Sin and Mah, Merodach's spouse, whilst the 25th was the day of Af (goddess of the deep and of unfathomable wisdom) and the 'rest-day' (Sumerian ē-nām, Semitic (ū-bībī), of Nergal, the god of war, disease, and death. On the 25th the king made his offerings to Ėča and Mah.

The contract-tablets seem to indicate that trading and mercantile transactions, including those requiring legal advice and composition, were continued by the king and his attendants on all the other days of the week, even the 'unallowable' days just as on any other week-day, though oracles or omens may have been consulted beforehand. The directions given in the hemerologist, therefore, refer only to the persons and officials named—the high-priest (who apparently occupied his spiritual functions), the king, the chief priest, and the physician (all of them, probably, in what the Babylonians would have regarded as 'sacred orders'). As the next phrase [that concerning the making of a wish] is in general terms, this alone seems to refer to the ordinary week-day. Then nightfall the king was apparently removed, for sacrifices and prayer were then allowed to be offered.

Of special interest in connexion with the seven-week period is the 19th, day of the month, which was a 'week of weeks' from the first day of the period. This, like the others, was an ū-ḫul-gallûn; but it had a special designation, namely ūm tiłbī, explained as ūm ūgallī, 'day of anger' (ib or iba in Sumerian means 'anger'; hence this rendering). It may therefore be supposed that the preparations for the sabbath were especially strengthened on that of the week of weeks. This great day was dedicated to Guila, or Bau, the goddess of healing, and the evening sacrifices were for En-urtu (formerly read Ninip), who, in Babylonian mythology, is associated with her.

The weekly Sabbath in the inscriptions.—This is revealed only, and that dimly, in certain lists of offerings found at Warka (the Erech of Gn 10:10). These tablets, which are of late date, are best represented by the series in A. T. Clay, 'Babylonian Texts.' The texts which they bear were recorded in tabular form, and were used for the records of sacrifices and slaughter. On the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the months to which the tablets refer a sacrificial kid (or lamb) was to be offered, though the dates are not always constant. Thus in Chisler of the 5th year of Cyrus, when the month had only 29 days, the fourth sacrificial days are as indicated here; in Tétab (also 29 days) of the accession-year of Cambyses the first three dates only occur, that of the 23rd being omitted; in Tétab (30 days) of the 1st year of Cambyses the sacrificial kid of the 6th and that of the 14th are recorded, two kids for unindicated dates being set down for the latter part of the month; in Tétab
SABBATH (Jewish)—$\textup{a}$ A. B. 1. A Sabbath is still far from clear whether or not the Hebrew Sabbath was a derivative from Babylonian. But, whatever its origin, it became one of the most specifically Hebraic institutions. So much was this the case that the day was regarded as a symbol of the close relation between Israel and the people's God. In reviewing the history of Israel from the day when the people was chosen (20), presents the message: 'Hallow my sabbaths,' a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them' (20). The same conception is repeated in the covering case of the 5th. Ex 31:13. Israel hallowed the Sabbath as a sign of the people's sanctification by God. In part the sign implies the marking off of Israel from the rest of the world—a conception which finds expression in the Book of Jubilees, in the early Midrash, and in the liturgy of the Synagogue. But more prominently the distinction is less of Israel than of the day. 2. And the Creator of all things blessed this day which he had created for a blessing and a sanctification and a glory above all days. 3. Hence the greatest and holiest epitome of the Sabbath is 'holy.' The two ideas are closely interwoven. The observance of the Sabbath constitutes a sign at once of Israel's and of God's fidelity to the covenant. In the epigrammatic phrase of a popular Sabbath table-hymn composed by Abraham Ibn Ezra (12th cent.), 'I keep the Sabbath, God keeps me: it is an eternal sign between Him and me.' In part, again, the sign was associated with the Creation (as in the Deaconage in Ex 31) and in Gn 2:5; thus the observance of the Sabbath gives evidence of a belief in Him who spoke and the world was. And the same sign was historical. This is shown in the association of the Sabbath with the experiences of Israel in Egypt. Perhaps nothing in the Hebrew Bible is more beautiful than the use made of Israel's sufferings in Egypt. They are to be motive for kindness to the stranger (Lv 19:9), and are to prompt the Israelite to give rest to his servants on the Sabbath (see the Deaconage inDt 5). 2. Sanctification.—All these aspects of the Sabbath—see Gregory, as 'sacred, of His love as Redeemer from Egyptian bondage, and of the choice of Israel—are summed up in the liturgical Kiddush, or sanctification, prescribed for use in the home (and also in the synagogue) on the Friday eve. After quoting Gn 1:28-2, the Kiddush runs thus: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who creates the fruit of the vine. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and hast taken pleasure in us, and in love and favour hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance, a memorial of the creation—that day being also the first of the holy convocations, in remembrance of the departure from Egypt. For thou hast chosen us and sanctified us, and hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hallowest the Sabbath. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth.' 3. Eschatology.—The sign is also eschatological. Jubilees, the identity between heaven and earth with regard to the Sabbath of the world to come. The same idea is preserved in the Talmud. The earthly Sabbath points forward to the Sabbath in another world, a world which is entirely Sabbath. So with the liturgy. In the grace after meals for this Sabbath of the world to come, 'May God, merciful let us inherit the day which shall be wholly a Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting.' And, just as this thought worked forwards to the world to come, so it worked backwards to the patriarchal age. In the Apocalypse of Baruch we read: 'The unwritten law was named amongst them (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob), and the works of the commandments were fulfilled, and the coming judgment was then generated, and hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up, and the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted.' Jubilees, too, is animated with the same desire to include those who lived before the Law in the observance of its behests. The same thought is found in the Talmud. Again, it will be best to quote a passage from the Talmud (to which the passage cited above) sums up so much of Jewish thought regarding the Sabbath that it will save much exposition. The quotation that follows is from the Sabbath afternoon service: 'Thou art One and thy name is One, and who is like thy people Israel, an unique nation on the earth? Glorious greatness and a crown of salvation, even the day of rest and holiness, thou hast given unto thy people. Abraham was glad, Isaac rejoiced, Jacob and his sons rested therein: a rest vouchsafed in generous love, a true and faultless rest, a rest in peace and tranquillity, in quietude and safety, a perfect rest wherein thou delightest. Let thy children perceive and know that this their rest is from thee, and by their rest may they hallow thy name. Our God and God of our fathers, accept our rest; sanctify us by thy commandments, and grant our portion in thy Law; and let us, hidden with thy salvation, purify our hearts to serve thee in truth; and in thy love and favour, O Lord our God, let us inherit thy holy Sabbath; and Israel, who hallowed thee hereafter. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hallowest the Sabbath.' 4. Rest.—On the physical side, the predominant feature of the Sabbath was naturally, as the name signifies, rest. As a sort of 'Citation,' to use the term 'labour,' but there are incidental references to the prohibition of gathering sticks (Nu 15), kindling fire (Ex 35:1), cooking and baking (Lev 26), travelling (Lev 25), bearing burdens, and conducting business (Am 8, 21), etc., etc. The Sabbath, as a sort of 'Citation,' to use the term 'labour,' but there are incidental references to the prohibition of gathering sticks (Nu 15), kindling fire (Ex 35:1), cooking and baking (Lev 26), travelling (Lev 25), bearing burdens, and conducting business (Am 8, 21), etc., etc.
The Sabbath (Jewish)

Jer 17:2, Neh 13:19). The Mishnah defines the main 39 categories of forbidden work; these were added others which, though not included in these categories, were liable to result in a breach of the Sabbath laws. The criticism of these Sabbath laws is too familiar to need discussion; undoubtedly there was an excessive tendency to develop too strict a code of regulations. The Sabbath was a day of rest, of happiness, but it is not so certain that the consequence was a sacrifice of spirit to letter. It must here suffice to indicate that no Sabbatical regulation was, in Rabbinic law, permitted to stand in the way of saving life in cases of illness or danger. The Law, it was held, was given to the people by God to enable them to live by it (Lv 18:10); hence the Sabbath must not be pleaded as a reason for permitting man to die thereon. Perhaps the most perverse attack on the Sabbath as a day of rest is found in some of the Greek and Latin authors. This type of attack culminates in Seneca. To Seneca the Jewish Sabbath is a worthless institution:

'To remain idle every seventh day is to lose a seventh part of life, while many pressing interests suffer by this idleness.'

The difficulty of maintaining a genuine Sabbath has been a matter of controversy for centuries. The desirability of life, has always been felt. In modern times, economic reasons have led to many new anxieties, for which a solution has not yet been found. To revert to the old difficulties, the Maccabees, after experiencing the danger of refusing to light the Sabbath candles, did not take advantage of the refusal, discriminated between offensive and defensive warfare. Josephus shows that mean advantage was taken by Pompey of this discrimination:

'Pompey utilized the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work for religious worship, and raised his soldiers from lighting on these days for the Jews only acted on the offensive on Sabbath days.'

On the whole, the Rabbinic laws as to the permissible and the forbidden succeeded in avoiding the two extremes. This is seen when the Rabbinic system is compared with that of the Karaites (q.v.). Anan, the founder of the sect, insisted on sitting in darkness on Friday nights (Ex 35:3), and forbade his adherents to leave the house on Sabbath, except to attend public worship (16:1-21). The Pentateuch, as read by the Maccabees, and the Sabbath, 7. Rabbinic custom permitted movement within limits, and also not merely allowed but ordained that lights be kindled before sunset. Great relief was obtained also by employing (under rigid restrictions, however) the principle of ex post facto, known from a legalistic attitude, led to certain 'legal fictions'; but on the whole it had the advantage that, by reducing the exceptions to code, it effected the maintenance of the general principle of rest.

5. Joyousness.—The idea that the Sabbath was felt as a burden has no foundation whatever. Once for all this misconception was dispelled by S. Schechter in his Studies in Judaism.10 The Sabbath was given in love; it was a 'good gift'; it was a day of happiness or delight.

Many of the blessings of the Sabbath by the meals, beautiful garments; delight your soul with pleasure and I will reward you (for this very pleasure) an idea based on Is 55:2.

References:

1 Sabbat, vii. 2.
3 S. Schechter, 'The Sabbath and a series between Jesus and the Pharisees are examined, from the Pharisaic point of view, by the present writer in his Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, Cambridge, 1897, ch. xvii.
4 T.B. 'Abodah Zarah, 27b; Mech. 105b.
5 See the various guidance and commendation of the elaboration, Paris, 1895, Index, c., sabbat.
6 Quoted by Augustine, de Civ. Del, vii. 11; Reinaul, p. 283.
7 J. B. F., 4., p. 88.
8 See n. 3.
9 A fine treatment of the question is given in C. G. Montefiore, The Bible for Home Reading, London, 1896-97, p. 1, p. 56; and in M. Joseph, Judaism as Creed and Life, 1910, 2nd. ed. i. 11.
12 Midrash to Ps 92.

The liturgy speaks of the Sabbath as a hallowed and blessed day which 'in holiness giveth rest unto a people sated with delights.' The three Sabbath meals were a religious duty.2 It was a day of happiness in the home, inaugurated by a sanctification and closed by a ceremony (habitatah). This was a day of rejoicing. The Sabbath was a day of rest, a day of happiness, and also of work, and of joyousness. The mystical came in to help. Typified as the Bride, the Sabbath was greeted with a wonderful chorus of welcome.

6. Worship.—Domestic joys were supplemented by special synagogal services, by the reading of the Bible and the religious literature. The majority of Jewish congregations retain the Babylonian custom in accordance with which the whole of the Pentateuch is read through once a year. In a few congregations and Pharisees, the whole of the Pentateuch (a triennial cycle) has been re-

1 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
2 Thou hast us standing assembled at Sinai
3 Thou hast us assembled at Sinai
4 That all may hear the words of life.
5 To set out a table full laden, to honour
6 To set out a table full laden, to honour
7 The Sabbath of rest.
8 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
9 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
10 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
11 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
12 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
13 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
14 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
15 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
16 To keep thy commandments, thou hast us standing assembled at Sinai.
17 To keep thy commandments, thou hast us
18 To keep thy commandments, thou hast us
19 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
20 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
21 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
22 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
23 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
24 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
25 This day is for Israel light and rejoicing, A Sabbath of rest.
The most remarkable phrase in this hymn is contained in the second verse, which introduces, with lyric pathos, the idea of the over-soul, which resides in man during the Sabbath.1 The hymn is probably of the 13th century.

7. Modern conditions. Reference has been made to the national synagogues ruled by modern economic pressure. Myriads of Jews continue to observe the Saturday Sabbath, despite all difficulties and commercial losses. Many, however, are induced, either by laxity or by the exigencies of labour conditions, to be absent Sunday. The Sabbath spirit has not been any serious movement to transfer the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday. The question was raised in the early part of the 19th cent., when the liberal movement was organized.2 It was, however, soon realized that it would not be possible to retain the Sabbath atmosphere if the day were violently changed, unless the alteration were effected with a unanimity which obviously could not be attained.

The fact that the Jewish Sabbath begins on Friday evening has been of considerable value in conserving the Sabbath spirit even Sunday. The Home-rites and the sentiments of the Sabbath have been thereby retained in cases where work is done on the following morning. In many congregations in America and on the Continent there are special Friday night services in the synagogue, which holds its chief (though not its only) Sabbath service on Sunday afternoon. These methods have not solved the problem, but they have mitigated it. Throughout modern times the spiritual elements of the Sabbath have been recognized as more on Sundays than Saturday. There has been no cessation of labour. In various parts of America special Sunday services are held, but these are not treated as Sabbath services.

The objection to instrumental music was not exclusively Sabbathical. Music ceased at Jewish worship after the destruction of the Temple, as a token of mourning. Gradually, however, it crept into use again, especially at weddings, and nowadays orthodox synagogues (which refuse to build organs as permanent structures) often admit instrumental music at weddings and at some other functions on week-days. The reason for the objection is partly that the innovation has the appearance of imitation from paganism, and objection was taken to mixed choirs,3 on other grounds, but this objection no longer holds uniformly with orthodox congregations. Nowadays, with regard to instrumental music, the strongest opposition is due to Sabbatical considerations, for playing on an instrument is not cinematically to be a Sabbath violation. But neither economic nor liturgical problems have destroyed the essential import of the Sabbath. For, all difficulties notwithstanding, the Sabbath retains some of its beneficent influence as a day of spiritual and domestic tranquillity and happiness.

LITERATURE.—See the works quoted throughout.

1. A. Reuah.

SABBATH (Muhammadan).—Among the Muhammadans Fridays is called by the name of jum’ah, ‘day of assembly,’ takes the place of the Christian Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath. They are not, indeed, enjoined to treat it as a day of complete rest from work or business, but its special sanctity is emphatically marked by the particular observances that are introduced into it. There is a strict rule of attendance at the mosque, incumbent on all male adults among freemen,1 in order to be present at its recital.

The outstanding feature of this service is the khutbah, or sermon, which is ordered to precede the common salat, or prayer, of two rak’ahs, or prostrations, though it is, by way of performing a specially meritorious act, itself usually preceded by another salat of two rak’ahs. From Qur’an, lix., it follows that the practice of holding a service of special obligation on Fridays dates from the time of Muhammad himself, or more accurately from the time of his stay at Medina; but there were naturally developments and diversities of practice at successive periods in later times. There is thus a difference of opinion among the Muhammadans as to what actual sects with the impression that the attendance must number at least 40, whilst others declare that it is only necessary for the service to be held in a community of some size. Also, the divines, again, hold that, except in cases of necessity, the Friday service should not be held in more than one mosque in the same place, whilst others would not subject the faithful to such a limitation.

In the time of Muhammad the khutbah, of course, consisted of the Prophet’s own utterances or revelations, which may be presumed to have been later incorporated in the Qur’an, but the later khutbah, which was in subsequent times (as it is now) preceded by the salat (or cry of the mu’addin: ‘Allah ubary! ‘God is great!’) is generally of a much less weighty order and of varying quality. The rules laid down are that it must be in Arabic, and must include prayers for Muhammad, for the Companions, and, in one form or another, for the sovereign, but its composition and contents are, for the rest, left to the ability and discretion of the preacher.

The only passage in the Qur’an in which the yaum ul-jumah is referred to runs as follows:

1. O ye, who believe! when ye are summoned to prayer on the day of assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God, and quit merchandise. . . . And when the prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves abroad and go in quest of the bounty of God. . . . But when they get a sight of traffic or sport, they disperse after it, and leave thee alone.2

According to the plain sense (idealized, however, by a specially pious mode of interpretation) of the passage, traffic or business is prohibited only at prayer time, and not after or before salat; and we are incidentally presented with a realistic picture of the Prophet being sometimes left standing alone in the mimbar, or pulpit, of his masjid when his Medinese followers happened to catch sight of sport or a trading caravans, etc. However, being devoid of embellishments and divine sanction of a particularly flattering kind for

1. This limitation of the rule reminds one of the Talmudic declaration that women, slaves, and boys under the age of three are exempt from attendance at the Friday mosque. See on the practice of putting on phylacteries (Olmahh, Brakhot, ill. 3). It should in addition be observed that Muhammadan law also exempts persons who are not legally resident in a locality from attendance at the mosque on Friday.

2. Qarim, 9-11.
Muhammad's day of assembly. In the Mishkāt al-Masābīḥ (see Literature below) the excellence of the day are, on the Prophet's authority, summed up as follows:

'The best day on which the sun appears is Friday; for on this day Allah descended on that day, in the words of the Prophet,' taken word for word, and turned out from it also on this day [this hardly a recommendation, however]; and the day of resurrection will not be on any day but Friday.'

Again:

'When Friday comes, angels stand at the door of the Masjid, and write the names of all those who come first,' etc.2

It is also declared that there is a certain hour on Friday on which any Muslim asking a favour of God will receive it, and that, on the other hand, Muhammad prayed, 'that God may put a seal on the heart of any Muslim who, through negligence, omits the prayers of three Fridays.'

The prosaic fact seems to be that Friday was used as a day of assembly of some kind long before the Prophet's time, and the name of the day was reported to have been given it by one of Muhammad's ancestors. It is, indeed, conceivable, and may even be regarded as probable, that, if the Prophet had succeeded in attaching a great number of Jews to his cause, he might have made the Sabbath the sacred weekly day for his followers. In the first instance, events having made this impossible, and the Christian Sunday being per se excluded from his scheme of ordinances, he naturally settled on the old day of assembly, and the name al-jumā'ah thus superseded the former general designation of sabā'īn (Tahāwī, which stamped the day as merely the eve or preparation of the day following. The attitude taken up by Muhammad towards the Sabbath itself may be regarded as clearly shown in Qur'ān, xvi. 125, where it is declared that 'the Sabbath was ordained by God to the children of Israel to be a day of repose, it which is by a tradition explained to mean that Moses himself had wished to set aside Friday as the sacred day, but that the Jews insisted on keeping the Sabbath-day, because on that day God rested from the work of creation,' for which reason they ordained this day to be a day of rest. But the Sabbath, if not the day of rest, is, in one sense, a good and a bad. In the first place, it is used to denote the existence in the Christian Church of a ministry consisting of certain persons set apart or ordained by the authority of the Church to minister the things of God to their fellow-men, and to be the executive instruments in the divine covenant of sacramental graces. On the other hand, it is used in the sense of an assumption and claim on the part of the clergy to an undue power and authority over the laity.3

This existence of a priesthood is found in religion from the very earliest period of the history of mankind, and there is practically no ancient form of religion in which the priest does not appear in some aspect or other. The priest is the individual who is in some way inspired or illumined by the divine spirit, and is hence considered to act as the interpreter of God and the will of God to his fellow-men. He it is, moreover, who on behalf of his fellow-men presents their offerings to God in such a way and with such forms and rituals as will render them acceptable to God. Thus he is in a sense the guide and the means by which his fellows find access or approach to God, and as such is naturally their adviser and teacher in spiritual things (see art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD).

The conception of a ministry endowed with certain sacred or priestly powers is found very early in the history of the Christian Church. Christianity was the fulfilment of Judaism, and in Judaism there was an elaborate priestly system and system of sacrifices. Christianity did not claim to replace Judaism, but rather to fulfil it. The sacrifices were the dramatization, the means of expiation, the perfect sacrifice of Christ — a sacrifice so complete and perfect and efficacious for all time for the sins of all mankind, past, present, and future, that it need

1 Brereth Rabbōh, ch. x., near end. 2 EOP, s.v.
never, nor can it ever, be repeated. Christ is the perfect priest offering the one perfect sacrifice of Himself to the Eternal Father, the intercessor and advocate of all the race of men, the means of perfect and complete access to God.

But Christianity is not merely the fulfilment of Judaism; it is much more. It is the fulfilment and satisfaction of all the aspirations of mankind after God. These aspirations and longings for the truth were manifesting themselves in many ways at the time of the development of the Church. Heathenism was agape with the desire for truth, and the old materialism of religion no longer satisfied a world that was beginning to realize clearly that matter was not all. New religions sprang up on every side, cults, mysteries, offerings, to those who sought, the knowledge of God and justification from sin. Even the old material conception of the gods began to receive a spiritual interpretation.

Thus both Judaism and all that was good in heathenism found their goal and fulfillment in Christianity, and the sacrifices of Judaism and the initiations of heathenism in the perfect offering for the sins of the whole world presented to the Eternal Father in the divinely-appointed commemoration of the One Sacrifice in the Christian mysteries, which were a recognition of the high-priestly worship of the Christian Church and the means by which the efficacy of the act of redemption was applied to the souls of men in gifts of sacramental grace.

In the earliest days of the Church there is a noticeable absence of any analogy between the methods of the old and the ministration of the new dispensation. The danger of Jewish formalism in the infant Church was considerable. Still less is there any sign of any acknowledgment of the existence of even a partial apprehension of truth in the religious systems of the heathen world. Nevertheless St. Paul does use technical terms when he speaks of himself as 'the minister of Jesus Christ, the sacrificing priest of the gospel of God, that the offering of the Gentiles might be made acceptable' (Rv 15), where he is using technical sacrificial words, 

In the same way he uses the terminology of the Greek mysteries in the words 'perfect' (τελειός), 'sealing' (σφαρσὶς[σφαίρας]), 'learned the secret' (μυστήριον), and his technical use of the words is recognized and imitated by Ignatius when he speaks of the Ephebeans as being 'initiated into the mysteries of the gospel with the blessed Paul.'

Even in the Epistle to the Hebrews we find no sign as yet of the idea of a Christian priesthood offering a Christian sacrifice. The author of the Epistle confines himself to the theme that in Christ are summed up the perfection of priesthood and the finality of sacrifice. He comes near to the definite conception of the Eucharist as in some sense a sacrifice in close connexion with the sacrifice of Christ, when he says 'We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve not the altar.'

By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name' (13th.)

In the NT, then, we find that the Church is conceived of as consisting of a priestly people with a ministration in the person of the sacerdotal character of the priest. In the West in particular the civilization of old Rome, with its wonderful legal system, which became the inheritance of the new nations of Europe, tended to define more and more the doctrines and practices of the Church and the duties and functions of the ministry. From the 6th to the 9th cent. there was an active development of liturgy and ritual, all of course accentuating more and more the distinction between cleric and layman. Moreover, the task which the Church had to face during this period ever more and more enhanced the sacerdotal character of the ministry in the direction of increasing the prestige and authority of the clergy over the mass of the people. The Church was called upon to evangelize new and barbarian peoples, Gothic and Frank and Burgundian, and the importance of their converts rendered it necessary to present the faith to them in its simplest form, and hence the duties of worship and practice, the teaching of the sacraments and penance, were
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reduced to simple rules and systematized as much as possible, while for their part the new converts adapted their old belief in magic and the virtue of charms to the mysterious awfulness of the holy sacraments; the substitution of the people, the low state of morality, and the intervention of penance led to less and less frequency of communion till, with the requirement of confession in the case of all of adult age, communion was rarely made more frequently than once a year. Thus, as the duty of worship at the Mass took the place of the duty of weekly communion, and in the popular mind the Mass was regarded as a repetition of the sacrifice of Calvary. Hence came the scandals that at times the Church was frequently the object of ridicule. The sacerdotal theory of the priesthood was then at its highest for some three centuries before the Reformation, and the priesthood, with the powers of remitting or retaining, was believed to hold in its hands the salvation or damnation of the soul.

The Reformation (q.v.) was the outcome on the whole of a great advance in the education generally of the people. Knowledge was no longer confined to the clergy, and with it spread the knowledge of men of intelligence rebelled against the old formalism of religion, and against a conception of the doctrine of opus operum in the sacraments that more or less relieved the individual of any responsibility, and overshadowed the teaching of the Church that the reception of the virtue of the sacraments depended upon the proper disposition of the recipient. Thus the Reformation was against sacerdotalism in the sense of an assumption of authority on the part of the priesthood to undertake the whole charge and responsibility of the souls of the people. In England the Reformation was a reformation only, while elsewhere it destroyed the Church in the old sense of the word. It is made clear in the preface to the ordinance rites of the English Church, in the retaining of the three principal sacraments, and the mixture of the forms with which these orders are conferred, that the Church claims to be the old historic Church and no new invention, regarding herself as united with the Church of the apostles by the unbroken line of succession of her bishops, and one with it in doctrine and practice. The great defenders of the English Church against the assaults of Romanism have always strenuously taken this line, and have appealed to the Ordinal as proving the truth of their position. Thus, while the Reformation in England was a reformation proper, it purged the Church of many old superstitions. The whole status of the clergy was affected, and the restoration to the individual of the sense of personal responsibility lessened immensely the authority of the priesthood over the individual. But, on the other hand, the ministry of the Church retained a definite sacerdotal aspect. Confession was retained and the power of priestly absolution; only it was not required as essential generally. This was maintained generally by the great divines of the 17th century. The sacramental sacrifices were maintained in the sense of its being a commemorative sacrifice. In such a sense even Cranmer admitted that the Eucharist was a sacrifice. And in his first Answer to Cardinal Perron's Reply:

'The Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered, both as a Sacrament, and as a Sacrifice.'

A long list of names might be quoted in support of this view of the Eucharistic sacrifice—Cranmer, Andrews, Overall, Montagu, Cosin, Sparrow, Jeremy Taylor, Waterland, and many others. Jeremy Taylor explains thus:

'As Christ, in virtue of His sacrifice on the Cross, intercedes for us with His Father, so does the minister of Christ's priesthood here; and the virtue of the Eucharistic sacrifice is salutary and effectual to all the needs of the Church, both for things temporal and eternal.'

And, indeed, the teaching of the Church of England is clearly enough shown in the prayer of oblation in the Holy Communion:

'We thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service.'

The controversy resuming on the Oxford Movement brought these matters very much to the front, and the word 'sacerdotalism' came into existence. The Church at this time was living on its past. The only theology was that of the great writers of bygone generations. The meaning of the Church's forms and its ceremonies, of its theory of orders, of the doctrine of the sacraments, was very little apprehended by the majority of the people. Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties of the time lay in the absence of any official body of theology. This was one of the great losses consequent on the Reformation, and on the scrapping of the old scholastic theology, with all its clearly defined technical terms, and substituting nothing in its place, with the exception of leaving a certain amount of the old technical language enshrined in the forms of the Book of Common Prayer. The Oxford Movement, therefore, was simply a restatement of what the Prayer Book contains, re-asserting the sacerdotal character of the priesthood as exercised in the celebration of the sacraments, especially in the Holy Communion and the Ministry of Ordination. The controversies arising merged acutely for a generation, chiefly over the use of technical words and phrases, and then gradually subsided, leaving their mark unmistakably on the Church.

Thus the 'sacerdotalism' of the Church of England is moderate and reasonable. The ministry exists, and always has existed, for the bringing of the sacramental means of grace to the people of Christ. The priest is the minister or steward of Christ authoritatively appointed to his office by Christ's Church, and he is in this way the divinely-constituted administrator of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the sacerdos servorum, the servant of his fellow-servants, ministering to them in the orderly manner prescribed by the Church, the gifts given by God for the nourishment and health of their souls.


R. M. WOOLLEY.

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SACRAMENTS (Primitive and Ethnic).

In early Christian usage the word *sacramentum*, though applied especially to Baptism and the Eucharist, was widely used as the name of any ritual observance among Christians, as well as of any sacred thing. In this wide sense sacraments may be said to exist in ethnic religions. Washings or baptisms, ceremonial name-giving, initiations, anointings, and many other rites have a sacramental aspect in this sense of the word.

These and other rites have already been fully considered under separate headings. This article is devoted to inquiring how far rites of actual sacramental communion—viewing the word 'sacrament' in a narrow, yet popular, sense—exist among savages and in the higher ethnic religions. Many of the usual examples of this cited by various authorities are to be regarded as inferences rather than explicit facts. Thus, even where the worshippers feast on the remains of a sacrifice, it is doubtful whether this is to be looked upon as more than a meal eaten in common with the god. He, being satisfied with his share of the feast, as it were, invites his worshippers to eat with him. The idea that sacrifice originated from a meal on a divine being or a totem cannot be sustained. It is likely, a ceremonial meal, though eating through with the victim, is far from being clearly expressed, and is rather an inference from a given rite. Sacrifice is first the food of the gods, by which they are nourished, strengthened, and made benevolent to men. If now worshippers partake of this food, they are eating with and, we may suppose them to be similarly nourished and strengthened. There certainly could not have been at first the sacramental eating of a divinity incarnate in the sacrificial victim. That came later, and perhaps only secondarily. Even if the animal is offered, or if, being usually eaten, is first sacrificially slain and its blood offered to the god, no more than a common meal with the god need be generally inferred. In the latter case the animal is sacrificially slain on the principle that man should always give something of his own to the gods—the same principle as is seen in the offering of firstfruits (q.v.).

The theory of Hubert and Mauss—that sacrifice consists in establishing a communication between the sacred world and the profane world by means of a victim, i.e., in something destroyed in the course of the ceremony, and that the moral state of the person who performs this religious act or of certain things in which he is interested is thus modified—rests on the Brahmanic interpretation of Vedic sacrifices, and can be sustained only with difficulty. If the theory were true, then the victim would always be sacrosanct, filled with the spirit of the divine world, and therefore to eat of it would be a sacrificial act, and to eat the flesh with divine vigour. But this 'sacralization' is not proved for sacrifice generally, either savage or civilized.

1. Theories of the origin of sacrifice are apt to lay too much stress upon occasional rites, out of harmony with the ordinary and usual rites which are known to us in detail. The real meaning of these occasional rites is often unknown or is the guess of a scholar or mystic; they are sometimes described by a late classical author.

2 See art. ANONIMUS, BAPTISM, INITIATION, NAMES.


5 The last is forcibly expressed by the Limboos of Parxjeeling, who, when they eat flesh with the eater, say that they dedicate the life-breath to the gods, the flesh to themselves (J. S. Campbell, *Fés*, new ser., vii. [1899] 155).

SACRAMENTS (Primitive and Ethnic).—In

SACRAMENTS (Primitive and Ethnic).—In

Christian—

- Hindu.—See 'Primitive and Ethnic.'
- Parsi.—See 'Primitive and Ethnic.'

An example of this is found in the Bouphonia (below, § 3[b]). At the same time rites of quite different import are usually classed together, and similar reasons for the slaying and eating of the victim is assigned to instances where it is out of place.

1. The basis of the principle of sacramental communion.—As already shown in the art. CANONICALISM (vol. iii, p. 197), the eating of food, with its result of strengthening or refreshing the body, easily suggested the idea that any special qualities in the animal, or even the man, from whom the food was prepared—strength, courage, wisdom, etc., as well as the contrary qualities (hence toasts on such foods as might transmit these)—could be conveyed to the eater. To this, the belief in magic made men assume that, as far as the transmission of such qualities was concerned, a part was as valuable as the whole. Food might also become a vehicle of qualities pertaining to the animal or plant that had been killed or eaten in contact. This is the basis of the idea of sacramental communion with deity in a more or less material sense, as apart from the idea of food eaten symbolizing a virtue or grace spiritually received. The flesh of an animal regarded as the incarnation of a deity, and the like, the relation to the eater as well as to the animal rituals, the meal eaten in common with the god, etc., and we may suppose them to be similarly nourished and strengthened. There certainly could not have been at first the sacramental eating of a divinity incarnate in the sacrificial victim. That came later, and perhaps only secondarily. Even if the animal is offered, or if, being usually eaten, is first sacrificially slain and its blood offered to the god, no more than a common meal with the god need be generally inferred. In the latter case the animal is sacrificially slain on the principle that man should always give something of his own to the gods—the same principle as is seen in the offering of firstfruits (q.v.).

2. Was the sacrificial meal also sacramental?—The meal upon sacrificial food cannot now be regarded as the survival or the equivalent of eating a totem animal in a sacramental mystery (below, § 4). Nor is the conception of kinship between victim and worshippers more than an inference. The sacrificial meal, eaten as in Israel at the holy place, was one in which men and god shared. There was communion between them just as the eating of food at any time strengthened the bond between table companions. Beyond that we can hardly go. Sacrifice was primarily a feeding of a god, who either ate the actual food or was regaled by the blood, or by its odour, or even by its essence. In the latter instance, where most of the flesh still remained, it was natural that it should be consumed by the worshippers. How far it was regarded as hallowed or even as a vehicle of divine qualities, because part of it had been consumed by a god or offered on an altar, is largely a matter of conjecture. This sacrificial meal is a common aspect of sacrificial rites both in the lower cultures and in higher religions as far back as these can be traced.

In Fiji 'native belief apporions the soul [of the offering] to the gods, who are feeding on it, and being enormous eaters; the substance is consumed by the worshippers.'

In Israel one large class of sacrifices was eaten by the worshippers, after having formed a repast for the divinity. In Babylonia the elements of sacrifice were the foods with the eater, the meal eaten in common with the gods and the like. In these sacrifices the victims were not apparently regarded as sacrificial, and the officiants ate the remains without appearing to experience the least terror, and without taking extra precautions. In Greece, in the...
case of those offerings not wholly made over to divinities, the priests had their share of the sacrifice, and the worshippers feasted on the remains.

This is seen, e.g., in Homer, who describes the prayers, the slain animals, the plating, the cooking of selected portions, and the joyous feast which followed. 1

In Roman sacrificial rites the general rule was that, after the offering of the exta to the god, the remainder of the victim was then considered not sacred, and was eaten by the priest or his retainers, or on official occasions by the senators and magistrates. Sacrifice was the offering of a repeat to the gods, in which men had a share. 2

Tontaut insists that the theory of W. R. Smith and others of a human god, victor, and worshippers, renewed through eating the victim—of a sacrificial communion—is not discoverable in the Roman sacrificial ritual. 3

In Egypt, however, the remains of the sacrifice were simply eaten by the officers and servants of the temple and by the worshippers. They spread a banquet of what remains of the victims. 4 According to Foucart, there is no trace in Egyptian texts concerning sacrifice of sacramental communion or of a meal of communion, and this is true of the sacrificial meal, and he speaks of 'l'absence radicale, t'etre en une ligne d'un seul auteur, d'une allusion au sacrifice communi de la victime en Egypte.' 5

Vedic sacrifices were intended as food for hungry gods, who were rendered miserable by hunger, and the gods ate first, leaving the remains to be eaten by those who offered them.

Oldenberg says that 'it is impossible to discover in the ceremonials of the Veda the word or formula which accompanied them, the least allusion to any method of regarding the repeat on the sacrifice as a repeat of communion (outside of a meeting of kin).'

Whatever later priestly theories arose regarding sacrifice, the early view remains fairly constant, and in modern Hindu and Dravidian ritual the remains of the sacrifice are commonly eaten by the worshippers. But in the cult of Kṛṣṇa the cooked food offered to the god is eaten by the priests or distributed to the worshippers, who eagerly receive it as holy or divine nutriment. 6 Here a more sacramental view appears. Finally, among the Teutons the evidence is summed up by Grimm as follows. Human food is agreeable to the gods, which is why it is in the nature of the sacrifice. At the same time sacrifice is a banquet: an appointed portion of the victim is placed before the god; the rest is cut up, distributed, and consumed in the assembly. The people thus become partakers in the holy offering, and the god is regarded as the one who has allotted or provided it.

To these examples must be added those in which the victim is a human being, and a cannibalistic feast on his flesh follows. Here there is no true sacrament, save where the victim is regarded as representing or incarnating a divinity, as in Mexico and in Dionysiac rites in Crete. 7

Thus the widest evidence of sacrificial rites, apart from all modern theory, is that in a large proportion of sacrifices the worshippers enjoyed a sacrificial repast, and joined in eating with the god. That probably indicated fellowship with the god or promoted it still further. But how far it was also regarded as a sacramental eating, in the sense that divine virtue passed over to the eater, is a matter of conjecture. Dr. Crooke has admitted that here are the elements out of which a sacramental ritual might easily arise.

The idea that gods and men shared in a sacrificial meal is illustrated in the Roman Mass, which is often compared to the banquet at which Christ was believed in the person of a sacerdotal papyri in which a person invites guests to dine with him at the table of a god (the lord Sarapis) on a certain date. 8 Sarapis was here the real host, his servant St. Paul's sacramental language, this may be the source of what he says regarding the impossibility of partaking at once of the table of the Lord and of the table of demons (some meat which has formed part of a sacrifice). He regards that act as 'having communion with demons' (1 Cor 10 16), because the meat is eaten consciously as a thing sacrificed to idols (10 19 and cf. 8). Thus because he regarded the act of eating as an act of communion with the god—probably the view then current in the eastern Mediterranean area. This communion, however, was nothing more than the relationship existing between a host and guests at any meal—a token of fellowship with him on the part of those who recognize the deity. In such sacramental meals, in the words of the Clementine Recognitions, the eater is 'a guest of demons' and has been tabernacled with them, or 'was so fashioned in his mind.' How far this idea of fellowship or communion with a god in and through sacrificial meals existed elsewhere is a question, but then ages it is natural to analogies to that of the feasts with the dead—common meals at which dead and living were present.

E. E. R. Smith, 9 When an animal was regarded as sacred—one devoted to the service of a god, or his representative or symbol, or even his incarnation, or as itself divine—it was nevertheless sometimes sacrificed to him, the reasons for this sacrifice not being the same in all cases. It is important to bear the latter fact in mind. But, in so far as the animal is sacred and the flesh is eaten, there is here a sacramental eating, depending upon the degree of sacredness of the animal. Where the animal is divine or a divine incarnation, there would be an actual eating of the god's flesh. In the case of animals sacrificed to a god, because for the time sacred to him, but we are here contemplating the case of animals more peculiarly sacred. The ceremonial slaying of such animals is perhaps the origin of those so-called mystic sacrifices in which certain animals, more particularly those animals that were sacred for common use, were immolated and sometimes ceremonially eaten. Where such eating took place, its purpose was probably sacramental: it was to obtain some benefit not to be obtained in any other way, e.g., the health and life of a god. The examples cited by W. R. Smith, 10 here, though his theory of their connexion with earlier totem sacraments has not been verified. The instances range from savagery up to comparatively high levels of civilization.

(3) Certain Hebrews in pre-Exilic days seem to have adopted curious rites from their pagan neighbours or revived earlier rites of their own. Among these was the sacrifice of the swine, the mouse, and the 'abomination.' These animals were sacred, yet they were actually eaten at this rite after some preliminary rites of preparation and purification. After sanctifying and purifying themselves, the worshippers are said to have eaten swine's flesh, the mouse, the 'abomination,' while 'broth of abominable things' was in their vessels, no doubt a symbol of their religious colour. (Is 66 3 4.) Doubtless these animals were sacred to certain divinities, and this, rather than their 'unclean' character, aroused the prophet's indignation. The result of the eating was the assertion of a peculiar holiness. Similarly, at a later time the Samaritans may have revived some of these practices.
once a year. Among the ancient Peruvians, after a three days' fast, the festival of the sun at the summer solstice was observed. Fire was kindled by means of a concave mirror reflecting the sun's rays. Then flammans, the animals sacred to the sun, were sacrificed, and of these a burnt-offering was made to the sun and his gods. 'These, in the case of other deities, was eaten at a banquet by the Inca and his lords, and distributed to the people. The flesh was eaten along with sacred cakes prepared by the virgins of the sun, and with grains of corn soaked in maize. In the latter part of this feast the Spaniards detected a Satanic counterfeit of the Eucharist. 1

(b) Some animal victims may be regarded as divine incarnations. The people of the district of Huancan (Peru) were found by the Inca Pachacutec to have this belief. They might have a doubtful existence temporarily in animal or even human form. In the frenzied observance of the cult the myth of Dionysos pursued by the Titans, assuming different forms, and finally in bull shape being rent asunder by the oxen, was reproduced in ritual. An ox, a goat, or sometimes even a boy, representing or incarnating the god, was rent by the maddened worshippers, and the raw flesh was devoured. By such a sacramental feast, and probably also by stimulants, the celebrant of the meal of raw flesh 2 was made one with the god. He became teos
dos, and was inspired to new ecstasy, or teoswagados, and to act not possible under normal conditions. 3

Arnobius says: 'In order that you may show yourselves full of majesty and divinity, you mingle with gore the lips of flesh of a people slain, or one slain, or two slain. Then these, that those initiated into the Dionysiac mysteries ate raw flesh, and that this symbolized Dionysos' being rent by the Titans. 4

In this savage sacrifice, which, though not widely practiced by them, might well be taken as typical of a religious rite at a certain stage, there appears the dim craving of the soul for union with deity. When the ritual was transferred to Greece and there tamed and transformed, far how this sacramental act continued to exist in Chios and Tenedos at a late date. 5 Its existence in the Dionysiac-Orphic brotherhoods cannot be proved.

In the Eucharist at the Diplopia, on the Acropolis there is one of those mysterious and sporadic attempts to be taken as typical and made the basis of a large amount of the rite. The rite is described by Pausanias and Polypheus.

Of a number of oxen led up to the altar the one which ate wheat and barley lying upon it was slain by a priest, who was regarded as the murderer of the ox, and finally the blame was laid on the axe or knife. Of those who afterwards flayed the ox and cut it up, it was thought that they divided the flesh with hay, and yoked it to a plough. The rite was traced back to a slaying by Sopatros of an ox, which had eaten his cereal offerings in remorse he fed. Death followed, and an oracle announced that the murderer must be punished and the dead raised up. It would also be better for them if, at the same sacrifice in which the ox died, all should taste of its flesh. The priest was told to make the rite as a sacrifice to the citizens, that an ox must be slain, and that all must help him. This was agreed to, and the ritual of the Eucharist was founded. 6

W. R. Smith regards this rite as a survival of those times when all pastoral animals were sacred and regarded as kindred of Zeus, and his use as a sacrifice by the Greeks of one of them, even ritually, was murder (bouleofate), and to eat the flesh was a sacramental rite. These ideas had been derived from earlier beliefs, with some modifications. He himself held that the rite is partly followed by L. R. Farnell. 7 J. G. Frazer finds in the rite an example of slaying an animal representing the corn-field—the ox which was sacrificed was viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own. 8

It seems probable that the rite to the Bouleofate is lost. Among savage pastoral tribes who regard their cattle as sacred the occasional slaying of them is regarded as murder. The eating of the flesh by the slayers has thus a sacramental aspect, in whatever manner the animal was sacred, whether in itself or as representing or incarnating a spirit or god.

(c) W. R. Smith's theory of the slaying of pastoral animals in cases where such animals are seldom or never killed, viz. that the animals are kinsmen to the tribe or group, is hardly borne out by instances from actual pastoral tribes.

With the Todas the lives of the people are devoted to the tending of their herds and flocks. The Todas divide their classes—(1) ordinary buffalo, with no special ritual connected with its occurrence in sacrifices; (2) sacred buffalo of various grades of sanctity, with herdsmen regarded as priests, and dairies for the churning of milk which are regarded as shrines. In the case of the latter the ordinary operations of the dairy have taken on a ritual, each dairy of each class having its own peculiarities and complexities of ritual. Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property not of the clan, but of families or individuals, in that division of the Todas known as Teivatio. Male buffaloes have little or no sanctity even when born of the most sacred cows, and these in fact are mateled with ordinary bulls. Buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, On, and his wife. On's buffaloes were the ancestors of the sacred animals, those created by his wife by means of ordinary buffaloes. Sacred cows and sacred buffaloes are regarded in some measure as the property of the people, but, after undergoing certain ritual operations, counteracting possible danger, the milk of even sacred buffaloes, converted into butter, is used even by the least respectable Todas. At one feast people of the clan and of other clans may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily regarded in this society as sacred. In the religious ceremonies of communion 'with the divine by eating and drinking the divine.' 9 Although the buffalo is not ordinarily eaten, there is a custom called taramathumathi ('male buffalo we kill') in which a male buffalo calf is slain and eaten, whenever a suitable one is available. At the ti dairy the rites take place three yearly. The other animal called patukum nook, or dairymian of the village, who must be of the same clan as those performing the sacrifice. The animal is killed by striking with a club made of the wood of the sacred ti-tree. The flesh is roasted on a sacred fire made by friction. Of this the patukumnook eats the tail, and the others present may eat any portion. Certain parts must not be eaten by women. The remainder of the feast is carried to the village and may be eaten by any one. In the same way the milk of the ti is sacrificed. In this is killed the male ti, another animal called the patol (or priest of this ultra-sacred dairy), certain other parts by him and the koilumnook (assistant). Some parts, again, may be eaten by the priests and privileged visitors (miidini). The ti. Other parts are taken to the outskirts of the priests' encampments, and greased and piled up. The significance of the ceremony is unknown; the male buffalo is not sacrilegious in the sense in which the female sacred buffalo is. From the prayer used before the slaying of the animal Rivers conjectures that the purpose of the rite is the general welfare of the buffaloes, and this is a thought which, if the flesh is eaten, the Todas may have preferred.

1 Paus. t. xxiv. 6, xxvii. 10; Polypheus, de Abst. ii. 291.

2 Hel. Sem. 5, pp. 304 f., 353 f.

3 Q. S. I., s. f., and cf. ERE iii. 707.


7 ib. p. 274 f.

8 ib. p. 285 f.
to use for this purpose less sacred animals out of fear of evil consequences.\footnote{1} There does not appear to be any clear evidence of kinship with their buffaloes among the Todes.\footnote{2} Nor does there appear to be a sacramental eating of the animal in the sense of eating a victim regarded as divine.\footnote{3}

The explanation of the Todes is correct, we may see an analogy to it in the custom of pastoral tribes in the Caucasus who, when obliged to sell their herds to strangers, avert the danger which such sacrilege incurs by consecrating one of the herd, slaying it, and solemnly eating the meat, afterwards treating the bones with all due respect.\footnote{3}

The eating of the raw flesh of a heifer sacrificed to the spirit of the Nile by heads of clans among the Agaee and the eating of half-fresh flesh of a camel by the clan or tent-group among the Arabs of the Siimitic peninsula when other food failed are very vaguely sacramental.\footnote{3}

(d) The last group of rites described perhaps shows that at one time all killing of animals was regarded as an act to be gone about circumspectly, for although each, if not divine or even sacred, have power greater than man's, either in life or after death. Hence, too, innumerable rites of propitiation in connexion with the slaying even of wild animals, by way of averting their vengeance or that of members of the same species. These sometimes even extend to the animals, in which propitiation, prayer, ritual slaughter, and ritual eating all have a part. But the slaying is not sacrificial, and the whole rite is perhaps analogous to the solemn eating of firstfruits (below, § 5) before all the harvest becomes available for common use. In the whole rite is most marked in the Ainu bear festival.

With the Ainu, Glyak, and other peoples of N. Asia the bear is regarded with respect, if not as divine, but as a consecrated one who is kept in captivity with every evidence of respect; then it is ritually slain with propitiations and apologetic explanations and prayers. Offerings are made to the dead bear. Its blood is drunk by the men present to obtain its courage and other virtues, and part of its flesh, having been offered in "a cup of offering to its head," is solemnly eaten by all present. Then all join in eating the rest of the flesh. The liver is said by a 17th cent. authority to be eaten as a prophylactic against diseases.\footnote{4} The prayers show that the bear is expected to return to life so as to be slain anew, and in Saghalien the killing is for the purpose of sending messages to the forest-god by means of the bear.\footnote{5} The solemn eating of the bear by all is obviously meant as a prophylactic rite which will make possible the common eating of bear's flesh by all who have thus had communion with the bear.

4. The totem sacrament. — The theory of a general, though occasional, sacrifice and sacramental eating of a totem animal or plant by the men of a totem clan is now generally abandoned for lack of evidence.\footnote{6} With its abandonment the explanation of all solemn eating of a slain or sacrificed animal as due to an earlier totem sacrament must also be given up. Among all actual totem peoples the ceremonial eating of a totem has been found in three instances only, and Frazer points out that in one of these (Arunta) the object of the eating is not mystical communion with a deity, but to ensure the supply of food for others not of that totem. It is magical, not religious, and the animals in question are not regarded as divine.\footnote{7}

The Arunta once freely ate their totems, and even now there is no absolute restriction by which a man may not eat of his totem, excepting the animals of the whole tribe. Besides permission to eat sparingly of his totem at all times, each man at the initiation ceremonies, in which the increase of the totem animal or plant, must eat of his totem, in order that the totem species may be increased for the benefit of fellow-members of other totem groups. Without this eating the magical increase ceremonies would not be complete. Members of the totem group now refrain from eating their totem for fear of the herd, which is also forbidden. When such happens, members of other groups may not eat until the members of this group have eaten sparingly of their totem within the camp. This second ceremonial同期eating in the case of firstfruits by certain persons before all can eat freely. This second ceremonial is obligatory; non-eating would result in the omission of the totem.

The second instance is from Benin. Some families of the Ilimi, at the burial ceremonies, make soup from their totem and offer it in sacrifice to the dead man. This portion may also be put to the lips of members of the family and then thrown away. The rest is thrown away or eaten by the family or strangers. Obviously some benefit to dead and living is here expected.\footnote{8}

The third instance is from Assam, where the Kacharis were formerly divided in totem clans. The totemic ceremonial eating of a revered animal or plant has been noted. The Leech folk hold the leech in high regard and do not kill it. But once in a lifetime the Leech folk must chew a leech with vegetables. The Jute folk must also chew a leech at great religious ceremonies.\footnote{9}

In none of these instances is the totem worshipped as a divinity, and they are all contrary to general practice. The totemic ceremonial eating will bear various shades of meaning according as the firstfruits are looked upon merely as set apart from ordinary usage, or as sacrificial food, or as actually containing or being a spirit or god.

5. Firstfruits eaten ritually or sacramentally. — This has already been fully discussed. But it is obvious that the totem sacramental will bear various shades of meaning according as the firstfruits are looked upon merely as set apart from ordinary usage, or as sacrificial food, or as actually containing or being a spirit or god.

6. Ceremonial eating of images of dough or other substances. — In cases where the image is described as the god and is eaten there is clearly some idea of sacramental communion. The best instance of this is found in the ancient Mexican religion, where the solemn eating was called teopitullo, god is eaten.\footnote{10} Sometimes the Huichol Indians of Mexico made an image of dates kneaded with butter and sour milk and ate it.\footnote{11} Communion with a deity by means of swallowing part of the image is also found among the Malas of S. India and among the Huichol Indians of Mexico.\footnote{12} These and similar instances may be connected with the offering of totemic animals as a sacrifice (though not always eating) of cakes in the form of or stamped with the effigy of a divinity.\footnote{13} These may also be connected with the offering and eating of firstfruits made into a cake or even baked in human form (probably representing the corn-spirit, as the Frazer theory) and sacramentally eaten.

The sacramental aspect of eating such dough images is well shown by Acosta's description of the Mexican eating of the image of Huizaca, the corn-spirit, who is eaten by the poor man, tears, fears, and reverence as it was an admirable thing, saying that they did eat the flesh and bones of God, wherewith they were grieved.\footnote{14}

1 Rivers, p. 290.
2 P. 356.
3 E. E. F., 1909.
4 W. R. Smith, p. 281.
7 But see B. Reinach, Oattn, mythes, et religions, 3 vols., Paris, 1895-98, passim, and art. COMMUNICATION WITH DEITY (Greek and Roman), vol. iii. p. 767.
9 J. G. Frazer, Totemism and Esogamy, ii. 588, from information supplied by N. W. Thomas.
10 A. H. iv. 251; cf. ibid. xx. 131, from information supplied by S. Endle.
7. Swallowing sacred substances.—Under this heading may be grouped a variety of rites with a sacramental aspect. As an example from a low level of culture the following case from the Gold Coast may be taken. If the members of a family were about to separate, the hosts were dipped in a powder, and after having mixed it with a liquid, gave the draught to each member of the family. By this means they were still bound together. In the ceremonies of the various fraternities among the Zuñi Indians the drinking of the sacred drink is a part of the initiation. The sacrament is effective by the consecration. The consecration is accompanied with prayers to the gods, the dropping of fetishes into the water, prayer invoking the presence of the gods, etc. The altar and the worshippers are sprinkled with the water, and the males present receive a drink of it; on the next night of the ceremonies male and female members drink it; and on the fourth evening the novices receive it. Plant medicines, each the property and food of a god, are used in other fraternities in a kind of sacramental magic—to assure drinking of the sacred drink. The draught of barley, groats, water, and pennyroyal leaves drunk by the mourning Demeter after her nine days’ fast.* If the emendation by Lobbeck of the text in which Clement of Alexandria describes this rite is correct, possibly sacred bread or cake was also given to the initiates. In India the water in which a sacred image has been washed is drunk as holy water. The drinking of the haoma in Zarathustrian religion and its supposed effects on the partaker have also been fully described in Zend. Haoma is also given to the worshipper in a last sacrament, or ἀφάγακος ἀναραλς. Its counterpart in Vedae and later Indian religion is soma (q.v.), both having been originally one. Soma was the drink of the gods, and a draught of immortality both for them and for men. It also symbolized the physical and moral ills and gave wisdom. This drink of the gods could also be prepared for men on earth, just as haoma was. The drink made the worshipper a new man; the draught of the gods flowed in his veins, purifying and sanctifying him. The nectar of the Greeks is a similar drink of immortality; and it is probable that primitive intoxicants, because of the elation caused by them, were regarded as the drink of the gods, conferring immortality and other desirable qualities on them, like Gobbiu’s ‘ail of immortality’ in the Babylonian period. In the mythology ‘food of life’ and ‘water of life’ were the property of the gods, giving immortality, as is seen in the myth of Adapa. The refreshing powers of water caused it also to be regarded mythically, and in the other world it had magical immortality powers. Thamyris used to throw water in the temple of Apollo, so that the god could not hear the notes he played. On the way to paradise the dead drank of the ‘water of soleace’, which caused the grief of the ghost and the mourners on earth to be assuaged. So at a far higher level, in Orphic-Pythagorean circles, the dead drank ‘cool water flowing from the Lake of Memory’, and thereafter had lordship among the other heroes.†

The idea of the Tree of Life and its effects in Hebrew, early Christian, and Gnostic mythologies may be compared with the ideas here set forth in classical Egypt analogous ideas, though of a curious kind, are found. A funerary rite consisted in the dead king slaying and devouring the gods to obtain their powers and to become eternal in the sky. By drinking the milk of a goddess a mortal might acquire immortality.‡

8. Sacraments in mystery religions.—It is possible that the conceptions discussed in the last section underlie such sacramental rites as may be found in mystery-religions, though here we must beware of reading too much between the lines of the scanty evidence that has been offered to us. (a) In the Eleusinia certain acts of a sacramental character had a place. What that place was and what precise meaning was attached to them are largely matters of conjecture. As a preparation for the mysteries, the candidates had to be free from current sins, and the purity of heart and life was necessary. Ceremonial purifications were also used, and before entering the sacred enclosure at night the μυστήριον fasted. Apart from other things done or seen, they partook of a cup of κοράνα—a thick gruel of barley, groats, water, resembling the draught of barley, groats, water, and pennyroyal leaves drunk by the mourning Demeter after her nine days’ fast.† If the emendation by Lobbeck of the text in which Clement of Alexandria describes this rite is correct, possibly sacred bread or cake was also given to the initiates. The unemended text suggests the handling (ὑπεραναραλς) of a sacred object rather than the tasting of sacred food. What did this drinking and eating mean to the worshippers? Some inquirers have seen in it a sacramental communion with Demeter, in her passion—a infusion of her life into the worshipper. The secret of Eleusis has been well kept, and these views are quite hypothetical. But the whole group of rites, including this ‘sacrament,’ was certainly regarded as beneficial and assuring immortality. The μυστήριον were thrice-blessed and believed that divinity was present with them. These effects were probably not attached to the sacramental rite only. (b) In the mysteries of Attis, besides the smearing of the lips of the μυστήριον with holy oil and the uttering of the words, ‘Be assured, O μυστήριον, the god has been saved: thus for you there shall be salvation from ills,’ at some point in the ritual, they ate and drank sacred food according to a formula preserved by Clement and Firmians of Thessalonica. This formula is of the inner part of a temple a man about to die (symbolically or ritually) was admitted and said:

* I have eaten out of the τυπάνομαν, I have drunk from the cymbal; I am an initiate of Attis.§
† Clement gives the formula as:

† I have eaten from the τυπάνομαν, I have drunk from the cymbal; I have eaten the keres (a tray with cups); I have gone beneath the postas.¶

Tympanum and cymbal figured in the myth of Attis. Here again the purpose of the rite is obscure, though some writers boldly maintain that it was to bring the μυστήριον into closer communion with the god. Dieterich thinks that the initiate, about to die a symbolic death, was reborn through the sacramental food, for Firmicus goes on to commend the true food of life—the Christian Eucharist—as conferring immortality, whereas ‘thou hast eaten poison and drunk the cup of death.’∥

‡ M. Stevenson, # RBVE (1904), pp. 492 ff., 540, 552, 507, 572.
§ Th. p. 506 f.
‖ Monier-Williams, p. 145.
¶ Th. p. 359.
¶¶ CIL, 8, 1375, 1341, 1342, 1343.
†† See art. CELTS, vol. iii, p. 3389.
∥∥ The various formulas are given in J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1908, p. 575 ff. (ch. ix, §§ 15 and 16).

§§ I. Homer, Iliad, vi, 623.
¶¶¶ A. Aglaphanous, Königsberg, 1829, p. 631.
∥∥∥ Clem. Alex. Protrept. ii, 21 (59).
∥∥∥∥∥ Windar, Iran, xxvi.
SACRAMENTS (Christian, Eastern)

In Mithraism there was some form of sacrament, as the words of Justin Martyr and Tertullian show. Justin says that bread and a cup of water were set forth with certain words of blessing in the sacred rites. Tertullian says that Mithra signs his soldiers in their foreheads, celebrates an oblivation of bread and water, as other writers do. Both Fathers looked upon this sacrament and other rites as a parody of Christian rites suggested by demons. It is not at all improbable that the sacramental rite was adopted as an imitation of the Eucharist. Pliny, however, states that the Eucharist in Mithraism on which reliance from Konjica (Bośni) this sacrament is supposed to be represented. Two figures, one holding a drinking-horn, recline at a table, in front of which is a tripod holding small loaves of bread. On either side stand human figures, one a horseman with masks representing a lion and a raven, and a fourth mutilated figure. The Persian holds aloft a drinking-horn. Is this the rite to which Justin refers? If it is, it tells us nothing of its meaning, and Pfeiffer's assertion that the standing figures represent the nature of Mithra's rite under different circumstances, and now that they have thus "put on" the god, is somewhat extravagant. The figures seem to be initiates of the different degrees, and there is no evidence that the sacrament was a mystic communion with Mithras, as some writers have also asserted. The likeness which the Fathers saw between this rite and the Eucharist leaves its actual purpose doubtful, and we can only regard it as a rite of communion in a somewhat vague sense, like most of such rites in the mysteries. Compont interprets it as a bas-relief to the neophyte force to combat evil spirits and conferring on him, as on his god, a glorious immortality. There is certainly no proof that the rite had any connexion with the slaying of a bull, so often represented in Mithraic bas-reliefs, or with the other details of the bull Hadhayas, by Soshyant at the last day, from the fat of which, mixed with the juice of white kōma, a drink would be prepared which would assure immortality to all men.

In the god of Samothrace, as a recently discovered but incomplete inscription shows, some rite of eating and drinking occurred. The priest 'broke the cake and poured forth the cup for the μόρια. The inscription has been restored in this sense, and, if it is correct, some sacramental act seems to be suggested.

For sacraments in Mandæan see ECE viii. 374, 397, and further, A. J. H. W. Brandt, Die mandäische Religion, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 167 f., 228 f.

In this connexion it should be noted that the phrases expressing mystic union, desired or realized, with a god, in the so-called Mithraic Liturgy ('Renain with me in my soul'), in the London Papyrus ('Come to me, Lord Hermes, as lutes into the wombs of women'), and in the Leyden Papyrus ('For Thou art I, and I am Thou'), as interpreted by Diethrich, have no connexion with a sacramental meal.

Did these sacramental rites in the mystery religions impart new life and immortality? Quite possibly they were thought to do so. Plutarch says that the oracles of the god Amphion looked beyond the mere feast and had a good hope and that the belief that God was present with them, and that He accepted their service graciously. Much of this may have been present in the mysteries also. Considering, however, that we know so little of the nature of the Mithraic, or Olympian, or Mysteries, rite, it is ludicrous to find several writers regard-

1 Justin, Apol. i. 68, Dial. c. Tryph. 70.
2 De Procer. Har. 40.
3 Pliny, HN xxv. 2 (6).
4 Cumont, Rites et monuments de divinités aux mystères de Mithra, Bruxelles, 1896-99, i. 157 f.
6 Cumont, i. 261.
7 Diethrich, p. 104 f.
8 P. 97.

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Eastern).—The doctrine of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church concerning the 'mysteries' (i.e. the sacraments) is officially stated in (1) The Orthodox Confession of Faith, composed by Peter Mogila, metropolitan of Kiev (1623-47), and (2) the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem of 1672. In these documents the Orthodox sacramental system has been defined, in opposition to that of the Reformed Churches, in terms more in harmony with those of contemporary Roman Catholicism than with those of the early Eastern Fathers.

A mystery is defined as 'a rite, which under some visible form (έδώς) is the cause of, and conveys to the soul of a faithful man, the invisible grace of the Holy Spirit, the Mysteries of which, to whom each of the faithful receives divine grace. Mysteries were instituted to be 'badges (σημαδια) of the true sons of God,' 'sure signs (σημεῖα) of our faith, and indubitable remedies (λαβάρια) against sin.'

Three things are necessary in a mystery: (a) its proper effect (έδώς)—e.g., water in baptism; (b) a properly ordained priest (λεπτός) or bishop; (c) the invocation (σφιήσις) of the Holy Spirit, with the form of words, 'whereby the Priest consecrates the Mystery. The Mysteries are not always religious, to whom each of the faithful receives divine grace. Mysteries were instituted to be 'badges (σημαδια) of the true sons of God,' 'sure signs (σημεῖα) of our faith, and indubitable remedies (λαβάρια) against sin.'

1 Baptism is administered by triple immersion in pure water, in the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, normally by a priest, but in cases of necessity by any Orthodox person. Those to be baptized must either themselves or, if infants, by an Orthodox sponsor renounce the devil and all his works and confess the (Nicene) Creed. The fruits of baptism are the abolition of all sin previously contracted, original and actual, with its penalties, regeneration or renewal into a state of complete purification (τέλεια κάλαπαρεν) and original justification, and conferring of the indeclinable 'character' of members of Christ's Body and immortality.

2. Chism (το μέτω του χριστιανου).—The baptized

1 See questions xviii.—xxi. of pt. i. of Ορθόδοξος διαλόγος της Ελληνικής διαπολιτικής εκκλησίας της Δωρικής, in E. J. Kimmel, Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis, pt. i. pp. 169-197. The Greek translation of Mogila's Russian Confession was authorized by the four Eastern patriarchs at Constantinople in 1648 as "faithfully following the Dogmas of Christ's Church, and according to the Holy Scriptures.
2 See Synodus Hierosolymitana adversus Calvinistos, in Kimmel, pt. i. pp. 398, 494-496, 448-456 (= Deiathes Conciliare, 1537, 1602, 1557). This Synod holds a position in the Eastern Church similar to that of the Council of Trent in the Roman. Its main concern was to mathematically Cyril Lucar's Russian Confession to bring the Orthodox theology into harmony with the Reformed.
3 Orthodox Confession, p. 170. The references throughout are to Kimmel's Monumenta, i. 16, p. 171. 6 Ib. p. 455. 6 Ib. p. 175. 16 Ib. pp. 172-178, 452-456.
SACRAMENTS (Christian, Western)

are at once anointed with chrism (a mixture of oil, balsam, and ointments) consecrated by a bishop, and applied by a priest to the brow, eyes, nostrils, mouth, and ears, with the words, 'The Seal of the Holy Spirit.' Amen. This mystery is the equivalent of the Western 'confirmation,' and is held to effect participation in the Holy Spirit, and increase and confirmation (βεβαιώσεως) in grace. Lk 2:21 is the authority quoted for its institution by Christ. 

1. The priest who consecrates (συνεκπάσμα) excels all other mysteries. It can be celebrated only by a lawful (νόμως) priest, and on an altar (θυσιαστήριον) or consecrated cloth (αὐτοκτόνοι). Leavened bread is used and pure wine, mingled with water during the rite. At the time of consecration the priest must intend that the substance (σῶμα) of the bread and wine be changed into the substance (σῶμα) of the true Body and Blood of Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, expressly invoked by him for this definite purpose. This invocation immediately (παρεσθέω) effects a 'change of substance' (μεταστάσεως), apart from the use of the elements, for consecration after only the forms (ἐνώπ) of the bread and wine remain; 'truly and in reality and in substance' (νυμφία καὶ πραγματικόν καὶ οὐσίαν) the bread and wine become the very Body and Blood of Christ, 3 a mystery is the laying on of hands (τῆς ἐκ πράγμα παρόν), and it is right 'to worship and adore (χαρακτῖμον) the Holy Eucharist even as our Saviour Himself.' 4 The Eucharist is an 'unbloody sacrifice' (ἀνάλογος θυσίας), propitiatory (παντευκρινή), offered on behalf of all the faithful, living and departed. 2 The Holy Community is given to the faithful under both kinds—to the clergy separately, to the laity by means of intention. Newly-baptized infants are communicated immediately after receiving the chlamis. The fruits of this mystery are the remission of the sins of the living and death of Christ, propitiation for sins, defence against temptations, and the indwelling of Christ in the faithful. Preparation for communion consists of confession, fasting, and reconciliation with all men. 5

2. Priesthood (ερωμενή) is (a) 'spiritual,' which is shared by all believers (cf. 1 P 2:9, Re 5:10, Ro 12:3); and (b) 'sacramental' (μυστηρίως). The latter can be conferred only by bishops who have received authority for that purpose from the Apostles in unbroken succession. The 'matter' of this consecration is the laying on of hands, the 'form' (χέρων, χειροστία), the formula the invocation of the Holy Spirit, with express mention of the function for which ordination is conferred. The functions of the higher 'orders' (τάκτης) include those of the lower. A bishop, after his election has been confirmed by the bishops of the patriarchate or province, must be ordained by at least three other bishops. The episcopate is necessary for the very existence of the Church; without a bishop the Church could not be governed; he is his Church's representation of the risen and living image of God upon earth. 7 He alone can ordain priests, confers the lower orders, and consecrates the chlamis. Priests can administer all the mysteries except priesthood; their chief functions are to consecrate and offer the Eucharist, and, if authorized thereto by the bishop, preach and absolve penitents. 1 There are also deacons, sub-deacons, readers, exorcists, door-keepers, singers, light-bearers. 5 The fruit of ordination is authority (ἐξουσία) and grace to perform the functions of the order. 3

5. Penitence (μετάνοια) consists of oral confession to an Orthodox priest, who assesses penance and pronounces absolution; in doing so he declares himself a sinner and God the Pardoner. This is the unique form of penance for Orthodox Christian, truly sorry for his sins, purposeful of amendment, and prepared to carry out the penance imposed. Confession should be made at least once, but normally four times, a year. In practice it is frequently of a very formal nature. 4

6. Honourable marriage (ὁ γάμος γέμως).—This mystery is in the first place celebrated by the mutual consent of a man and a woman (there being no impediment), but is not considered by the Church to be a true (δικός) marriage unless they manifest their consent in the Church and there, and, having joined hands, promise to be faithful to each other till death. The civil law of the Eastern Empire permitted divorce a vincula, and the Eastern Church permits such divorce not only for adultery, but for high treason, insanity, leprosy, and other causes. The innocent party may re-nau; no one may obtain a divorce more than once. 4

7. Unction (τὸ ἐλαχάλοιον), instituted by Christ (Mt 6:7) for the sick, is administered only by a priest, with pure oil, a prayer setting forth its efficacy being said during or after its application. The priest is not, as among the Latins, reserved for those in extremis, but is administered with a view to the recovery of the sick person. Its recipient must first have confessed to a priest. 6

Of the seven mysteries the Eastern Orthodox Church affirms that they are 'effectual instruments of grace to the initiated, of necessity' (ἐπιστομον προτοτοκία τοῖς μονοένων χάραξις εἰς ἀνάρχες), which amounts to a declaration that they are efficacious ex opere operato. Each of the mysteries is administered with all rites and ceremonies of the Church, and the liturgical form which accompanies them must be observed, but these are not regarded as necessary to their efficacy, but may vary in different parts of the Church, provided the essentials, as stated, are maintained. The sacramental system in the separated Monophysite and Nestorian Churches is the same as that of the Orthodox in principle and in practice; there are, however, considerable variations in the liturgical formulation of the mysteries and in their accompanying ceremonies, nor has their sacramental doctrine been so definitely formulated.


R. G. Parsons

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Western).—The word sacramentum first appears in Christian use as the accepted equivalent of the Greek συμμαινώ, standing uniformly for it in the O.L. of the canonical books. There is nothing in the known classical use of the word to account for this. It is nowhere found in two senses: (1) of the pledge or security deposited in public keeping by the parties engaged

1 Orthdox Confession, pp. 175-179, 419.
2 P. 180.
3 Pp. 126 and 183. Although the mode of this change is not defined (ib. p. 401), it is stated to be 'not typi- cal, not consubstantial, not by virtue of abounding grace (νοῦς χάριτος ὑποβολολογίως), i.e. the Calvinist doctrine (p. 461, 2), nor by 'imagination' (κατὰ διαμνησίαν). i.e. the Roman Church (p. 459), but in such wise that the Body and Blood of Christ are given to 'the mouth and stomach' of both faithful and unfaithful receivers (p. 455). The verbs ἁρματισθαι, καταδήλουσθαι, are used to describe the change (p. 457).
5 P. 154.
6 Pp. 437, 442, 438.
in a lawsuit, and hence of a lawsuit in general; (2) of the oath taken by Roman soldiers to their emperor, and thence loosely of any oath. Both senses had some effect on the development of Christian doctrine, but they do not account for the additional use of sacramentum as a religious collocation.

It is probable that there was a popular sense of the word which has left no trace in extant literature apart from Christian writers. If so, it must be determined by the earliest Christian use.

Here it is necessary to refer to the letter of Pliny 1 regarding the Christians of his province. He observed that they assembled for worship, pursued sacra sacra, non in seculis aliquod obstrin- gere, sed ne furia, ne irnotcia, ne adulteria committerent, ne idoneo temporibus spectaret, ne sincerum appellari should. He evidently understood the word of a pledge or oath, but his description does not answer to anything known in Christian origins, and it is certain that he misunderstood the information given him. What is interesting is the use of the word sacra- mentum. It has been used either by the Christians examined, if they spoke Latin, or by an interpreter. In the latter case it will be an example of the popular sense here assumed.

What that sense was may be gathered from Tertullian, de Precr. 20, where he speaks of the unity of Christians:

1 Dum est illius communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et controversia hospitalitas: quae in re non alia ratio regit quàm unitas. 2

Here sacramentum can be nothing less than the whole Christian religion. 3 The word seems to signify any kind of religious institution, general or particular. Thus for St. Cyprian the Church is 'sacramentum unitatis.' By insisting on the like- ness of the 'sacramentum divinum' to the Mithraic and other mysteries, Tertullian 4 recalls the Greek original and shows that he considered the word a just translation. It is possible that St. Thomas Aquinas, in his etymological guess relating sacramentum to sacrae exactly as sacramenta to sacra, lighted upon the true development of the word.

Another sense emerges when Tertullian calls the types of the OT 'figuram sacramenta.' 5 With this we may compare Cyprian's saying about the seamless robe: 6 'Sacramento ustita et signo declarando ecclesiae unitatem.' 7

When Tertullian says 'Vocat sancus ad millimetum Dei uidi ismune, cum in sacramenti usbe respondiens,' 8 he has in mind the military oath, and perhaps plays consciously upon the like- ness of the 'sacramentum' of baptism to the soldier's enrollment. Cullum of Illis, in the Council convened by Cyprian for the phrase 'sacramentum divinum,' 9 recovers the Greek original and shows that he considered the word a just translation. It is possible that St. Thomas Aquinas, in his etymological guess relating sacramentum to sacrae exactly as sacramenta to sacra, lighted upon the true development of the word.

Cyprian's collocation of sacramentum and signum suggests a current use of the word which may enable us to establish more precisely its equivalence to _sacramentum_. The legal deposit or security of a lawsuit had a symbolic value as well as its real value, representing the whole matter in dispute. It may have been called sacramentum for this reason, or, on the other hand, that word may have acquired the generic sense of a symbol from this specific use. There is no direct evidence for either construction. The religious formalities and sanctions of Roman jurisprudence, which involved this use of a word evidently of sacred associations, would facilitate its retransfer to religious uses with a new sense thus acquired. It would then stand for any kind of religious symbolism, and in particular, the notion of the mystery of _sacramentum_. The word is certainly implied when St. Augustine says that signs or symbolic actions, 'cum ad res diuinem pertinent, sacramenta appellantur.' 10

1 Ep. 96.
2 Cf. his reference (de Res. Carn. 23) to St. Paul's knowledge of 'omnia sacramenta' (1 Cor 15), and to the Christian understanding of the 'sacramentum Dei' (c. Marc. III. 16).
3 De excr. 40; 3, de Bapt. 5.
4 In IV, Sent. i. 1. 5
5 C. Merc. v. 1.
6 De Oath., Ecc. Dist. ii. 7
7 Ad Mort. 5.
8 In sq. ed. O. Hartel, Vienna, 1898-97, p. 437.
9 Ep. 138.

of_272_. 'Esta dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis alud uidetur, aluid intelligitur,' 1 like an appeal to the common understanding; and in the same connexion he renews the identification of _mystertium_ and sacramentum, saying, 'Mystertium est illud sacramentum ... positio sancta,' 2 that is to say, 'the mystery or sacrament of what you yourselves are,' namely, the Body of Christ. In _De Civ._, _Dei_, x. 5, he seems to be defining sacramentum:

1 Sacrificium iubileum ineffabile sacrificium sacramenti, id est sacramentum._

But he probably did not intend a formal definition, any more than when he called sacraments 'signa cus veritatis.' 3 His constant recurrence to this idea, however, prepared the way for the formal definition which Isidore of Seville propounded towards the end of the 7th century:

'sacramentum est in aliqua celebratione, cum res gesta sit, ut aliquid signiicari intellegatur quod sancta acceptione est._

Augustine used the word in its widest extension of meaning, as did Leo the Great, 4 but he moved in the direction of making it more specific, as when he spoke of the 'panea sacramenta suberberima' of the gospel, 5 or contrasted the manifold rites of the OT with the few of the NT, saying:

'sacramenta sunt, quae sacrum populi ... praetextantium, significationes praestantis, societatem nosi populi collimant._

This implies the same limitation which the word _sacramentum_ imports into Isidore's definition. The movement was slow. It is noteworthy that Isidore himself could still speak of 'sacramentum Trinitatis.' 6 But the tendency was to restrict the use of the word to some action, _res gesta_, done with symbolic significance as a rite of the Church.

The fact that St. Jerome contemporaneously substituted _mystertium_ for _sacramentum_ in many passages of his revised version of the Scriptures does not seem to have any bearing on the movement for he evidently did not distinguish the words on any principle. They were still true equivalents. He retained sacramentum in the following texts: _v. 171_ 5:6, _Te__ 19, _Wis_ 22, _Ep_ 129-90, _v. 19_ 31, _Rev_ 195. The whole range of meaning which _sacramentum_ has here is included.

The importance of the symbolic sense has a consequence. The compendious definition 'signum rei sacrae' involves the distinction between _signum_ and _res_, which is decisive for the meaning of _sacramentum_ and _res_, which is decisive for the meaning of _sacramentum_ and _res_. Augustine, and acquires great importance in the system of theology ultimately elaborated from his teaching. At times he makes the distinction very sharp. The _signum_ is visible, or presented to other senses than sight; the _res_ is invisible. He makes use of two kinds of _signum_—those which are _naturalia_, as the track of an animal or smoke showing where there is fire, and those which are _data_, or merely conventional; 7 and sacraments are evidently of the latter kind, so that _signum_ and _res_ are arbitrarily conjoined. Elsewhere he observes that in the case of such conventions the sign may be identified with _sustinere personam_ the thing signified, as when St. Paul says 'That rock was Christ,' 8 but only by a figure of speech. This of _signum_ in general; in a passage often quoted he says much more: 'Si sacramenta quandam simulidinem eram rerum quorum sacramenta sunt non haberent, cumno sacramenta non esset. Ex hac autem simulidinem plerumque etiam ignarem rerum nomina accepimus. Sint ergo secundum quaedam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanctissinii Christi sanctii Christi est, ipsa sacramentum sibi sibc est.'

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But this must be read with the context. He has been asked how an infant brought to baptism can be said to have faith; he replies that the child has _fides_ because he has the _facultas_ to know. He goes on to say that this is sufficient for salvation.
tion if subsequent sin does not undo what is done. He has said immediately before:

- *Nonne semel inimicato est Christus in selpio, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschae sollemnitates sed omni die populus in Deo, ut ipse mentitur qui interro- gate, quid non administret sacramentum.*

This crucial passage therefore sets up something more than a typical or figurative relation between *signum* and *res*, and from this beginning proceeded the theology of the School.

The word *sacramentum* is narrowed only to the case where there is a sensible sign of an intelligible reality. But Augustine did much more than impress on the word this connotation. His elaborated doctrine of grace, and his insistence on the connection of this with the sacraments, specifically with baptism, afforded ground for a narrower distinction. His statements must be read with care. When he says *Sacramenta Noni Testamenti dant salutem; sacramenta Veteris Testamenti promiserant Salvatorem,* he probably means the whole content of the faith. His conception of the working of grace made it impossible for him to tie this absolutely to particular rites or ordinances, and he was constantly enlarging on the futility of such a notion, but he was equally clear that certain sacraments had the conveyance of grace to the soul. It followed that certain ordinances might be distinguished as so used, and this distinction became the basis of the subsequent doctrine of the sacraments.

It is noteworthy that in the case of marriage, the *sacramentum* of Eph. 5:6. does not seem to have recognized any conveyance of saving grace. The *bona instruitur* were *pros, fides, et sacramentum, but by sacramentum he seems to have meant only its symbol of Christ and the Church, in consequence of which marriage became (a) indissoluble, as it would not by natural law *nisi simul ut malum*; and quoddam sacramentum adhibetur; (b) and (c) so sacred that the liberties taken even by virtuous pagans, such as Cato, were insupportable.

It was not, however, until the 12th cent. that the doctrine was formulated. Even then Hugh of St. Victor's spoke of sacraments with the older generality, enumerating no fewer than 30 in particular. In his date William of Champeaux, the author of *Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, which speedily became a textbook of the Schools and so acquired an importance disproportionate to its merits. He distinguished seven sacraments specifically conferring grace: Baptism, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Marriage. The various grounds given by his commentators for this limitation and enumeration indicate that it was in fact arbitrary.

St. Thomas Aquinas seems to state the whole truth when he propounds, as the reason for maintaining it, the fact *quod communitur ordinariam sub omnibus sacramentis, sicut prius dictum est.*

In the *Summa c. Gentiles,* iv. 55., Aquinas develops an analogy with nature. Corporal life has three essential needs: birth, food, and clothing. To which correspond *Confirmation, and the Eucharist; and one per accidens in case of need, i.e., healing, to which answer Penitential and Extreme Unction.*

There are further required a source and an ordering of life, parents and governors, which are provided in the system of the Church by the sacraments of Order, supplying spiritual needs alone, and of Marriage, supplying both spiritual and corporal needs. Other acts also are more even forced and artificial. Some better varieties are collected in *Summa Thol. iii. lxxv. 2."

Yet this septenary system, however ill-founded it may seem, bore the test of criticism as understood in the Schools of the Middle Ages; and its general acceptance by the Greeks, who were not much disposed to borrow doctrine from Latins, seems to indicate that it was either drawn from a wider tradition or based on a larger sense of fitness than appears on the surface. It is not pretended that the number is anywhere found expressed earlier than the 12th cent., when Otto of Bamberg introduced it into a catechistical instruction for his Pomeranian converts (c. 1127), but he propounds it as an accepted tradition. Shortly after him Hugh of St. Victor, the chief disciple of Lombard, explicitly, distinguishes the *septem principala sacramenta,* which were later set in a category apart.

Contemporary with them was Gregory of Bergamo, who has the same classification in his treatise *de Veritate Corporis Christi.* A scheme recognized by the meaning of the word cent. forward as a novelty, though it can be traced no higher. This must be remembered when the general adoption of the scheme is attributed with good reason to the influence of Peter Lombard and his commentators in the schools of theology. From the 13th cent. onwards the seven sacraments were mentioned with more or less of dogmatic assertion by numerous minor councils, by the General Council of Constance, and notably in the *Decretum* of Eugenius III., and in the *Summa Th. M. Div.,* which followed almost verbally the *Opusculum Quintum* of Thomas Aquinas. Finally the Council of Trent condemned under anathema any who should say *sacramenta nune legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, et case plura vel paucores quam septem.*

There is a subordinate classification of *sacramenta mortuorum,* which confer first grace (Baptism and Penance), and *sacramenta vivorum,* which confer special graces on persons in the state of grace.

This more precise teaching, which had been gradually gaining ground, is in evident conflict with the language of the Fathers and of many of the Schools. The Council of Trent, and in particular with the statement of St. Bernard that the washing of feet is a sacrament for the remission of venial sins. He says emphatically that our Lord's action was done *pro sacramento, non pro solo exemplo.*

If we avoid this difficulty, theologians have generally argued that sacraments are spoken of either *sensu generico* or *sensu proprio.* A sacrament *proprie dictum* is one of the seven, and it is argued, not very successfully, that Bernard himself observed this distinction and used the word in the generic sense. The distinction first appears in Peter Lombard's definition:

*Sacramentum proprie dictum, quod sua signum est gratiae Dei, et immissibilis gratiae forma, ut ipsum imaginem gerat et causam existit.*

The weakness of the distinction lies in the implication that the name originally belonged to the ordinances thus specified, and was then extended in a loose sense to others, which is an exact inversion of the historic movement. The difficulty is thinly disguised by the practice, common to theologians, of calling other ordinances resembling the proper sacraments by the name of *sacramentalia.* Such are the anointing of kings, the clothing and consecration of nuns, and various benedictions.

The several sacraments being treated in this work under their proper heads, it is sufficient here to speak in general terms of what is common to them.

1. Institution.—According to the Tridentine definition, all sacraments were instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ. This follows from the limitation of the term confining it to ordinances by which grace is conferred. Thomas Aquinas carefully distinguishes between the divine nature, which is the source of grace, and the humanity of our Lord, by which the gift is mediated to us, the
SACRAMENTS (Christian, Western)

Sacraments being by His authority an extension of this mediation, though *ipsae potest effective sacramentorum sine exteriori sacramento conferre.*

He has been closely followed by all theologians, but obvious lack of evidence in the case of some sacraments has led to a distinction between immediate institution by our Lord and institution by others acting on His authority. St. John Bonaventura argued that Confirmation and Extreme Unction were thus instituted by the Apostles. Alexander of Hales went so far as to ascribe the origin of Confirmation to a council of the church; but he declared that the notion has been adopted since the Council of Trent by almost all commentators; some assert that immediate institution by our Lord while on earth, and the committal of the institution to the written or unwritten tradition of the Church, are defined as *de jure* by the Council; others say that it certainly follows from the words of the Council, but is not expressly defined; others deny the necessity of this consequence, but will not venture to call the conclusion in doubt; Franzelin and other moderns find it hard to believe that the Council anathematized the teaching of St. Bonaventura. It is determined as a historic question of such dubiety, but nevertheless maintain on *a priori* grounds the narrowest interpretation of the definition. In the Pontifical Letter *Laudemii*i of 1907 Pius x. condemned various propositions calling in question the immediate institution of the sacraments by Christ Himself.

## Ordering.

The institution of the sacraments by our Lord being assumed, it seems to follow that some conditions of their valid administration are justly neglected, those conditions must be jealously guarded. Hence comes the theological notion of the ‘substance’ of the sacraments which the Church has no power to vary.

The decree of the Council of Trent invalidating marriages contracted without the presence of the priest was opposed on this ground. If the consent of the parties was sufficient, as had always been held, to constitute a valid marriage, to vary this rule would be to touch the substance of the sacrament. The objection is overruled by the fine distinction that the effect of the decree parties is not the substance of the sacrament.

The same consideration imposes the rule of tuturity. Where there is any possibility of doubt as to the content of the substance of a sacrament, nothing must be neglected which there is even slender ground for supposing necessary. The safer course of including it must be generally followed in practice. The facetious substancia of a sacrament are conveniently summarized under three heads: the minister, the intention of the minister, the matter and form. The intention of the minister has been treated elsewhere (art. INTENTION [Theological]); the other two heads can be more simply examined here.

### (a) Minister.

Since in a sacrament there is always something done, a doer is required; and, since it is to be done by the appointment of Christ, it is important to ascertain who has authority to act. Apart from the Ignatian insistence on the part of the bishop in the Eucharist, which might be treated as mere matter of discipline, the earliest question raised on this head appears in the baptismal controversy of the 3rd century. Cyprian maintained with logical consistency that Baptism, being a sacrament effectually administered, in the Church, could be administered only by the Church. Narrowly defining the Church, he denied that heretics or schismatics could baptize. In other words, the minister of the sacrament must be a Catholic Christian. Arguing thus, he defended the practice of his predecessor Agrippinus, and apparently of all the African bishops, who rebaptized all heretics coming to them. Stephen of Rome maintained that this was an innovation, meeting it with the peremptory demand, ‘*Quid actum est, illud confero!*’

The historic question is not easily determined. There had probably been a long-standing divergence of practice. Cyprian was supported by Firmilian of Cesarea and other Easterns; the Donatists inherited his contention, and pressed it; but Augustine intimated that this was to be taken traditionally. The Carolingian council, fortified by conciliar decisions, was already exclusively held among Catholics before the date of his birth, A.D. 553. This conclusion about Baptism carried with it a like consequence in regard to other sacraments, and the Council of Nicaea agreed to receive Novatian bishops as validly ordained.

In the Western church, however, disputes about the validity of schismatical ordinations long continued, as witness the history of St. Wilfrid in England, and otherecclesiastics. The matter was not finally disposed of till the last case led to the establishment of the judgment in favour of such ordinations secured by the influence of St. Dunstan.

During the later middle ages the contention of the Donatists was revived in a new form by the Puritans sects to which the practical corruptions of the church gave rise. The power of ministering the sacraments was restricted to them by men of openly virtuous life. In the profession of faith imposed on the Waldensians by Innocent III. this opinion is easily repudiated. It reappeared in the teaching of Wyclif, was condemned by John xxii. in his constitution against the fraticelli, and by the Council of constance in dealing with the Hussite teaching.

The common teaching of theologians as against these errors is that a sacrament has its effect from God and from the institution of Christ, and not from anything which the minister himself contributes, his action being purely ministerial. When he performs what is required of him in this immediate connexion, the act is complete. The doctrine is safeguarded by the assertion that a sacrament is effective *ex opere operato*. The phrase first becomes conspicuous in the treatise *De Sacro Altarum Myst.* of Innocent III., who seems to have been taught it by his master Pierre of Poitiers in the school of Paris. He fixes the meaning precisely:

*Quamuis opus operans aliquando sit immundum, semper tamen opus operato est.*

*The opus operans is the personal action of the minister; opus operatum is the sacramental effect produced by this action. The distinction was repeated by William of Aucerre and by Alexander of Hales, but was not yet fully established in use when Aquinas wrote his commentary on the Sentences, for he there says only that it was employed *a quibusdam.*’ He also varied the sense of the distinction as used by his predecessors, making *opus operans* equivalent to *unus sacramentum.* Later theologians have preferred the form *opus operantia,* which fixes the meaning more exactly on the personal action of the minister or the recipient. The other member of the distinction is perfectly stable; *opus operatum* is the thing done according to the institution of Christ, and having its effect therefore defined only by the Council of Trent that by the sacraments of the New Law grace is conferred *ex opere operato.*

It will be convenient to mention here the doctrine of  **obzer**. The word dates from Augustine, with whom it is correctly understood.
Boniface on the baptism of infants, wrote that the child ‘etiam fidei nundum habet in cognitione, non ei tamem obiem contrae cognitionem oppositae, unde sacramentum eius accepit tamen, si esset hic a membranis, et a fide, which in the case of an adult might annul the saving effect of the sacrament. The argument has been extended to the baptized in genera. An obieet raised (distinguished from a defect such as lack of necessary intention, or a personal incapacity for sacramental reception) as a case of a sacrament is in this case understood to be valid; it implies character, if it is one of those having that effect; it may ultimately confer grace by reiviviscence when the obieet is removed; but the soul cannot be blessed with gracing from the immediate operation. The obieet is a state of soul actively repugnant to the working of grace. A favourably constructed argument in such a way that the infusion of grace will be due to the operation of the recipient, as it ovspere operante; a passive disposition suffices for adults as the recipient; the active operation of the recipient is needed for its removal, since the hindering state of soul cannot be changed without his will. The Council of Trent antemtelized ‘si quis dixert, sacramentum non legis . . . gratis ipsum non ponentibus obieet non confers.'

So far it is seen only that neither orthodoxy nor personal sanctity is requisite in the minister of a sacrament, nor ease of reception, while such indications are found in earlier times, appears definitely in the Respenns To Bulgari of Nicolaus 1. The pope considers two cases. The first (ch. 14) is that of a pretended priest who had baptized many converts; the answer is that personal qualification is lacking, his ordination to be reekipt. The second (ch. 104) is that of a Jew—whether Christian or unbeliever was not ascertained—who also had baptized many. In respect of these the pope answers:

1 Deem nomine Sancte Trinitatis, vel tamen in nomine Christi situm in Actibus Apostolorum legimus, baptizati sunt (unum quippe idemque est, vel sancti ex opistit Ambrosius), esse debent capitandos.

Yet he directs inquiry whether the man were a Christian or not, for what purpose is not clear, concluding with a citation from Augustine:

1 Baptismus Christo baptisatum, sanctis hominum, sines dantis, sine accipientibus, sine violae.

This halting treatment suggests that he was not sure of his ground, lacking definite precedents; but his practical ruling in favour of baptism administered by any layman, or even of the hands of the faithful, was the starting-point of a doctrine that became firmly established in the schools of theology.

It follows that any human being is capable of acting as minister of a sacrament. Parity of reasoning might extend this to infants; but other sacraments equally with Baptism, but the inference has not been drawn; the practice of the Church, supported by more or less weighty argument, has restricted the administration of other sacraments to particularly qualified persons. To determine who is an ‘idolens minister,' one must refer to the theology of the several sacraments.

(b) Matter and form.—A sacrament being a sensible sign of grace, it is obvious that something visible or audible or tangible, and so forth, is requisite; and this something must be determined by the Church. The Councils of Jerusalem, Ephesus, and Chalcedon debated the question whether such determination may be generic, or must be specific. If generic, it may then be left to the Church to determine specifically what shall be used, and this may even be done in various ways in the several parts of the Church; if specific, no variation is possible. In the case of Baptism specific determination is universally accepted; baptism must be by water in the name of the Holy Trinity. Yet even here the teaching of Nicolaus 1, quoted above, may raise a doubt; hence in nomine Christi 1 may raise a doubt; and it is perhaps only on tutorist grounds that the normal formula can be treated as indispensable.

1 The same expression as used by Stephen 1. (Cyp. Ep. 10) possibly meant ‘Christian Baptism.' In general, for the use of the Creed as form of baptism in the 3rd cent., see P. E. Brightman, Essay on the Early History of the Church and Ministry (1916), p. 544 ff. 2 In Joh, 50.

2 Ses. xiv. 2.
Abraham was justified by his faith before the institution of the sacrament. How did baptism differ from this? Augustine replied that circumcision was a sacrament or sign of a Deliverer to come, by faith in whom the people of God so marked were justified; but the Deliverer, being certain, is the sacrament. But to explain a sacrament in the way of innationem hominis. He adds that even before circumcision there was presumably some sacramental justification ad innovationem latent in the working of God. From this distinction there proceeded with increasing precision a doctrine almost unique in the whole history of the Church. As the sacraments of the OT were ineffective signs or symbols of a work of grace wrought independently of them, while the sacraments of the NT were instruments for the doing of that work.

Earlier expositions of this doctrine had been very crude. According to Tertullian, there was a usus sanctificandi in the water of baptism by descent of the Holy Spirit. Augustine's studies in the doctrine of grace led to refinements which sometimes seem to reduce a sacrament to the standing rubric or act given, drawn from one use of the word at supra, or of a condition sine qua non; but the later theology followed the current of his thought, and was expressly concerned with the exclusion of these minimizing conceptions. A sacrament was taken to be an ictus causae of grace; it is an irruption of grace, the infusion of grace, but is not even instrumentally a cause of that infusion. In his later works he abandoned this distinction, adopting a theory of sacramental operation which seems to exclude his previous negations. In Summa, III, xii. 5, he contrasts the human hand as instrumentum coniunctum with a stick as instrumentum separatum, both being operated by the principal cause, which is the man. So in the operation of grace God is the principal cause, the humanity of Christ is the cause, but the sacrament is instrumentum separatum; but it is evident that the same effect is produced whether the instrumentum separatum be used or not. Therefore he concludes:

'Quaestiones ecclesiae specialiter habent virtutem ex passione Christi, causs virtutis quoad modo nobis capaciatur per sacramento sacramentorum.'

Among the later Scholastics those who adhered to the earlier teaching of Aquinas attributed the dispositive effect of the sacraments to a physical causation (Cajetan being apparently the first to use this phrase) which could not reasonably be extended to the actual infusion of grace. Those who adhered to his later teaching, on the other hand, extended the notion of physical causation to the infusion of grace. His argument is that every creature of God has a natural adaptability to any end which the Creator may appoint (potentia naturalis), and that this potentiality becomes active in the sacraments, by the supernatural natural appointment of God, to the production of supernatural grace. Among his followers the severe Thomist Drouin attributes the nature of physical causation in the sacraments 'utrum aliquam dignitatem acceptum in eis agens, quam propriam noeqne influens sacramentales effectus in susceptiendum corda insimilarem.' This opinion, after giving way for some time before the teaching of Drouin and Cajetan, has been revived in the American CE, e.g. 'Sacr.,' on the other hand Billot has moved in the contrary direction, reducing the effect of sacramental causation to the creation of a title to grace, e.g. 'Sacraments,' approximating to the first position of Aquinas.

The indelible effect of a sacrament as imposing character, and the vexed question of the reviviscence of grace in those who have received it without the necessary disposition for its salutary working, concerns the specific theology of those sacraments which have this effect, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders.

With the doctrine of sacramental causation is intimately connected the phrase continere gratiam, current from the time of its use by Hugh of St. Victor. The Council of Trent anathematized 'si quis dixerit, sacramentum contineat, quod habeat aliquam dignitatem, quam sequitur sacramentum, quam significat.' The phrase cannot safely be rendered by the English word 'contain,' which seems to be used only in a spatial or quasi-spatial sense and in the sense of restraint. Neither sense is apt here; the grace signified is not tied restrictively to the sacrament, nor is there any spatial connexion, except so far as the sacrament operates at a certain place on persons there present. Grace is in the sacraments, says Aquinas, only as signified by them ('si eunt in signum'), or as an effect is present at a place 'ut simile in vasa,' except only as a vessel may be considered an instrument of conveyance. It should be observed that the Tridentine canon sets continere gratiam in contrast with the notion that sacraments are signs tantum externa acceptae per fidem gratiae md instituti. The sense of continere here is that of immediate and continuous connexion, the connexion being specifically causal. It is a conception which falls in more easily with the theory of physical causation than with that of moral causation; for it is not inconsistent with the latter, and is in fact held to be the necessary consequence of the Tridentine definition. According to either theory, the causal connexion is unaffected by the occurrence of an obex, which interrupts the flow of the content of the sacrament to the soul of the recipient, but does not reduce it to a nullity.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned throughout, the following are of first-rate importance: T. de V. G. Cajetan (the first of the modern school), Commentary on Summa Theol., pt. iii., contained in the Leontine ed. of St. Thomas Aquinas, Rome, 1888; F. Suarez, 'De Sacramentis in Generis,' in Opera, Venice, 1745–57, xviii.; R. F. R. Bellarmine, 'De Sacramentis,' in Disputatio de controversia Fidei, Cologne, 1617, iii.; F. de Lugo, 'De Sacramentis in Generis,' in Opera, Venice, 1687, iv.; J. Billot, 'De Sacramentis,' in Prolectiones Theologicae, Paris, 1750–55, 300; C. R. Billant, Summa Sancti Thomae, Liége, 1746–51 (containing a more spirited criticism, from the latitude and brevity of the former, abridged in Summa Summa, Ghent, 1763). G. Perrone, Protectores Theologiae, Rome, 1550–49 (a full course at the Collegium Romanaus, once of great vogue, but superseded by Franzelin); J. A. Möhler, Symbolik, Mainz, 1812, tr. J. B. Behrstock, Symbols, London, 1805; F. Pichon, Examen et Sacramentorum in theo 1725; J. B. Franzelín, Tractatus de sacramentis, Rome, 1726, 2nd ed. (the work by Franzelin before the Thomist revival under Leo xiii.); L. Billot, De Ecclesiae Sacramentis, Rome, 1807 (the chief exponent of the new Thomism at the Collegium Romanum).

T. A. Lacey.
SACRAMENTS (Christian, Lutheran).

The doctrine of the sacraments, as understood and taught in the Lutheran Church, is a practical application of the doctrine of justification by faith. In the Reformation period, the new Church of the North occupied with a thorough criticism of the definition, not only of 'justification,' but also of such closely related terms as 'grace' and 'faith,' so they inevitably led also to a radical change in the conception of 'sacrament.'

Recognizing the fact that the term in its ecclesiastical sense is not Scriptural, and that therefore considerable latitude could be allowed in its signification, the Lutheran Reformers were concerned only that a unique place should be assigned to the signs of the divine grace, and that no rites, however useful in their place, that have not been instituted by divine authority for the same purpose as these two ordinances should be elevated to the same rank. The term sacramentum in the Vulgate, equivalent of the Greek σώματα (in such places as Dr 21, 22, 121), designates what is in general secret and mysterious, and, because of being so, awakens wonder and inquiry that can be answered only by supernatural revelation. As such, it is applied to only the NT sacraments (I Ti 3, Col 17, Eph 12, 33, 59). In Patristic use it was generally applied to any 'sacred sign' or 'a visible seal (signaculum) of invisible divine things,' 'a symbol of a sacred thing and a visible form of invisible grace.' The term was at times restricted to baptism, and as far as the very early date its pertinency to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, above all other rites, was generally recognized. The Reformers found in the Decree of Florence (1439), designating the number viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Ordination, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction; and at Augsburg they were forced by the criticism of art. xiii. of the Augsburg Confession, on the part of the authors of the Confutation, to define clearly their position as to the number. This discussion involved a fixing of the definition. Prior to this Luther had, years before, in his private writings, freely criticized the teaching hitherto current. Of fundamental importance is his Treatise on the New Testament (1520); but he expresses himself at greater length in the Preface to the German Apology, written the same year—a trenchant criticism of the entire medieval sacramental system.

1 must deny,' he says, 'that there are seven sacraments, and for the present hold to but three—baptism, penance, and bread. . . . To be sure, if I desired to use the term in the scriptural sense, I should allow but a single sacrament, with three sacramental signs.' Then, he adds in conclusion: 'There are, strictly speaking, but two sacraments, baptism and bread; for only in these two do we find both the divinely instituted sign and the promise of the forgiveness of sins.'

Melancthon, in the Loci Communes (1521), simply re-echoes these statements:

'What others call sacraments we call signs, or, if you please, sacramental signs. For Paul calls Christ Himself the Sacrament who ordains the grace, and who annexeeth you, you may call them seals, and thus more nearly express the force of the sacraments. Two signs have been instituted by Christ in the Gospel, viz. baptism and the participation of the Lord's Table.'

Accordingly, the Apology (1531) proposes the definition: 'Sacrifices are rites which have the command of God, and to which the promise of grace has been added,' i.e. the promise of the gratuitous forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, or the gospel. It also became a prominent feature of the Lutheran conception of a sacrament to emphasize the fact that the use of grace is individualized in the administration of the sacrament.

'Christ causes the promise of the Gospel to be offered not only in general, but through the sacraments, under the seals of the promises. He seals and thereby especially confirms the certainty of the Gospel to every believer.'

Thus the sacrament is not only a visible word, but it is the visible word individualized. The efficacy of the sacrament is not sown in the faith, therefore, neither in the character nor in the intention nor in the regular ordination of its ministers, nor in the element received, nor in the sacramental transfiguration itself, but solely in the word of divine grace which it applies.'

The sacrament, being not man's but God's act, cannot profit as an act of obedience on the part of man. Man's part in it is entirely receptive. Most important is the distinction between a sacrament and a sacrifice.

A sacrament is a ceremony or work, in which God presents to us, as that which the promise annexed to the ceremony offers, as baptism is a work, not which we offer to God, but in which God baptizes us, the minister places seals on us, on the contrary, is a ceremony or work which we render acceptable to God.'

This position Luther most strenuously maintained against the extreme of Romanism on the one hand, which changed the Lord's Supper into a propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass, and of the radical reaction against Rome on the other, which regarded it as only a Eucharistic sacrifice.

'We should not pretend to give God something in the sacrament, when it is He who therein gives us all things. 3

Nor have they profit as works wrought for men by a priest. With the greatest decision the Reformers repudiated the Scholastic doctrine that a sacrament performs something, except when the recipients intentionally oppose an obstacle (such as a mortal sin, or the purpose to commit sin) to its efficacy. Against such a mechanical theory the value of the sacrament was placed solely in its communicative word of grace, to be apprehended by the intelligence of the subject, and appropriated by faith. The best known of all Luther's books, the Small Catechism, says:

'It is not the water that produces these effects, but the Word of God which accompanies and is connected with the water, and our faith which relies on the Word of God connected with the water'; and 'The eating and drinking do not produce these great effects, but the words which stand here, 'Given and shed for you for the remission of sins'.' He who believes these words has what they set forth, namely the remission of sins'; and, to quote from his Apology on the NT, 'Sacrament without testament is the case without the jewel.'

The mechanical theory of the sacrament broke down with the scholastic theory of justification. This failure in the recognized of the Pauline doctrine of justification as an act of God with reference to man, and regarded it, on the other hand, as wrought within man, in a continuous, gradual process, by the infusion of grace, through the sacraments. But, according to the NT, grace, in the proper sense, is no quality inhering in man, or communicable to man, but a disposition of God toward man, i.e. God's favour shown man without merit on man's part. The grace of God reaches man through a promise, and that promise is apprehended only by faith. Nor is justification a process wrought within man, but a simple and complete act of God, without stages or degrees. Sanctification, or the process by which man grows in all the gifts of grace, is one thing; justification, by which God places man in a new relation with God Himself, involves the highest degrees of faith by which the promise is apprehended; but, wherever justification is present, it is always of the same value, namely that of the complete obedience of Christ; and this is the gift offered in the sacraments.

Nor is this merely enunciated theory of

1 Formula of Concord, p. 656 (quotations from the Confession of the Lutheran Church are from the Eng. tr. of Book of Concord, Philadelphia, 1819).

2 Apology, 262, 12.

3 Luther, Treatise on the NT.
the sacraments in any way contradicted by difficulties connected with the explanation of the agency of the Holy Spirit in infant baptism upon the baptized infant or part of the child baptized. For, even with respect to adults, the work of regeneration always remains a mystery (Jn 3); and, however emphatically Luther connects regeneration and baptism, nevertheless the ground and motive of infant baptism of the Word and faith may be wrought in an unconscious child, but that Christ's command concerning it may be obeyed.

'Everything depends upon the word and command of God. We bring the child in the purpose and hope that it may believe, and He may give grace to it; but we do not baptize it upon that, but solely upon the command of God. It is very certain that the promise of God becomes also to little children; therefore, it is necessary to baptize little children, that the promise of salvation may be applied to them, according to Mt 28. Just as there is salvation offered to all, men, women, and children, so baptism is offered to all—men, women, children, infants. It clearly follows, therefore, that infants are to be baptized, because with baptism salvation is offered.'

'Through baptism is offered the grace of God, and children, being offered to God through baptism, are received into grace.

Where, then, God thus offers His grace, it is believed that He provides also a certain measure of receptivity for it, even although we cannot define either method or measure. All explanations attempted are pure hypotheses and not articulated with the evangelical condition standards according to which a universal principle concerning the sacraments may be deduced, particularly if such principle antagonize what is no hypothesis. It is enough to know that the word of grace is offered in baptism, and that, and remains efficacious until we pass from this estate of misery to eternal glory; and to this promise faith is to recur throughout all subsequent periods of life. The stress, however, lies always not on the faith of the recipient, but on the surety of the promise made to the individual; such a person is justified not because of his faith, but because of the grace of God and the merit of Christ that his faith apprehends.

For a proper estimate of the office of the sacraments, a consideration of the doctrine of the Word of God as taught by Luther is also important. In his judgment the Word is no mere directory, informing men of the way of life; besides being such, it brings the very life whereof it teaches. The activity of the Holy Spirit is not supplementary to the Word; nor is there any individual Word without a Word, no word without preaching, and announced in the sacraments. The outward Word, which is heard and read, is the true means through which the Holy Spirit works. Outward and inner Word, if distinguished, are only two sides or relations of one and the same thing. Nor are the means of grace institutions by which man approaches God; they are institutions by which God comes to man (Ro 10:13–15). Strictly speaking, there is but one means of grace, viz. the Word, and that, too, the Word of the gospel. Hence the Word in two forms, we speak, in the wider sense, of both Word and sacraments as the means of grace.

The grace, therefore, offered and received in the sacraments in no way differs from that offered and received in hearing and reading the Word. The promise is the same as that which is offered in the Word without the sacraments. The necessity of the Word is absolute; without it there is no salvation; that of the sacraments is relative. We are bound to them because God has instituted and administered them.

Nevertheless, since the testimony is far more important than the sacrament, so the words are far more important than the signs. For the signs might be lacking, if one only have the words, and the sacrament be saved without sacrament, yet not without testament.

The relative necessity of sacraments arises out of a gracious accommodation of God to the weakness of man's faith.

Some human non tantum per se non nostrit promissionem de gratia, sicut philosophi, verumtamen quando illa verbo nostri resolutor, . . . etc.

Faith contributes nothing, therefore, to the efficacy of the sacraments, since all their power comes from the Holy Spirit in and through the Word of the promise, where they apply. Their virtue is objective, dependent alone on their divine inspiration; but faith is the organ by which the promise is received. God's Word is living and powerful, whether I receive it or not; but it is so in me only as by faith it enters and controls my heart. A sacrament is received by faith when the Word attached to the sacrament has entrance. Even though at the time of the administration faith should be absent, the promise is there for appropriation and saving application, at whatever time thereafter the one to whom the sacrament has been given reads it in God in repentance and faith.

Most important therefore is it that in the administration the words of each sacrament should have the central place, and that the attention of those receiving it be not diverted by a multitude of ceremonies that dazzle the eye from the simple word of the gospel, which is the proper sacrament to apply and on which all else should be focused. Still greater is the loss where the words are omitted, as, in the Roman Mass, 'given and shed for you for the remission of sins' fell out, or where they are recited in a language unknown to the people, or in low and subdued tones that cannot reach them, even though they understand the language. For how can faith be enkindled by the Word when hidden under an unintelligible form? As the gospel is the power of God to save those who believe, so the power inhering in the syllables, but from the revelation of God's will which it brings to man's intellect and heart, so also with the sacraments. Luther's object in the reformation of the Mass was, first of all, that the promise and pledge of the sacrament should reach every mind, and, through the mind, touch every heart of those participating.

Nor is the change in the ministers of the sacraments made by the Lutheran Reformation to be overlooked; for the authority to administer them was not limited to a priestly self-perpetuating order within the Church, both because a sacrament is a sacrifice and because such authority is vested in the entire Church and dare not be usurped by any part.

'For whereas the Church is, there is the authority to administer the Gospel. Wherefore it is necessary for the Church to retain the authority to call, elect, and ordain ministers. Ministers are the executives of the Church, and in discharging functions which God has entrusted to the Church they are no less the representatives of God; and the Church is where two or three are gathered in Christ's name.

In rejecting the errors of the medieval Church, the Lutheran Church has also been careful to guard against exaggerations arising from a more radical reaction against Roman Catholicism. While there is, indeed, a sense in which sacraments

1 Luther, On NT.
2 Chemnitz, H. D., De Necessitate Sacramentorum.
3 For full discussion see his Formula Missae (1523) and Deutsche Messe (1526).
4 Appendix to Scholastic Articles, 349.
are 'marks of Christian profession among men,' this pertains rather to their use than to the sacramental themselves. For, as they are God's and not man's work, they are 'rather signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith.' Man's profession of faith is not a sacramental but a sacrificial act, in response to God's action. For, generally he is not simply 'symbols of Christian fellowship,' although this fellowship also is attested in our use of the sacrament (1 Co 10:17). Nor are they allegories either of divine grace or of Christian virtues, or mere testimonies of a grace previously bestowed. Christian conversion cannot be administered within a few days after the birth of the child. The meaning and efficacy of baptism receive particular recognition and emphasis in the rite of confirmation, which is so far removed from the Roman sacrament known by that name as to constitute an entirely different ceremony. The Reformers urged not only that the so-called sacrament of confirmation was without divine institution, but that it derogated from the recognition of the efficacy of baptism, since it was extolled as containing and sacramentalizing that which baptism furnished only a preparatory grace. Accordingly, confirmation fell into almost entire disuse among Lutherans, until, since its gradual reintroduction in another sense by Spener (1635-1703), it is to-day universally observed by them, as an edifying ecclesiastical rite, in which the contents and claims of the divine covenant made in baptism are recalled to those who are about to receive the Lord's Supper for the first time, while they, on their part, solemnly declare that they realize not only baptism's covenant when administered, but also what it means at all times, since it is the formal affirmation in mature life of their full understanding and believing acceptance of what was done for them in their infancy.

Baptism is never to be repeated—not because of the Roman figurative or any character indissolubilis, but because baptism is a perpetual covenant on God's part, and by repentance we are daily to return to our baptism.

For though we were a hundred times put under the water, it was without our control. We returned to it, not because of any marks of Christian profession among men; for those are not signs of Christian profession, but only marks of the same.
SACRAMENTS (Christian, Reformed).

Calvin not only encountered this subject as a locus communis of theology, handling it in the fourth book of the Institutes (chs. xiv.–xix.), that on the Church, and not only had he, as a reformer, to assail it as part and parcel of the sacerdotal system which he was out to overthrow, but he was brought into close contact with it as part of his own labour, as a mere incident which formed part of his day's work. When he first emerged on the scene, Protestantism was being vexed and weakened with a controversy between the followers of Luther and those of Zwingli over the sacraments, and it concerned him vitally to clear away what we can bring to the altar is a broken and empty heart. All confessional services, whether public or private, that are in use have as their end the promotion of such spirit in all who would partake.

He is truly worthy and well-prepared who believes these words: 'Given, and shed for you, for the remission of sins.' But he who does not believe these words, or who doubts, is unworthy and unfit; for the words: 'for you' require truly believing hearts.

Holding, further, that 'the communion of the unworthy' (1 Co 11:27) cannot refer to the weak in faith (since it was just for such that it was especially instituted) or to believers coming to the sacrament without proper self-examination (since the communicant must be prepared to apply to those who are in Christ [Ro 8:9]), and having in mind the judgment announced in 1 Co 11:25, the Lutheran takes great care to guard against any thoughtless approach, out of mere habit, or from any motive other than a longing for the spiritual benefit offered to faith in the sacramental Word. This is the explanation of the provision described in the Augsburg Confession:

'it is not usual to give the body of the Lord, except to them that have been previously examined and absolved.'

The withholding of the cup from the leit—what has been an acknowledged departure from apostolic usage—being recognized as a mutilation of the sacrament, was promptly resolved as the principle of the Reformation were applied to a revision of the liturgy.

Attention should be called to the fact that the Lutheran conception of the sacraments was a gradual growth. As in every formative movement, there are stages through which it passed before it reached consistent expression. In the Lutheran Confessions and the more mature treatises of Luther the sources are found for learning the reasons of an attack on those known as Lutherans individual opinions, in various lands and ages, show decided variations, as one or the other extreme of either ecclesiasticism or radical subjectivism has had influence.

LITERATURE.—The primary sources of information are the Confessions of the Lutheran Church (see Harmonised Confessions), and the works of J. T. Müller, Die symbolischen Bücher der evang.-Luther. Kirche, 4 vols., 1847, and his later work, Die Blütende Bildung der Lutheraner, 1 vols., 1902, and J. G. Jaffé, Geschichte des christlichen Glaubens, 1805; and the writings of Luther (see edit. M. von Hase and H. E. Böckler, Luther's Briefwechsel and H. F. Brunswik, 1834–60) and the numerous Church Orders of the 16th cent., as found in the collections of A. L. Richter (2 vols., Weimar, 1846 and E. Sehling (6 vols., Leipzig, 1904–13). The secondary sources are the dogmatics of the purer period, especially Martin Chemnitz, Examen Concilii Tridentini and his Disputationes theologicae, 1640–53, and Jacobo (in German) gives Latin accurate scientific expression than any of his successors to the positions of Luther. See also J. Kästlin, Luther's Theology, especially pp. 120, 132, 235, 399, 410, 572, 599, 692, 720, 727, 734. P. Tschackert, Die Entstehung der lutherischen und reformierten Kirche, 1910; and many of the stories of the controversy by G. Thomasius (ed. R. Seeberg, Leipzig, 1850–90), A. Harnack (Eng. tr., London, 1894–99), R. Seeberg, (Eng. tr., 1894), and H. Hildebrand (Eng. tr., 1910), and the Symbolics (Tübingen, 1876) of G. F. Oehler.

HENRY E. JACOBS.

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Reformed).—The proper participation for the Lord's Supper is occupied also with the same words. Through them the sense of need is awakened, that they who hunger and thirst after righteousness may be filled. The imagination that one may be rendered worthy of its reception on the ground of character or a good purpose, or through the regimen of ascetic exercises, or by the purifying effects of either bodily or mental pain, only increases unworthiness. Confession of sins is of no benefit if it be thought that the confession itself restores guilt and gives a better title for approach. As Luther says, "We are not to bring away what we can bring to the altar is a broken and empty heart. All confessional services, whether public or private, that are in use have as their end the promotion of such spirit in all who would partake."

1. Formula of Concord, 615a.
2. Small Catechism, pt. vi., (vi.).
3. Art. xxv.

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1 Formula of Concord, 615a.
2 Small Catechism, pt. vi., (vi.).
3 Art. xxv.
here never is a sacrament without an antecedent promise, the sacrament being added as a kind of appendix, with the view of confirming and sealing the promise.1 This is not for the sake of establishing the truth, which needs no confirmation except from itself, but it is a concession to human weakness, to facilitate our apprehension of the truth.

This is commonly expressed by saying that a sacrament contains a visible sign.2 The phrase has, indeed, been misapplied, the word being understood of the mattering by the priest in a tongue unknown to the multitude.

Very different is the doctrine of Augustine concerning the sacramental word: "Let the sign be added to the element. For whence can there be so much virtue in water as to touch the body and cleanse the heart, unless it be given by the agency of the word, and this not because it is said, but because it is believed?" 3 Therefore, when we hear mention made of the sacramental word, let us understand the assurance anointed by the minister, the words being

"By this sign shall ye know us."

This view of the sacrament as 'a visible word'—to quote another phrase of Augustine—it might be objected that the sacrament was a superfluity, since the true will of God was sufficiently known through the Word, and the sacrament could make us no wiser. But to this the reply is made:

'The seals which are affixed to diplomats, and other public documents, are used by themselves, insomuch as they are affixed to no purpose if nothing were written on the parchment, and yet this does not prevent them from sealing and attesting the contents. Likewise, the sacraments bring with them the clearest promises, and, when compared with the word, have this peculiarity, that they represent to our minds, and are an additional argument for its truth. 4

He goes on to give other illustrations of the virtue of signs or seals with a liveliness of imagination for which he would hardly have received credit, and with the result of demonstrating that the clarifying or confirming of faith is no superfluity.

'It had been better for the objectors to pray, with the apostles, "Lord, increase our faith." 5 Let them explain what kind of faith they mean, who said, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief." 6

It is no disparagement to the Holy Spirit to assign to the sacraments this office of increasing and confirming faith; for they are only the instrumentality through which He acts.

'The sacraments duly perform their office only when accompanied by the Minister, the spiritual Master, whose energy alone penetrates the heart, stirs up the affections, and procures access for the same reason that we serve under his standard. As the toga distinguished the Romans from the Greeks, who wore the pallium; and as the different orders of Romans were distinguished from each other by peculiar insignias—e.g., the senatorial from the equestrian by purple, and crescent from the plebeian from the plebian by a ring—so we have our symbols to distinguish us from the profane. 7

God sees the means and instruments which he sees to be expedient, in order that all things may be subservient to his glory, he being the Lord and disposer of all. 8

At this point the author refers, in rather a tone of depreciation, to the importance attached by some to the meaning of sacra mentum in the sense of the soldier's oath of loyalty, sworn in Roman times in the Campus Martius before setting forth on a campaign.

"So by our signs we acknowledge Christ to be our commander, who serves under his standard. As the toga distinguished the Romans from the Greeks, who wore the pallium; and as the different orders of Romans were distinguished from each other by peculiar insignias—e.g., the senatorial from the equestrian by purple, and crescent from the plebeian from the plebian by a ring, so we have our symbols to distinguish us from the profane. 9

Such similitudes he does not reject, but, in obvious allusion to the Zwinglians, he condemns those by whom that which they signify is made the first, and indeed the only thing. A little later he

1 Institutes, bk. iv, ch. xiv, § 3.
2 In bk. i. § 7.
3 In ch..v. § 9.
4 In bk. v. § 12.
5 In bk. xiii.
6 In bk. vi.
7 In bk. xvi.
8 In bk. x.
9 In bk. xiv.

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Reformed)

In the OT, especially circumcision, the view being taken that these set forth Christ just as certainly as do the sacraments of the NT, the only defect in their way of presenting Him arising from the fact that He was then enveloped in the mist of futurity, whereas now He stands in the clear light of history.

It has been taken for granted throughout this whole chapter that the sacraments of the OT are only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but, after these two have been thoroughly explained in chs. xv.-xviii., the author returns in ch. xix. to a discussion of the pseudo-sacraments, and he considers them as Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage.

In the same way as in the Anglican Church not a few have been disposed to show a partiality for the first of these, as being, if not exactly the model of the two undoubted sacraments, at least near it, Calvin, while deprecating the chism and the notion that only a bishop is equal to the performance of the ordinance, acknowledges that admission to the membership of the Church is an occasion of great importance which must be dignified by such a ceremony as the laying on of hands, though he does not allow that this rises to the rank of a sacrament. But his tone in dealing with the rest of the so-called sacraments is

\[\text{Institutes, bk. iv, ch. xiv, § 16.}\]

1 Institut., bk. iv, ch. xiv, § 10. 2 In Johann. Hom. 26.
extremely severe; and, to account for this, we must remember the height to which in the Church before the Reformation the multiplication of ceremom had attained, and also the edifying glance, e.g., into Hamilton’s Catechism—a vadecum with which the clergy were supplied for the performance of their functions by an archbishop of St. Andrews just before the Reformation—will show that the simple rite of baptism had been observed with much variety of ceremony, some of them perhaps beautiful, but others the reverse, and some very obscure. The people were supposed to understand these, but the clergy themselves did not always understand them, and this was the reason for the simplicity of the Scottish instru-

sions. Calvin makes fun of the variety of meanings attributed to the ceremony of the tonsure, and any one who turns to A Catholic Dictionary will discover how utterly at a loss the most scholarly are even at the present day to explain a practice so common. But, indeed, it is the Mass itself that is the greatest of all combinations of symbolism. Nothing could be more unlike the simple, domestic observance of the first Lord’s Supper than is the performance of a Mass in a great cathedral; and Calvin was doing an un-

speaking service in insisting that he was intended that the original mode of administering the sacrament was the best model for all time.

John Knox was, if not in scholarship, at least in spirit, the best disciple of Calvin; and his state-

ment, in the old Scots Confession of 1560, though

brief, is important. ‘I confess that there is a be-

ning instead of ending, with the sacraments of the OT; it is much more vigorous than Calvin could afford to be in representing the shortcomings of the Zwinglians; and—best of all—it states with

warmth and fulness the positive element which was always lacking in the Zwinglian creed, namely,

that, besides the commemoration of the past and the profession of loyalty for the future, there is in the sacrament a transaction here and now between the Saviour and the communicant, each giving himself to the other and receiving the other as an

everlasting possession.

‘As the Father is under the Law, besidesthe verity of the sacrifices, had two chief Sacraments, to wit, Circumcision and the Passover, and consequent thereon, the Masons, and not reputed for God’s people; so [do] we acknowledge and confess that we, in the time of the Evangel, have two chief Sacraments, to wit, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and commanded to be used of all those that will be reputed members of his body, to wit, Baptism and the Supper, or Table of the Lord Jesus, as the Commission of his blood and bleode. And these sacraments (aswell of the Auld as of the New Testament) war institut of God, not onely to make any visible difference betwixt his people and those that war with-

out his league; but also to exercise the faith of his children; and by participations of the same sacraments, to seal in their hearts the assurance of his promises, and of that most blessed conjunction, union, and societie, whiche the Elcet have with their Lord Christ Jesus.’

At a time when the use of the seven sacraments is being commended to the Church of England by one so highly placed and much esteemed as Bishop Gore the words of the Thirty-nine Articles have special importance:

‘There are seven sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. These five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Con-

firmation, Matrimonium, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly of the policy of the ages; but they have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony emend of God.’

In the Heidelberg Catechism the question ‘What are the Sacraments?’ is answered as follows:

‘They are visible, holy signs and seals, appointed of God for this end, that by the use thereof He may the more fully declare

and seal to us the promise of the Gospel; namely, that He grants us out of free grace the forgiveness of sins and everlasting life, for the sake of the one sacrifice of Christ accomplished on the Cross.’

The workmanship of the Westminster Assembly of Divines on this subject is careful and learned in all the documents, but it is especially delineated in the Shorter Catechism, where the three following questions and answers form an almost perfect summary of Reformed doctrine:

How do the sacraments become effectual means of salva-

tion?
The sacraments become effectual means of salvation, not from any virtue in them, or in him that doth administer them; but only by the haunt of Christ, and by the working of His Spirit in them by faith receive them.

What is a sacrament?
A sacrament is a holy ordinance instituted by Christ; where-
in, by sensible signs, Christ and the benefits of the new covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to believers.

Which are the sacraments of the New Testament?
The sacraments of the New Testament are Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

There was never any serious difference of opinion in the Reformed Church itself in the post-Reformation period, unless it was in the transactions leading up to the Synod of Dort, when the Arminians were accused of minimizing the value of sacraments; but, the contest with both Roman Catholics and Lutherans still continuing, the affirmations and the denial of the Reformed Church did become more and more informed and distinct; and so both the statement and the defence of the Reformed position became more and more easy. Hence works of recent date afford clear and thorough knowledge of the matter, and most can perhaps compete with that of Charles Hodge in his Systematic Theology (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1872–73), where the discussion is included under ‘Soteriology.’

The sacraments are expounded by Hodge under five heads— their nature, their number, their efficacy, their necessity, and their validity. In investigating their nature he imposes on himself as the true method ‘to take those ordinances which by common consent are admitted to be sacraments, and by analyzing them determine what are their essential elements or characteristics,’ and then ‘exclude from the category all other ordinances, human or divine, in which those characteristics are not found.’ As for their number, Calvin had been able to prove that Augustine, though himself fond of significant numbers, said not a word about the number seven; but his knowledge did not enable him to arrive at the true number. On the contrary, is able to show that, so far from this number being primitive or scriptural, it was not current before the 12th century. What is said on the efficacy of the sacraments is practically an exposition of the questions of the Shorter Catechism quoted above. The necessity is what is called a necessitas pro epi; i.e., the use of sacraments is necessary because it is commanded by God—but it is not a sine qua non, because the same blessings which are communicated through the sacraments can be obtained without them. The argument was conveyed through them that may not be conveyed through other channels, especially the Word of God.

Under his last head— their validity — Hodge takes up an interesting question, namely, whether the sacrament of baptism can be administered by any but lawfully ordained ministers. In ordinary circumstances it is unusually and wrong that they be administered otherwise; but in special circumstances is the presence of such an administrator imperative.

1 Art. xxi.
3 Qu. 60.
4 Qu. 91 E.
5 Qu. 117.
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Christ? Are not the bread and wine to them the symbols of his body and blood? If faith be in exercise, may they not receive those symbols to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace? Again, if baptism be a washing with water in the name of the Holy Trinity, to signify and seal our engrafting into Christ, does it cease to be, or to signify this if not administered by an ordained minister? Does the man thus baptized make a profession of his faith in Christ? and does he not thereby become a member of that great body which confesses Him before men? Can it, therefore, be any more invalid than the Gospel, when preached by a layman? 1

The liberalism alleged has doubtless been learnt in the United States through the exigencies of ecclesiastical life on the frontiers in the Far West; but the learned and orthodox author conveniently forgets that this view is flatly contradictory of the Confession of Faith. Indeed, in the First Book of Discipline the administration of the sacraments by any but lawfully ordained ministers is declared to be worthy of death.

A few years ago, in the Presbyterian Church of England, the question was raised whether elders, being ordained men, might officiate at the distribution of the communion elements in missions connected with city churches where the services of a minister could not be easily secured as frequently as might be necessary; and, after protracted discussion, the Synod, in 1867, decided in the negative.

Since, in 1817, the union of Lutheran and Reformed Churches was secured in Prussia, the movement extending soon to other German States, there has naturally been a disposition among Protestant theologians to emphasize the points of sacramental theory and practice on which both have agreed, though the controversy of both with Rowe has not ceased.

Schleiermacher, who was the son of a Reformed pastor, threw out the suggestion that the sacraments may be regarded as acts in the work of the risen Christ—an idea germane to that of Dorner, who treated the Church as the domain of the Holy Ghost.

Speculations of the most radical description have not been lacking in recent times, doubt being cast on the institution of the sacraments by the Author of Christianity, and the question specially raised whether He had any intention of making the Lord's Supper a permanent institution or only celebrated it once with His disciples in a genial hour, without any thought about the future. By a certain school a very close connexion has been assumed as having existed between the sacraments of Christianity and the initiatory rites of other religions by which it was surrounded in the primitive age and from which it drew its converts; and some regard the sacramental system as a vagrant boulder projected into Paulinism from the outside and inconsistent in its nature with the rest of the landscape. With such notions Reformed doctrine has nothing special to do.

It has, however, to do with novel ideas which some have been bringing hither and thither, since among the Reformed the tradition has always been specially strong that the preaching of the Word is the great means of grace. Some of the Presbyterian chaplains, when serving abroad, have obtained occasional glimpses of stately worship in the Roman Catholic Churches; they have seen how the celebration of the Eucharist supplies form and body to the Anglican service; they have witnessed the eagerness with which the members of their own denomination have welcomed a communion service; and some of them have ventured to invite all present who were desirous to partake, whether members of the Church at home or not. From such experiences they have derived the impression that in their Church at home enough is not made of the sacraments; and some of them have been proposing that the Lord's Supper should form a part—the most prominent part—of the principal diet of worship every Sunday, as well as that the Table should always be open to all who desire to come, without questions asked. Such suggestions deserve the attention always due to impressions received from first-hand experience; but the War will also bring to bear on their solution its older experience, which is very ample in regard to some of the points raised. Changes may be made and experiments tried; but the Reformed Church will not turn her back on her own past, by displacing her history from its process of purgation as she remembers the statement in the gospel, 'Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples,' and the words of St. Paul, 'Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.'


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